

## INSTRUCTIONS FROM AUTHOR TO LIBRARY FOR THESES AND PRIZE ESSAYS

**AUTHOR**

A. I. SILVER

**TITLE**

TITLE THROUGH THE EYES OF THE OTHER: AN ANALYSIS  
OF CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES AND INFLUENCES  
ON BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES

TYPE OF THESIS: Ph.D. [ ] D.H.L. [ ] Rabbinic [✓]

Master's [ ] Prize Essay [ ]

1. May circulate [ ] ) Not necessary  
2. Is restricted [ ] for 5 years. ) for Ph.D. thesis

**Note:** The Library shall respect restrictions placed on theses or prize essays for a period of no more than ten years.

I understand that the Library may make a photocopy of my thesis for security purposes.

3. The Library may sell photocopies of my thesis.

**yes**

DO

Date \_\_\_\_\_

2-27-89

Signature of Author

A. V. Schols

Library  
Record

Microfilmed

Date \_\_\_\_\_

July 14, 1989

Signature of Library Staff Member

Mailler Kilde

THROUGH THE EYES OF THE OTHER:  
AN ANALYSIS OF CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES AND INFLUENCES ON  
BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1967-1987.

by  
A.J. Silver

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for Ordination

Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion  
1989

Referee, Prof. Jonathan Sarna

This Study Is Dedicated To The Memory Of My Father

AL SILVER

who was a seeker of

"Noble Things That Tower Above The Tide,"

and a master of

"The Garnered Wisdom That Has Never Died."

May the peace of the Ancient of Days forever be upon him.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the writing of this thesis, I have become deeply and sincerely indebted to many individuals. Special thanks to Elaine Hughes, Afro-American Bibliographer at the University of Cincinnati, for your help in the early days when this moment seemed so far away. More special thanks to Marjorie Parham and the staff at the Cincinnati Herald for allowing me to spend a productive day at your office, doing research on this thesis. I would like to say thank-you to Marilyn Krider of the American Jewish Periodical Center for your flexibility and understanding along the way. I would also like to thank Bernard Rabenstein and Dr. Ida Cohen Selavan of the Klau Library for your cheerful and eager assistance. Thank-you, to all my buddies in the American Jewish Archives for your smiles and support. Thank- you, Dr. Abraham J. Peck for your friendly interest, encouragement, and sage counsel. Dr. Ellis Rivkin, I am truly grateful to you for having allowed me to glimpse a reflection of "Universal Heart and Mind" as I shared my thoughts on this thesis with you. Thanx, Jeff Kamins for the stuff of life: water, bread, computer ribbon, and computer paper! I would especially like to express appreciation to my thesis advisor, Dr. Jonathan Sarna, for your careful guidance and insights on the writing of history. Finally, I would like to extend a very special thank-you to Rabbi Lee Bycel-- whose support and encouragement over the years has greatly facilitated my arrival at this happy hour.



## DIGEST OF THE THESIS

Black-Jewish relations in America from 1967-1987 have echoed past patterns of ambivalence. At no time did Blacks and Jews interact without some degree of tension and mixed feelings toward one another. The dynamic state of contemporary Black-Jewish relations is clearly reflected in the various perspectives of Blacks and Jews on three major themes: (1) Black anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism (2) Israel and the Middle East, and (3) Quotas and Affirmative action.

This thesis presents an analysis of Black-Jewish relations in America from 1967-1987, based on source material drawn from two Black newspapers, two Jewish newspapers, and relevant secondary literature. The newspapers examined are the following: the Baltimore Afro-American (national edition), the Cincinnati Herald (local Black newspaper), the Baltimore Jewish Times, and the American Israelite. The newspaper articles used in this thesis are provided as well.

The thesis begins with an introduction to Black-Jewish relations in America extending from the early 18th century to the contemporary period. In this general overview, an attempt has been made to illustrate the longstanding pattern of ambivalence that has characterized Black-Jewish relations from the start. Both cooperation and conflict between Blacks and Jews are described and analysed. From the time of the Leo Frank lynching in 1915 to the struggle for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s, Black and Jewish perspectives are

reported in a manner which emphasizes regional developments in the North and the South of the United States. A brief review of Black-Jewish relations in America from 1967-1987 closes the general introduction.

Chapters One, Two, and Three focus on Black-Jewish relations in America from 1967-1987. These chapters examine, respectively, the three major themes of (1) Black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism in America, (2) Black and Jewish perspectives on Israel and the Middle East, and (3) Quotas and Affirmative Action. Each chapter is designed to follow a general pattern. First, a wide range of Black and Jewish voices on the chapter theme is presented. Second, the contributions of religious, economic, political and other factors relevant to the chapter theme are analysed. Third, the significance of the chapter theme in the context of Black-Jewish relations is also examined. Documentary sources follow each chapter.

## CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Acknowledgments.....	i
Digest of the Thesis.....	ii
Introduction.....	1
<u>CHAPTER</u>	
I. Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism.....	37
II. Black and Jewish Perspectives on Israel..... and the Middle East	100
III. Affirmative Action and Quotas: A Common Concern.....	171
<u>DOCUMENTARY SOURCES</u>	
Chapter One.....	55
Chapter Two.....	117
Chapter Three.....	186
Endnotes.....	236
Bibliography.....	251

## Introduction

From the start, Black-Jewish relations in America were ambivalent. Although early contact between Blacks and Jews in the American colonies was minimal--due largely to the small sizes of their respective populations and their differing patterns of settlement [1]--the two groups quickly entered into a pattern of interaction which, to the present day, has been characterized by mixed impressions and uncertainty regarding one another.

On the one hand, at the dawning of the 18th century Jews and Blacks began to cross paths when Black slaves were auctioned off at the hands of Jewish slave traders to prospective colonial buyers. "Simon the Jew" and Nathan Simson were two such Jewish slave dealers who operated out of colonial New York in 1720. One cargo of slaves imported from Madagascar by the latter gentleman numbered up to 115 human beings. [2] Writing in 1762 to a captain of a ship retained for their slave trading enterprise, two other Jewish slave traders, Isaac Eliezer and Samuel Moses of Newport, instructed their employee as follows:

Make the best of your way to the windward part of the coast of Affrica [sic], and at your arrival there dispose of your cargo for the most possible can be gotten and invest the neat [sic] proceeds into as many good merchantable slaves as you can, and make all the dispatch you possible [sic] can. [3]

In Charleston, South Carolina, the Jewish firm of Da Costa and Farr imported 200 of the 3,573 slaves brought into port

at that city. [4] Da Costa and Farr also engaged in the slave trading business with another prominent Jewish concern in the 1760s and 1770s: the partnership of Aaron Lopez and Jacob R. Rivera. Every so often Lopez and Rivera would ship their African slaves to the lucrative market of Charleston to be sold by Da Costa and Farr. [5]

From reports of a planned rebellion by New York City's Black slaves against their White masters in 1741 one learns that not only were Jews participants in the African slave trade, they were slaveholders as well: slaves owned by the Jewish families of Abraham Meyers Cohen and David Gomez were accused of participating in the alleged Black conspiracy. [6] One respected scholar speculates that this involvement of Jewish owned slaves in a plan to rebel suggests that Jews were no more kind in their treatment of enslaved Blacks than the Christians with whom they associated. This expert in colonial American Jewry has supported his argument by adding that in newspaper notices of the day it was pointed out that Black slaves "frequently fled from their Jewish masters." [7] Further evidence of Jewish slave ownership in the colonial period comes from a letter written to Michael Gratz by Meyer Josephson in which the latter lamented that his "nigger wench" was "drunk all day, when she can get it," and moreover, she was "mean," which made his wife "afraid of her." [8] Also, the will of Mordecai Gomez, a wealthy New York Jew who died in 1750, included a bequest of slaves to his heirs. [9]

On the other hand, in the 18th century, some Jews

practiced manumission. Katty, a mulatto, gained her freedom, "as a reward for her fidelity," thanks to a provision in the will of Benjamin Gomez. [10] In 1796, another mulatto woman, Alice, was purchased and freed a year later by Samuel Myers of Petersburg, Virginia. Joseph Tobias of Charleston, paid \$500 to Dr. James Cletherall during the summer of 1798 and straight away gave the slave Jenny her freedom "for former services rendered" to him. Also that year, the slave Sylvia and her child were freed by Solomon Raphael of Richmond and a partner of his. [11]

During the 19th century, the pattern of Jewish responses to slavery, until its eventual abolition, remained inconsistent. In the 1820s Isaac Harby, a Jewish dramatist and political essayist from Charleston wrote of his opposition to "the abolitionist society and its secret branches." [12] Influential Northern Jewish politician, newspaperman, and dramatist Major Mordecai M. Noah opposed slavery; nevertheless, during the mid-1830s, he vigorously defended the right of Southerners like Harby to uphold the institution. Over the course of his life, Noah's views on Blacks shifted from favorable to hostile. For Noah, the preservation of the Union took precedence over the abolition of slavery. [13]

From the turn of the century until the outbreak of the war between the states, Jews continued to own and trade slaves. Judah P. Benjamin, the most prominent Jewish politician of the Confederacy, was in the 1840s, the master of 140 slaves whom he used to help maintain Bellechase--his



plantation just south of New Orleans. [14] At the start of the Civil War, Jewish plantation owner Major Raphael J. Moses declared wistfully, "when the war broke out, I had forty-seven slaves, and when it ended I had forty-seven freedmen...." [15] Jacob Levin, who was the acting rabbi and Jewish community leader of Columbia, S.C. in 1850, preached the ideals of traditional Judaism and maintained a business which dealt in "stocks and bonds, Negroes, cotton, flour, and corn." [16] Some Jews dealt solely in human merchandise: during the 1830s, 40s, and 50s the Davis family of Petersburg and Richmond specialized in the slave trade. [17]

On the other hand, Jews were also involved in the manumission of slaves throughout the first half of the 19th century. In 1812, while it was still legal to free slaves in the South, a slave named Esther was freed by Solomon Jacobs of Richmond. About a decade later, Northerner Jacob I. Cohen of Philadelphia ordered in his will that:

Dick, Spencer, Meshack, Fanny, and Eliza together with their children be manumitted from slavery immediately after my decease; and I do give and bequeathe [sic] to the said Dick, Spencer, Meshack, Fanny, and Eliza twenty-five dollars each. But if any of my said Negroes will not accept their freedom I do then will and direct that they have the choice of their own master. [18]

By the time Black slave Peter Still of Tuscumbia, Alabama was allowed to buy his freedom in 1849 by two Jewish brothers, Joseph and Isaac Friedman, the emancipation of slaves in the South had become a dangerous and restricted activity. [19] Still was purchased by the Friedman brothers as part of an

agreement he made with them to set him free after he paid them back the \$500 it cost to buy him. Peter was given his free papers in Cincinnati in the summer of 1850. [20]

How did Jews treat their slaves? According to one scholar Jewish slave owners dealt with their slaves no differently than did their Christian neighbors. Jews were both cruel and kind to their slaves. On the one extreme, Jewish slaveholder Joseph Cohen of Lynchburg, Virginia, murdered a slave of his in 1819. Cohen was convicted by a Lynchburg court for his crime. [21] In contrast to Cohen's act of cruelty, Emma Mordecai, another Jewish slave owner, defied the law which prohibited Whites to educate slaves to read and write; Mordecai's reward for her decision came in a letter written by one of her former slaves, Sarah P. Norris. In 1867, Norris wrote to Mordecai about the latter's family saying, "I never could forget my people, I loved them then, I love them now." [22]

While there were Southern Jews who willingly engaged in manumission and other acts of kindness toward their slaves, there is scant evidence to suggest that they favored abolition; those Jews who supported this cause were almost entirely Northerners. Louis Stix, one such model of Jewish anti-slavery sentiments, was born in Bavaria and came to Cincinnati in the 1830s, where he embarked on a career as a peddler. Stix remarked as follows about slavery:

From the first day I landed in this most glorious country, until the present time, my principles have not undergone any radical change. I was then, as I am now, an outspoken opponent of all involuntary



serfdom, and against the acquisition of any new territory to perpetuate this unfortunate evil....My open opposition to slavery had cost me the goodwill of many Southern customers, and at no time before the war was it considered safe for me to venture south of Mason and Dixon's line. [23]

August Bondi, a Jewish immigrant from Vienna and supporter of abolitionist John Brown, seconded Stix's distaste for slavery. Bondi was one of three Jews who personally aided Brown in his struggle against slavery in Kansas during the 1850s. In his youth Bondi dismissed the possibility of marriage to any daughter of a slaveholder; he did so out of the conviction that "my father's son was not to be a slavedriver." [24] Moses Judah and Moritz Pinner were included among the thin ranks of Jewish abolitionists. Judah supported the efforts of the New York Manumission Society to free slaves and insure the continued liberty of those Blacks who were not under the slave master's yoke. Pinner was, in 1859, the editor of a newspaper firmly committed to abolition. [25]

On the whole, Jews made no organized statement either in favor or opposed to slavery. The following description of the Jewish response to slavery by the American and Foreign Slavery Society (May 11, 1853) is thus basically accurate:

The Jews of the United States have never taken any steps whatever with regard to the slavery question.. As citizens they deem it their policy "to have everyone choose whichever side he may deem best to promote his own interests and the welfare of his country...." [sic] It cannot be said that the Jews have formed any denominational opinion on the subject of American slavery.... [26]

Some scholars blame Jewish leaders for the absence of a unified Jewish approach to slavery. During the decades before the Civil War, rabbis generally served as leaders of Jewish communities, and on the issue of slavery they proved to be as divided as their congregants. A major rabbinic debate was sparked over Judaism's attitude regarding slavery when a prominent rabbi--Morris Jacob Raphall--preached a pro-slavery sermon to Congregation B'nai Jeshurun in New York entitled "Bible View of Slavery," on January 4, 1861. Michael Heilprin and Rabbi David Einhorn reacted with indignation to Raphall's suggestion that slavery was an acceptable institution according to Judaism. Einhorn went so far as to call Raphall's pro-slavery argument "a defamation of Judaism." [27]

Following the Civil War (1861-1865) and the end of slavery, some Blacks initially expressed admiration for the Jews. For example, Pinckney B.S. Pinchback, a Black who was for a short time governor of Louisiana, suggested to a gathering of African-Americans in 1876 that they follow the Jewish example of perseverance in the face of adversity. "Like you they were once slaves and after they were emancipated they met with persecutions," said Pinchback to a crowd of Black Mississippians. He further described the Jews of his day as "leaders of education and princes of the commercial world," and sought to encourage his audience by declaring "What an example for you, my people, whose advantages are so great." [28]

However, the Black press in the South was ambivalent

toward Jewish enterprise. On the one hand, newspapers like the Arkansas Mansion and the Richmond Southern News displayed African-American receptivity to Jewish merchants during the 1880s and 1890s by carrying the commercial advertisements of the latter. From the prevalence of these trade announcements it is clear that (1) many Jewish merchants in the post-Reconstruction South were willing to sell to Blacks, and (2) the Jewish merchants generally valued Black patronage. [29]

Yet, as far back as the 1880s, there were exceptions to this trend. When African-Americans felt discriminated against, they protested: a Black editor from New Orleans rebuked Jewish vendors at a Louisiana lake resort called Spanish Fort, in 1881, because they would not sell refreshments to Blacks. "The Jews of all other people, should be the last to discriminate," said the indignant editor. [30] Economic tensions would become a major source of conflict between Blacks and Jews in the years ahead.

The rise of anti-Semitism late in the nineteenth century further complicated Black-Jewish relations. In the first of three controversial happenings, Joseph Seligman, a notable Jewish Banker, was refused lodging at the Grand Union Hotel in Saratoga Springs, New York, in 1877. At the time of the highly publicized snubbing of Seligman, a pattern was developing in America that saw Jews increasingly subjected to social discrimination. [31] Abroad in France, about twenty years after the Seligman incident, Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish captain in the French army was falsely convicted of treason and imprisoned by the French government. Later, it was

discovered that Dreyfus was innocent: he was a victim of both anti-Semitism and a conspiracy that succeeded in damaging his good name and career. A few years later, in 1903, the Russian Jewish community of Kishineff was battered by pogroms instigated by the Tzarist regime. Hundreds of Jews were either murdered or wounded and their material belongings pillaged. [32]

Attitudes projected by the African-American press in response to the shifting welfare of Jews at home and abroad were initially empathic. For example, The Christian Recorder, published under the auspices of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, rebuked White America in April of 1867 for "narrow-minded prejudice against an honorable people, a people of your own color" (the Jews)--and exclaimed, "How cruel, how unjust the spirit that mocks this unfortunate people." [33] A few decades later in response to the conspiracy against Alfred Dreyfus in France, The Washington Bee, another African-American newspaper, editorialized that "the cowardly persecution of Captain Dreyfus will go down to posterity as the most outrageous persecution of an innocent man known to modern times." [34] In 1899, The Colored American reprinted on its front page a letter in which Rabbi Abram L. Isaacs, then editor of The Jewish Messenger, thanked Blacks for their support of Captain Dreyfus and suggested that Jews should respond by helping Blacks in the struggle against disenfranchisement, segregation, and lynchings. [35]

However, regarding the Kishineff massacre, Blacks felt

alienated when a petition condemning this violent outburst against Russian Jews--drawn up by the B'nai B'rith and signed by both local and national politicians--was forwarded by President Theodore Roosevelt to the Tsar in June of 1903. The Colored American protested that signers of the petition were "dumb" in the face of "savage outrages against Negroes at home." [36] African-American discomfort over the unequal treatment they had received at all levels of American government was exacerbated by hostile Jewish reaction to the equation of Kishineff with Black suffering in the United States.

Dr. Solomon Cohen's denial of any similarity between Kishineff and the Black plight in the United States infuriated African-Americans. In a letter sent to The Public, a Black weekly based in Chicago, Cohen, a leading Jewish spokesman in the Philadelphia chapter of B'nai B'rith, declared that, in general, Jews had reached "an advanced stage of intellectual and moral development" while the "masses of Negroes in America have made limited progress." Furthermore, said Cohen, "with rare exceptions, crimes committed by individual Negroes" were responsible for Black persecution in America; from Cohen's perspective, "Russian official murder" of Jews and Southern lynching of Blacks were not comparable. [37] Responding to the kind of attitudes held by Jews such as Cohen, a Black newspaper from Chicago, The Broad-Axe, indignantly proclaimed at summer's end in 1903: "Of all the morally wretched defenders of this American crime of lynching, the American Jew who defends Negro



lynchers (those who lynch Negroes) while denouncing Russian Massacres--and some do--is most contemptible." [38] In the opening years of the twentieth century, Black-Jewish relations had taken a turn for the worse.

With the migration of Southern Blacks to Northern cities corresponding to Jewish immigration during the closing years of the 19th century, the stage had been set for increased interaction between Blacks and Jews in the United States. African-American identification with and sympathy for Jewish suffering was further threatened when Jews began to be viewed by some in the Black community as economic exploiters. Contacts between the Jewish and Black communities would increasingly reflect the identities and aspirations of each people.

#### Blacks and Jews in Dixie Land, 1915-1966.

Blacks and Jews in the South faced numerous common adversaries: prejudiced members of white society who were intent on their violent subjugation. Of the many repressive episodes involving Blacks and Jews in the South during the early 20th century, few plead more chillingly for recognition than the Leo Frank case. One scholar has suggested that Frank--a Jewish superintendent of a pencil factory in Atlanta who in 1913 was falsely convicted of murdering a white adolescent named Mary Phagan--and the Jews in general, served as handy scapegoats for depressed Southern Whites still reeling from the psychologically and economically devastating

effects of the Civil War and its aftermath. [39] When, on August 16, 1915, Southern Whites openly participated in the criminal and anti-Semitic outburst which led to innocent Leo Frank's public lynching, African-Americans took notice.

Writing in the Black press for the New York Age as a contributing editor, James Weldon Johnson commented before Frank's death, in April of 1915, that:

There has been much talk about the prejudice against the Jew in Atlanta. There may be such a thing, but there could be in Atlanta no prejudice against any sort of white man to equal the prejudice against a Negro in a case like that of Mary Phagan. [40]

Johnson did not completely deny the possibility that prejudice had been directed toward "the Atlanta Jew" both before and after Frank's lynching. [41] However, as the Frank case progressed, Johnson became increasingly concerned with defending the innocence of James Conley, a Black worker at the pencil factory where Frank was superintendent, on whose perjured testimony Frank had been convicted. [42] Johnson viewed the efforts of Frank's supporters as a scheme to "save the neck of Leo Frank, the Jew, from the hangman at the expense of that of James Conley, the Negro." [43] Only in the aftermath of Frank's lynching, did The New York Age caustically compare Blacks and Jews as victims of White intolerance as follows:

Now...that a white man and a Jew with thousands of dollars behind his cause is the victim...there is a cry to make lynching a federal crime...as long as Negroes had been lynched the whole country has been content to let the pastime continue. [sic] [44]

From The Age's perspective, both the defense and the lynching of Leo Frank simply served to highlight a sense of Black alienation from society. Johnson and The Age felt clear about one thing: as partners in persecution, Blacks in America were greater victims than Jews.

In the South, Blacks have been ambivalent about their partnership of suffering with Jews. Notable Southern Blacks such as Booker T. Washington, Horace Mann Bond, and Kelly Miller along with large numbers of their lesser known Afro-American "brothers and sisters" looked to the biblical Hebrews as a source of inspiration. [45] Imagery from the Hebrew Scriptures remained influential among members of the Black community through the depression of the 1930s. Especially popular were the stories which presented various Israelites, or the entire people, as underdogs striving to extricate themselves from one bind or another. [46] Southern Blacks understood that Jews also had a tradition of suffering. Furthermore, they admired the initiative taken by these "modern Israelites" in the face of adversity.

Yet, this admiration was by no means simple and without reservations. From the Black economic perspective, the image of the Jew in Dixieland elicited mixed emotions. On a positive note, Kelly Miller, a Black newspaper reporter in Dixie, expressed gratitude for the assistance offered to enterprising Blacks eager to learn the merchant's trade. [47] However, while Jews were lauded by the likes of Booker T. Washington, in the 1910s, as models for Black progress, and



for their willingness to employ and sell to Blacks without restrictions, they were concurrently berated for certain unattractive business practices: Jews would keep their shops open on the Christian Sabbath; they also were proprietors of establishments which provided opportunities for drink and dance. [48]

Two interesting occurrences in the 1920s offer a significant look at the ways in which Blacks and Jews interacted commercially in the post-World War I South. At the end of this decade a department store, called the Fair, in Washington D.C. opened up with a staff that was comprised largely of African-American saleswomen. Owned by a Jew named Bernstein, the store failed in 1931. What was the significance of this unfortunate endeavor? By hiring employees who were predominantly Black, Bernstein was hoping to attract Black customers. [49] Perhaps even more important than this sales strategy, or its lack of success, was the consideration given it by the Black press in the capital.

Blacks realized that had the effort succeeded, it would have been mutually satisfying to both the African-American and Jewish communities. Not only was this a matter of a Jewish merchant seeking personal gain; some Blacks felt that even as employees and/or consumers they could benefit from cooperation with Jews. "This enterprising Jew is...bankrupt because he tried to help a race of people who would not help themselves," the Black editor Ben Davis wrote. Davis was referring to Black failure to patronize Bernstein's store. [50]

Economic dealings between Jews and Blacks were not always limited to the former assisting the latter. For example, In 1926, the Louisville News was aware that it behooved Blacks to take the initiative and assist Jews in causes that might be of common benefit to both peoples. Consequently, when in that year the American Mutual Savings Bank, an African-American financial institution, joined in the sponsorship of Jews seeking to raise funds for charity, the News commended the bank's contribution declaring that American Mutual had probably never made "a better investment." [51]

Perhaps as a result of the positive images of Jews as biblical heroes, Blacks in the South also banked on Jews as fellow soldiers in the war against injustice. To this end, there were times, whether battling white racists or struggling for civil rights, when Jews and Blacks worked together. Declared Dr. H.R. Butler, a Negro minister: "We want their sympathy and [it] is their duty to give it. They should line up...always to lighten the burdens of the oppressed." [52] One outstanding instance of Jewish legal aid and moral support took place in Scottsboro, Alabama. There, at the outset of the 1930s, both a Rabbi and a Jewish lawyer struggled for the rights of nine young Black males who were convicted and given the death penalty for allegedly having raped two white girls aboard a freight train. Their death sentences were subsequently overturned by the Supreme Court. [53] In 1933, due to fears of anti-Semitism while the case was still in progress the Rabbi, Benjamin Goldstein, was forced by his congregation to resign in 1933; he eventually

resettled in the North. [54]

Images of the Jews as Christ killers, although rare, also existed in Southern Black perspectives, as Black educator Horace Mann Bond's account of a 1916 incident confirms. When Bond was twelve years old his family had moved from Talladega, Alabama to Atlanta, Georgia. One day, not long after the relocation, as Bond was walking along a street in his neighborhood, he was taunted by a Jewish child who, according to Bond, "began to chant: 'Nigger, Nigger, Nigger, Nigger.'" In response to this harangue, Bond shouted back at the boy: "You Christ-killer!" which so upset the Jewish lad that he began to cry. [55] Recounting the incident almost half a century later, Bond noted that the Leo Frank lynching had occurred just one year prior to his hostile exchange with the Jewish boy who was the son of a neighborhood grocer; looking back as an adult, the Black educator wasn't sure whether it was the anti-Semitic atmosphere of Atlanta in 1916 or something deeper in his Christian consciousness which was responsible for his choice of words in response to his Jewish antagonist. [56]

Not long after the close of World War II, some souring of Black-Jewish relations probably took place as a result of a Southern, Black university policy which was a harbinger of the college admissions and quotas conflicts that occurred a few decades later. In 1949, The Chicago Defender reported that Howard University started to decrease the number of slots available for Jewish students at its medical school. According to the Defender, the university made the decision

to reduce its Jewish student population because Northern Jewish applicants were taking up spaces that would otherwise have been open to Blacks. [57] A further indication of tensions between Blacks and Jews in the mid-1940s and early 1950s was expressed when two Northern Black newspapers, The Chicago Defender and The New York Amsterdam News, questioned the tolerance of Jews in the South for racism; they regarded Southern Jews as responsible for the promotion of segregation based on race. Further still, there were accusations made by these same organs of the Northern Black press that Southern Blacks were victims of Jewish exploitation. [58]

Even as these accusations were being levelled, however, some Jews were working together with Blacks on behalf of desegregation. An excellent example of this in the South can be found in Texas of the 1940s. There, in 1944, Jewish lawyers worked with Blacks to eliminate racial discrimination during primary elections. As a result of those efforts, Texas Blacks were given the opportunity to vote alongside of their White counterparts. [59] A decade later Jewish legal aid was once again extended to Blacks: this time in the battle to secure legal desegregation of the public schools. Working together with the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), the ADL (Anti-Defamation League), a Jewish defense organization, filed amicus curiae briefs supporting what would be a major victory for American integrationists: the controversial 1954 Supreme Court decision on the Brown v. Topeka Board of Education case in favor of school desegregation. [60]

Religious, political, and economic ambiguities were undoubtedly critical in shaping Black-Jewish relations in the South. Conflicting perspectives offered by two Black leaders in the mid-1960s on Southern rabbinic involvement in the civil rights struggle are illustrative of the mixed feelings which Southern Blacks have held toward Jews. Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, a former colleague of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and a significant civil rights leader, had the following to say in an interview with then rabbinical student Allen Krause:

Jews control a lot of the financial institutions [which were being boycotted and picketed by the Negro community]. [sic] ...because of self-interest and, I would presume, to a large degree because of their understanding that we're living in a new day where changes have to be made, many of them became involved--especially in the later years....many rabbis...were at least encouraging to the people who would dare speak out. They would come to rallies, they would offer a prayer, they would speak and make statements of brotherhood--and all of this helped. [sic] [61]

In 1966, Aaron Henry, president of the NAACP on the state level in Mississippi, corresponded with Krause also regarding Southern rabbinic participation in the civil rights movement. Henry was less kind than the Reverend Shuttlesworth: he observed that in Mississippi there was "no participation by the Rabbis [sic] in the civil rights movement." In reference to Southern Jews and rabbis in particular, Henry exclaimed, "Sorry, they are not with it." [62]

Shuttlesworth's and Henry's contrasting perspectives were indicative of the ambiguity which characterized Black-



Jewish relations in the South from 1915-1966. From the time of Leo Frank's lynching in Marietta, Georgia to the struggle for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s, Blacks and Jews cooperated when it was in their mutual interest to do so. Given a conflict of interest between the Black and Jewish communities, African-American self-preservation commanded a higher priority than intergroup harmony: this held true even to the extent of defending a guilty James Conley at the expense of an innocent Leo Frank. In response to Frank's trial, it became clear that self-preservation, even if it meant sacrificing Black friendships, was also a primary Jewish concern.

#### Blacks and Jews in Yankeedom, 1915-1966.

When Southern Blacks began to migrate northward in increasing numbers, at the close of the 19th century, the pattern of ambivalence which had developed between Blacks and Jews in the South was resumed up North. The following description reflects the tensions which resulted from early Black encounters with Jewish immigrants in the urban North:

He ("the average negro") found no connection with the ancient Hebrews whose travails he felt as his own, and the clothes dealer, the street vendor, or kids running after him yelling, 'Schwartz.' These may have suggested yet another image to the Negro, the usurer, the infidel, or the Christ Killer. Negroes were exposed to these images in fundamentalist Christianity and it showed up in some of their attitudes toward Jews. [63]

Despite negative images of Jews in the perspective of some

Blacks, contact with Jews in America's northern cities, at the dawning of the of the 20th century, helped motivate other African-Americans to fight against discrimination and for equal access to the American marketplace. Evidence for this claim can be found in an editorial entitled "Let Us Learn From the Jews," which was carried by such African-American newspapers as The Christian Recorder, and The New York Age. Further proof that the Jews were turned to, early on, as models for Black advancement may be adduced from the following declaration of praise made at the close of the 19th century by, an organ of the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the A.M.E. Church Review: "Where everything else had been denied him--political rights, social standing, even the privilege of owning real estate--the Jew yet conquered." Along similar lines, The Colored American added, "The Israelite gives us our finest object lesson in the possibilities growing out of thrift and economy....The Jew has learned that money is taken by the world as a measure of worth. Can we not learn the same?" [64]

By 1915, with the passing of Booker T. Washington and his accommodationist influence, some Blacks began to address a significant challenge: to survive and to flourish, they believed it would be necessary for African-Americans to establish an equal place for themselves integrated within the larger American society. To this end, while the N.A.A.C.P. (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) waged war in 1915 against D.W. Griffith's The Birth of a Nation--a motion picture which depicted Blacks in a demeaning

manner--one of the civil rights organization's most famous visionaries, W.E.B. Du Bois, was gaining recognition and respect for his advocacy of total Black equality with Whites. Soon he and others of similar outlook would become the standard-bearers for Northern Blacks in their early drive for civil rights. [65]

From the start, some Jews were eager to support the growing African-American movement for equality and advancement. Black unionization in 1920, and a perceived inclination on the part of Blacks to seek Jewish advice and assistance in the endeavor, found favor in the Yiddish press. Expressing satisfaction with what was viewed as Black admiration of Jewish unions the Forward made the following editorial comments:

They are turning to us with more hope than to any other worker's organizations because the Jews can sympathize and empathize more with them. That which the Negroes suffer in America, the Jews in many parts of Europe are now suffering in a more massive degree. Many of us ourselves were oppressed in Old Russia as the Negroes are in free America. We can understand them better and therefore we sound their appeal wide and quickly. [66]

W.E.B. DuBois, in a 1923 interview with the Forward responded to Jewish identification with the plight of African-Americans by declaring that "the Negro race looks to Jews for sympathy and understanding." [67]

From the remarks made by the Forward and DuBois it appears as though similar experiences of persecution contributed to the development by Blacks and Jews of a heightened sense of expectation in reference to each other.



[68] How would such a demanding stance toward one another hold up under the strains of close contact in day to day living? Would Blacks and Jews cooperate in an effort to share the labor and benefits of building a noble society; or, would there be a struggle for economic and political hegemony?

Toward the end of the 1920s and during the 1930s, Blacks increasingly viewed Jews as competitors as well as allies. African-Americans did not limit their sights to the retail marketplace in this regard. Three distinct examples of Black-Jewish rivalry in Harlem, just preceding and also during the depression years, reveal that this new trend in Black outlooks was broadly based. In these cases Blacks vied with Jews for better housing and higher professional status as well as for commercial clout.

Feeling that an African-American response to the perceived Jewish domination of retail trade in Harlem was essential, several Black shopkeepers joined together, in 1927, and established the Colored Merchants' Association. In consultation with Tuskegee Institute and the National Negro Business League, the Merchants' Association attempted to develop an outlet that would seek to capture a competitive chunk of Harlem's retail market. With the onset of the depression, the short-lived organization met its untimely demise. Three factors were largely responsible for the failure of the Black merchant's enterprise and the continued success of the Jewish shopkeepers on Harlem's 125th Street: (1) Due to a lack of funds Harlem's Black merchant

organization, unlike the area's Jewish businesses, found it difficult to provide customers with a "buy on credit" option; (2) Occasionally the prices at the Colored Merchants' Association's retail outlet were slightly higher than those of their Jewish competitors, or of the chain store rates; (3) The Black merchant cooperative in Harlem was unable to provide the same amount of variety in merchandise as that of its competition. Since the group that the association was targeted against, Harlem's Jewish merchants, managed to remain afloat despite competition and the hardships posed by the Great Depression, the flames of African-American discontent were only further fanned. [69]

Harlem's Black community of medical and dental professionals empathized with their peers in commerce: they too resented the perceived infringement on their turf by members of the Jewish community. Again, Blacks banded together to try and pull black clientele away from Jewish rivals. [70]

In 1927, Black medical and dental professionals made it known that they considered the ratio of African-American doctors and nurses to Black patients at Harlem Hospital unacceptable. Consequently, support was mustered on their behalf within the N.A.A.C.P. to petition New York mayor John F. Hylan to place, at minimum, two Blacks on the hospital's governing board. While he refused to do so, Jimmie Walker, who subsequently took over the mayoralty, willingly complied with the N.A.A.C.P.'s request. Furthermore, in 1929, Walker was responsible for a personnel reorganization at Harlem

Hospital which ended with the ouster of several longstanding Jewish employees: a number of senior Jewish department heads were asked to leave the hospital and a new contingent of Afro-American doctors was added to the staff. [71]

Blacks and Jews in Harlem were further polarized by Walker's decisions, in the early 1930s, to order additional changes in Harlem Hospital's medical staff which resulted in the hiring of forty new Black doctors. Twenty-five doctors who lost their jobs, among them several Jews, raised a cry of protest asking for their old jobs back. Claims were made by some Black doctors that their senior White former colleagues should have been retained to train the new medical practitioners; however, a young Jewish doctor challenged this claim and declared that the White medical practitioners formerly employed at the hospital were "tempermentally unfitted [sic] for their posts in a Negro hospital." [72]

Harlem Hospital's personnel controversy in the late 1920s and early 1930s foreshadowed a major source of conflict that would be heatedly debated by Blacks and Jews in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s: quotas and affirmative action programs. Black inclusion in job slots at the cost of Jewish exclusion was already creating critical tensions between Blacks and Jews in Harlem as early as the 1920s and 1930s. When the controversy over equal opportunity and equal employment was sparked again several decades later, Jews were--as both Howard University's decision to limit their number in its medical school student body at the close of the 1940s and the reshuffling at Harlem Hospital in the 1920s and

1930s illustrate--understandably wary of justice being served at their expense.

On yet another front, tension between Harlem's Black and Jewish populations was mounting. Harlem's Blacks were concerned about acquiring better housing as early as 1900, when they formed the Afro-American Realty Corporation. Contributing to the tensions that were to precipitate a crisis in the mid-1930s were the business ethics displayed by Jewish landlords, such as Charles Klein in Harlem during the late 1910s and early 1920s. According to the Black press Klein exploited poor, migrant Blacks in search of adequate housing by dividing up apartment houses into one-room dwellings and demanding double to triple the going rate for rent. [73]

Harlem's Blacks also faced slim prospects in the realm of employment during the 1930s. Campaigns were waged during these years against perceived injustices by Jewish employers who, it was charged, did not hire Blacks in sufficient numbers. To this end, boycotts of Jewish owned department stores were initiated along 125th Street in Harlem. Belated efforts by some of these businesses (like Blumstein's during the mid-1930s) at hiring and promoting African-Americans failed to mollify erstwhile Black customers who, disillusioned by thwarted expectations, would soon act on their anger. [74] Corresponding to the boycotts, a rent strike was held in 1934 against Jewish landlord Jacob Cohen, as part of the "Bronx House War," wherein New York City Blacks--some of whom were supported by Communist Party

affiliates, the ILD (International Labor Defense) and the LSNR (League of Struggle for Negro Rights)--joined together to picket Cohen who, one scholar suggests, was targeted as a symbol of Black displeasure with the Jewish community as a whole. [75]

At least two expressions of this hostility were played out on Harlem's explosive streets. First, radical Afro-American propagandists by the names of Sufi Abdul Hamid and Arthur L. Reid spewed forth anti-Semitic diatribes in protest of such activities as "the Bronx Slave Market" (which exhibited questionable hiring practices concerning Black domestic workers by what were assumed to be mostly Jewish housewives) and other perceived forms of exploitation. Echoing them the Philadelphia Tribune, challenged those who sympathized with Hitler's Jewish victims; after all, the Tribune reasoned: why be concerned about German Jewry when the plight of African-Americans was so miserable at home? [76] Second, a riot took place in Harlem that reflected Black bitterness and alienated Jews.

Few would dispute, that the Black-Jewish relationship in Harlem at the time was a significant factor both in the circumstances which contributed to the riot and in its aftermath. Why else would a Chinese, retail store owner quickly display a poster in his shop window during the riot which declared: "Chinese, not Jewish"?! [77] Why would Kelly Miller, in an article published by the Amsterdam News attempt to "divert the 'Jew Hatred' by pointing out how helpful Jews had been to Negroes" in the past? [78]



Our last question leads us to one of the chief ironies in Black-Jewish relations during the decades under study. While there had been tensions throughout Northern cities where Blacks and Jews dwelled in close proximity, such as New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Boston, African-Americans were sometimes assisted in their struggles with oppressive Jews by other Jews who served the Black community as advocates and benefactors. For example, two Jews, a New York congressman (Abraham Grenthal) and a Judge (Samuel Rosenman) offered legal advice to Black Harlemites at meetings arranged to discuss tenant concerns during the late 1920s. [79] Similarly, Jewish philanthropists like Samuel Fels and Julius Rosenwald offered financial assistance to needy, Northern Blacks. Another form of Jewish aid went to African-American laborers and was provided by the United Hebrew Trades which helped Philadelphia Blacks, in the late 1930s, to establish a union for plasterers. [80]

Also, many Jews, including the Spingarn brothers and Louis Marshall, worked as advocates for Black civil rights in association with the N.A.A.C.P. during the early decades of the 20th century. In 1941, Philadelphia's African-American and Jewish communities created the Fellowship Commission which helped the following year to bring a chapter of the N.A.A.C.P. to town. In 1944, the Commission, along with several other Philadelphia organizations that included Jewish participants, helped the N.A.A.C.P. in its efforts to achieve fair standards regarding promotions for qualified, senior Black workers. Around the close of World War II, in a

similar development, attorneys for the American Jewish Congress undertook a program of joint cooperation with their counterparts at the N.A.A.C.P.. [81] By the mid-1950s, Philadelphia's Fellowship Commission, one of whose founders and leaders was a Jew by the name of Maurice B. Fagan, (also head of the Anti-Defamation Council) had succeeded in pushing through a Fair Employment Practices Law in Pennsylvania to greatly aid Blacks in the job market. [82]

On the whole, however, ambivalence characterized Black-Jewish relations in the North. On the one hand, sparked by the Nazi threat in 1942 and 1946, calls for unity between Blacks and Jews were issued respectively by Harlem's Amsterdam News and the "Windy City's" Chicago Defender. Yet, at the same time, due largely to feelings of envy over Jewish economic success, Harlem witnessed, in 1943, a violent anti-Semitic outburst, and in 1951, the Defender hurled a heated harangue against the Jews, as exploiters of African-Americans [83].

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, national Jewish defense organizations such as the ADL (Anti-Defamation League), the American Jewish Committee, and the American Jewish Congress, as well as individuals like Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, actively campaigned for the passage of new civil rights legislation. Shortly before the ratification of the 1964 Civil rights bill, Albert Vorspan, then director of the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism, led a delegation of sixteen rabbis to St. Augustine, Florida--at the request of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.--where the

group was arrested, and spent a night in jail, on account of their protest against segregation at Monson's Motor Lodge. [84] In another gesture of support for Blacks, during the summer of 1964 in Philadelphia, Mississippi, two young, Jewish civil rights workers, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, gave their lives in the battle against segregation. [85]

Despite such tremendous sacrifices, Black interpretations of Jewish support for civil rights were ambivalent. On the one hand, Black notables such as historian Frank Hercules and civil rights activist Bayard Rustin warmly praised Jewish involvement in civil rights causes: said Hercules, "The inescapable fact is that, if black people in America are able now, for the first time, to pose a formidable threat to the Anglo-Saxon establishment, this is due, in considerable measure, to the tutelage and friendship of the Jews." [86] Looking back, in 1974, on Jewish support of Blacks in the struggle for civil rights Rustin proclaimed:

The Jew himself feels a special obligation to do what he can to help other oppressed people....In fact, many of the people who marched and much of the leadership that assisted Dr. King and Mr. Randolph and me in the March on Washington [in 1963] were Jewish. So, I believe there is an historic and philosophical relationship between Jews and Blacks. [87]

In contrast to these expressions of positive regard for Jewish participation in the struggle for civil rights, writer Imamu Baraka (Leroi Jones) and Black Muslim leader Malcom X



have challenged this image. Baraka referred to Jewish martyrs Goodman and Schwerner as "artifacts" and "paintings on the wall," who were exceptions to the Jewish norm. [88] Malcom X said of Jewish attraction to the civil rights movement: "America's five and a half million Jews look at it all very practically. Whether they know it or not, all of that bigotry and hatred focused on the black man keeps off the Jew a lot of heat that would be on him otherwise." [89]

Regarding Jewish involvement in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, Black perspectives were clearly not consistent. Black moderates like Rustin and King appreciated Jewish help. Black militants such as Baraka and Malcom X denigrated this same Jewish input. American Blacks have always spoken from a variety of perspectives on the subjects of Jews and Judaism; Black perspectives on Jewish contributions to the civil rights movement were no exception to the rule.

Taken together the data presented here suggests several significant conclusions regarding Black-Jewish relations in the United States from 1915-1966.

1. The struggle for survival in the South did not foster the kind of competition between Blacks and Jews for housing, employment, and upward mobility as that which took place in the North from 1915-1966. Factors such as a closed class hierarchy, limited freedoms of speech and movement for Blacks, and fear of lynching all may have contributed to the maintenance of a socially restrictive status quo in the South. To some extent, for these reasons, alliances between

Southern Blacks and Jews had to be limited in scope and nature.

2. In the North, by contrast, greater contact, along with societal flux, provided opportunities both for rivalry and appreciative cooperation between Northern Blacks and Jews.

3. Blacks identified with Jews as an oppressed people. Like the Jews, African-Americans engaged in a fierce struggle to survive and, despite hostile opposition, to reap the rewards of freedom.

4. Blacks were also inclined to view Jews as having already achieved the successes which they themselves had not yet experienced. They tended to see Jews not only as successful in the White world but also as unequal partners in Black-Jewish relations, for the latter seemed to benefit from them more often.

5. As part of defining their identity within the American cultural and societal framework, African-Americans have tended to become increasingly wary of outsiders. They have been suspicious of those whom they felt posed a threat to their accomplishment of equal rights and status.

6. During times of conflict, American Jews have been prime targets for Black mistrust. At such times, even previously harmonious relations gave way to tensions resulting from divergent self-interests.

Contemporary Black-Jewish Relations in America, 1967-  
1987: A Brief Review.

Black Jewish relations in America from 1967-1987 remained ambivalent. Three broad themes involving Blacks and Jews were given extensive coverage in the African-American and Jewish press during this period: (1) Black anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism, (2) Israel and the Middle East, and (3) Quotas and Affirmative Action. Black and Jewish perspectives on these issues were multi-faceted.

Several significant factors influenced Black and Jewish responses to these three topics. First, religion, a factor which, at times, mitigated against prejudice but at other times was used to induce hatred. In January of 1968, Black Christian minister Martin Luther King Jr. noted that the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference)--which Dr. King headed--had "expressly, frequently, and vigorously denounced anti-Semitism," and Dr. King added, "I will continue to oppose it, [anti-Semitism] because it is immoral and self-destructive." [90] However, during the summer of 1984, Black Muslim minister and Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan called Judaism "a gutter religion," a statement which provoked much Jewish ire. [91] Yet, shortly after Farrakhan made his anti-Semitic remarks, leaders of a different Black Muslim group, Warith Deen Muhammad and former heavy-weight boxing champion Muhammad Ali of the American Muslim Mission, condemned Farrakhan's anti-Semitism. [92] Jesse Jackson, a Black Christian minister and candidate for the democratic presidential nomination in 1984, also denounced Farrakhan's anti-Semitic statements, and in a public break with the

Nation of Islam leader, Jackson described Farrakhan's slurs against Judaism as "reprehensible and morally indefensible." [93]

Speaking in 1980 at a meeting convened by and for Jews to discuss Jewish attitudes toward Blacks, Rabbi Murray Saltzman of Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, then member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, declared that "human dignity and justice must prevail, not just for Jews but for all people." [94] Others, however, invoked Judaism on behalf of Jewish self-interest. From the evidence available, it would be difficult to support a claim one way or the other regarding the influence of Judaism on Jewish prejudice toward Blacks.

Conflicting political and cultural ideologies were the second factor influencing Black-Jewish perspectives. Black militants condemned Israel and the Zionist movement: Stokely Carmichael, one such anti-Zionist African-American, claimed in the late 1960s that he was "prepared to fight for Egypt" against Israel in a Middle Eastern war. [95] According to a report from The Baltimore Jewish Times in 1968, there were some Jews who felt Israel was then in a position to take care of itself and that problems in the United States were more pressing than those in the Middle East. Other Jews, who belonged to the "New Left," were not seriously disturbed by Carmichael's anti-Zionist remarks: they viewed the whole Black Power movement simply as a developmental stage in the process of "Black emancipation just like Jewish emancipation years ago in Israel." [96]

Black and Jewish moderates disagreed. In the late 1970s, Andrew Young expressed his support for Israel, even after he was forced to resign as representative to the United Nations after breaking United States policy by speaking with the Palestinian Liberation Organization's U.N. observer. However, Young did reserve the right to speak out against Israeli actions when he deemed it necessary. [97] Some Afro-American moderates like Bayard Rustin have been consistently sympathetic to Israel. Rustin along with Black labor leader A. Philip Randolph and Roy Wilkins, a Black civil rights advocate who was serving as the executive director of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), formed BASIC (Black Americans To Support Israel) in the mid-1970s as a sign of Black identification with the Jewish democracy in the Middle East. [98] Rabbi Andrew Baker's fiery defense of Israel in response to Manning Marable's 1986 editorial carried by The Baltimore Afro-American was indicative of Israel's significance from a moderate Jewish perspective. Rabbi Baker adamantly defended Israel against Marable's accusations which included the charge of corrupt collaboration with White South Africa at Black South African expense. [99]

Economics is a third key factor affecting Black-Jewish relations, especially in the continuing debate over quotas and affirmative action. As far back as the Harlem Hospital controversy in the late 1920s and the early 1930s, Blacks and Jews have been competing with each other in the job market. Since the late 1940s when Howard University, a Southern Black



college, started to curtail Jewish enrollment, Blacks and Jews have competed for educational opportunities as well. During the 1970s, DeFunis v. Odegaard, The Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, and Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Co., were lawsuits that highlighted the economic inequalities in American society as well as the actual and potential impediments to career advancement that threatened Blacks and Jews. The first two legal battles were fought against universities with racially based group preference admissions policies. Litigation was conducted on behalf of students who demanded admission to professional schools based on individual merit. In the third lawsuit, Brian Weber went to court claiming that his seniority on the job entitled him to promotion over those who were advanced because of a racial quota.

Each lawsuit turned out differently. DeFunis' case was declared "moot" because the court that initially heard his case had already admitted him to law school, and by the time the case made its way to the Supreme Court he was about to graduate. Bakke was admitted to medical school on the grounds that he was considered a victim of "reverse discrimination." Nevertheless, the Supreme Court maintained in the Bakke decision that preferential treatment, as a criterion for admissions of minority group victims of discrimination, was still acceptable. [100] As for Weber, he lost his case completely.

By the 1980s, three basic perspectives characterized the American public's thoughts on quotas and affirmative action.

First, many Blacks favored affirmative action programs whether or not they employed quotas. Ethel Payne expressed this attitude when in her 1982 column carried by the Baltimore Afro-American she remarked, "Even I who have been more fortunate than the woman head of a household struggling to hold her family together, have wished many times that there were some quotas or goals that would have allowed me to have more access to equal opportunity." [101] Second, there were those, mostly Whites, like John Bunzel of Stanford university's Hoover Institution who expressed the opinion that individuals "should not receive special benefits or burdens because of their race." [102] Finally, according to Hyman Bookbinder, Washington Representative of the American Jewish Committee in 1986, there was a significant segment of the Jewish community which by the mid-1980s--despite its steadfast opposition to numerical quotas--backed affirmative action programs with the goal of delivering equal education and career opportunities to needy minorities. [103]

Black-Jewish relations in America from 1967-1987 have echoed past patterns of ambivalence. In the chapters that follow, the three central themes of (1) Black anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism, (2) Israel and the Middle East, and (3) Quotas and Affirmative action, will be explored in greater depth. As we shall see, at no time did Blacks and Jews interact without some degree of tension--and feelings of ambivalence.

## CHAPTER ONE

### Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism

During the years just preceding World War I, and especially thereafter, exchanges between American Blacks and Jews became increasingly frequent. Black migration away from a hostile South to the urban centers of the North and Jewish flight from European persecution--to a number of the same Northern American cities in which Southern Blacks had taken refuge--were developments which helped account for increased contact between the two groups. Greater exposure to one another revealed no lack of prejudice on both sides. For example, in 1902 Dr. Felix Adler, who pioneered the Ethical Culture Movement in New York, made the following prejudicial remarks about Blacks:

The negroes are a child race....They have the recklessness, the carelessness, the impatience in industry, the lack of providence, the sudden gusts of emotion, of children. [1]

Adler opposed segregation and championed liberal views, but his paternalistic remarks won him no favor from Black associates. [2]

Marcus Garvey, a Black from Jamaica who founded an organization called the Universal Negro Improvement Association and led a Black nationalist movement calling for a return of American Blacks to Africa, provides a Black counterpoint to Adler's prejudicial perspective. Noting the sad state of Jewish affairs in Nazi Germany during the 1930's, Garvey was unsympathetic:

[It] has been brought on by themselves in that their particular method of living is inconsistent with the broader principles that go to make all people homogeneous. The Jews like money. They have always been after money. They want nothing else but money. [3]

During the ensuing decades, a variety of other prejudiced voices were raised. A follower of Garvey's, Arthur L. Reid, who helped to establish the Harlem Labor Union Inc. and, like his mentor, advocated bolstering Black economic power through "buying Black"--directed anti-Semitic accusations at Jews he felt were guilty of exploiting Blacks. [4] Along the same lines, during the mid-1930's Sufi Abdul Hamid (Eugene Brown), leader of the Negro Industrial Clerical Alliance, spearheaded a drive in Harlem against White merchants. His anti-Semitic harangues were aimed at the Jewish store owners who occupied much of Harlem's merchant class. Many in New York's Jewish community deeply resented these utterances; consequently, Sufi became known as the "Black Hitler". [5]

In the 1940's, Carlos Cooks, another Black who adhered to the principles espoused by Garvey, praised Adolph Hitler, specifically in order to foment anti-Jewish sentiment in Harlem: "What he's trying to do, we're trying to do," said Cooks. [6] By the 1950's and 60's, prejudicial attitudes involving Blacks and Jews had by no means disappeared. A troubled Jewish voice that confirmed this reality belonged to Norman Podhoretz, editor of Commentary magazine, who shared his ambivalent feelings toward Blacks with readers in an article entitled "My Negro Problem--And Ours":

The hatred I still feel for Negroes is the hardest of all the old feelings to face or admit, and it is the most hidden and the most overlarded [sic] by the conscious attitudes into which I have succeeded in willing myself....I did not know when I was a child, that power is on my side, that the police are working for me and not for them. And knowing this I feel ashamed and guilty, like the good liberal I have grown up to be. [7]

Podhoretz's conflicted feelings afford the opportunity to note that, all along, other voices from both the Black and the Jewish communities have authoritatively denounced racial and religious prejudice. A great deal of ambivalence has been manifested on both sides.

Over the years preceding 1967, no single voice spoke for either the Black or the Jewish communities in their entirety. Black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism have maintained a place in the broad spectrum of attitudes held by these communities toward each other; yet, it surely cannot be said that they have predominated. For example, the following upbeat response of the Yiddish press to a perceived positive trend among Blacks in the early 1920's is indicative of the more than unidimensional relations that have existed between Blacks and Jews right up to the current period:

They are turning to us with more hope than to any other workers' organizations because the Jews can sympathize and empathize more with them. That which the Negroes suffer in America, the Jews in many parts of Europe are now suffering in a more massive degree. Many of us ourselves were oppressed in Old Russia as the Negroes are in free America. We can understand them better and therefore we sound their appeal wide and quickly. [8]

On still another positive note, Bayard Rustin, a leader in



the Black community who along with A. Philip Randolph organized a major civil rights march on Washington in 1963, offered high praise for Jewish participation in the civil rights struggle. Both he and Randolph had expressed their distaste for anti-Semitic material they encountered in the 1960's. [9]

As the careful reader examines the series of newspaper articles that follow on Black and Jewish prejudice, he or she will want to answer three critical questions:

1. Who speaks in each article for the Black and the Jewish communities?
2. What factors contribute to Black anti-Semitism and/or Jewish prejudice against Blacks?
3. How significant a part does prejudice play in contemporary Black-Jewish relations?

#### From Whose Perspective ?

A wide range of voices in the Black and the Jewish communities found expression on the pages of the four newspapers under study from 1967-73. In February of 1967, several months before the Six Day War, The Chicago Daily Defender (one of only two Black daily newspapers in America at the time) boldly editorialized that "there is no organized anti-Semitism among Negroes." [10] Half a year later--shortly after the war--columnist Robert Segal disagreed. In the September 28, 1967 issue of Cincinnati's American Israelite he wrote the following about the perceived anti-

Semitism of the SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) leadership:

To say that SNICK (SNCC) leadership now represents an infinitesimal slice of Negro opinion is to delude ourselves. The gasoline is on fire and the flames are hungry. [11]

What was the SNCC and whom did it represent? In an effort to ensure the non-violent nature of civil rights demonstrations, Martin Luther King, Jr. sought the establishment of an organization dedicated to peaceful protest. In 1960, Black and white students from the South followed Dr. King's bidding and organized the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). At first, Jewish backing was freely given to the new body; however, as time went on and SNCC became increasingly militant Jewish support was withdrawn. After the Six Day War, SNCC did not hesitate to express anti-Zionist attitudes. By 1969, the Committee no longer advocated non-violence; accordingly, it changed its name to reflect its new outlook: it became the Student National Coordinating Committee. [12]

An article written for the Baltimore Jewish Times in 1968 by columnist Milton Friedman noted that while on the one hand Martin Luther King, Jr. was marching on Washington with an interfaith and interracial solidarity platform, Black Power militants were continuing to promote anti-Semitism. [13] Floyd McKissick, leader of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) established in 1942 by James Farmer to actively further the cause of civil rights, proclaimed that same year that his organization was not anti-Semitic; indeed, he

stressed the empathy that Blacks felt for Jews as fellow sufferers. [14] Some have disputed the CORE leader's claims that his organization was free of anti-Semitic feeling, for by the mid-1960's the organization had shifted toward a militant, Black nationalist perspective no longer in favor of integration; instead, under Mckissick, CORE leaned heavily toward racial separation. [15]

In contrast to Mckissick's denial of anti-Semitism, just one month after his statement, the Israelite reported that the "Blackman's Volunteer Army of Liberation"--an anti-Semitic, paramilitary group headed by "Colonel" Hassan Jeru-Ahmed (Albert Roy Osborne) [16]--was unabashedly engaged in distributing anti-Zionist handbills in the Washington D.C. area. [17] Cincinnati's Herald (one of the Black weekly newspapers under study) carried an article in 1970 which exposed another Black organization--the Black Panthers--as anti-Semitic. For the Panthers, an anti-white organization created in 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, violent revolution was thought of as the preferred manner of introducing change. [18] According to the report in the article, the AJC (American Jewish Committee), a body set up in 1906 for the advocacy of civil and religious rights, charged the Panthers with being anti-Semitic on account of their consistent anti-Zionist and anti-Israel stance. [19]

Along similar lines, in 1972 the Herald summarized the contents of an AJC report which described the Black Muslims as anti-Semitic. Headed, in 1972, by Elijah Muhammed (Robert Poole) who referred to himself as the "Messenger of Allah,"

the Black Muslims formed their movement back in 1913. They identified with the Arabs religiously. Psychologically, they too resented the Whites of the West. Israel was a prime target of their disaffection; yet, they also expressed their anti-Jewish feelings toward Jews in America. [20]

Furthermore, the African-American Teachers Association (ATA) denied the validity of the charge made in 1972 by the ADL (Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith)--a Jewish defence organization involved in civil rights advocacy since the late 1940's [21]--of using public funds from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to promote anti-Semitism. A careful reading of this Baltimore Jewish Times article leaves room for debate regarding the attitudes held by Albert Vann who was president of the organization in 1972. When questioned by the JTA (Jewish Telegraphic Agency), Vann reacted ambiguously to quotations which, during the late 1960's, either appeared in ATA publications or were made by ATA officials and included references to Jews as "exploiters" of Blacks, "despicable Jew boys," Israeli "imperialism," and Hitler's failure to "make enough lampshades out of" Jews. [22]

Unlike Albert Vann, other important members of the Black community were decisive in their opposition to anti-Semitism. Notably, in this regard, civil rights leader Bayard Rustin's perspective on Black anti-Semitism, which he shared at the Haddasah Jewish women's 58th annual national convention in 1972, involved a rejection of those groups which espoused such a prejudicial approach toward Jews. The editor of the

Baltimore Afro-American who printed Mr. Rustin's words was in agreement with the civil rights leader's assessment of the phenomenon of Black anti-Semitism. [23]

At the close of 1972, Kivie Kaplan, a prominent and influential Jew, who was then national president of the NAACP--an organization founded in 1910 and dedicated to biracial participation in the struggle for complete racial equality--warned against anti-Black prejudice among Jews. Kaplan, like Rustin, maintained a positive outlook with regard to Black perspectives on Jews. [24] Writing in the month preceeding the outbreak of the Yom Kippur War, Marjorie Parham, (editor of the Cincinnati Herald) joined Rustin and Kaplan in her condemnation of the militant voices in the Black community who espoused anti-Semitism. She, like other moderates in the Black and the Jewish communities called for unity despite the extremist remarks which emanated from militant mouths. [25]

From 1974-1980, the same kind of diversity of perspective could be found in the Black and the Jewish communities with regard to Black anti-Semitism and Jewish prejudice against Blacks. On the one hand, Rabbi J. David Bleich declared in 1976 that: "The Torah does not countenance discrimination against converts; nor does it tolerate discrimination among righteous proselytes on the basis of color." [26] Yet, on the other hand, Coretta Scott King still felt it necessary, on Yom Kippur afternoon in November of 1978, to remind a Jewish congregation that all things were not equal regarding the past experiences of Blacks and Jews



in America; consequently, she suggested more patience and understanding on the part of those listening to her. Nevertheless, Mrs. King's general outlook on Jewish interaction with Blacks was quite positive. [27]

On yet another front, conflict occurred in 1978 on the campus of the University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC). Once again students were involved. An article distributed by the college's Black Student Union paper sparked an uncomfortable controversy on campus. In the piece, Winston Collins, a Black UMBC student, accused Jews of gaining "economic, political, and psychological control over the non-Jewish masses by first labeling groups of people as anti-Semitic [sic]." Collins argued that "by crying anti-Semite," Jews justified the Zionist movement and took over "a previously occupied territory that they would later call their homeland, Israel." Collins also alleged that Jews controlled the presidency of the United States; that Israel, the U.S., and South Africa were engaged in a "triangular capitalistic monopoly [which] reveals the real power of the Jews; and, furthermore, that all Jewish assistance given to Blacks in the civil rights movement was provided so that Jews could "gain and reap the benefits while blacks steadily suffer the policies of racism." [28]

A public meeting was held on May 15, 1978 on campus wherein many young Blacks and Jews peacefully discussed the article and its ramifications. Said Quentin Watkins, chairman elect of the Black Student Union, about the meeting: "It accomplished alot, like one of those fairy tales where

they lived happily ever after. I don't know if that's the case here, but the meeting was a start." [29] However, no consensus was reached: six Black student senators walked out when a vote was to be held on labeling individual opinions as Letters to the Editor if no supporting facts were provided with the item. Consequently, the Jewish students who attended the meeting decided to file a complaint regarding Collins' article through the Judicial channels available on campus. When on May 23, 1978, a resolution condemning the publication of Collins' article "Blacks and Jews" was put before the UMBC Senate--which was composed mostly of faculty with some student representation--it was voted down. [30]

Black and Jewish opinions were similarly divided on the Andrew Young affair; wherein, the former Ambassador to the U.N. resigned his post after having breached a U.S. commitment not to deal with the PLO until that group acknowledged Israel's right to exist. Elsa C. Elkin's letter to the Baltimore Jewish Times in August of 1979 is of special note in that she voiced a break with what she regarded as Jewish leadership's "wimpy" approach to the anti-Semitic backlash of Rev. Young's resignation. Referring to Jewish professionals as "Jewish Uncle Toms" who feared for their jobs as "brokers between the Jewish and Black communities," Elkin called upon concerned Jews, like herself, to stand up against the "abuse and scorn that Andrew Young has unleashed" upon the Jewish community. [31]

Thomas C. McNeill's letter to the Afro-American in 1980 speaks of his resentment over Moshe Dayan's apparently

prejudicial remarks against Blacks. [32] Expressing concern about Jewish prejudice against Blacks in 1980, Samuel Rabinove, then the head of the AJC's national discrimination division, urged a Baltimore gathering of Jews to deal honestly and openly with the problem. [33]

Finally, the years from 1981-1987 also revealed ambivalence concerning Black and Jewish perspectives on each other. For example, while running for the democratic presidential nomination in 1984, Jesse Jackson referred to Jews as "Hymies". However, in the March 3, 1984 edition of the Afro-American a report details Jackson's denial of anti-Semitism and his apology to the nation's Jewish community before members of Temple Adath Yeshurun in Manchester, N.H..

[34] Another Black leader and supporter of Jackson's campaign, Mayor Kenneth Gibson of Newark, N.J., on March 8, 1984 readily rejected Jackson's offensive remarks about Jews.

[35] Yet, despite Jackson's comments, which were offensive to many Jews, it must be noted that the Jewish community was not united in its perspective on him. Ethel Payne, a columnist for the Afro-American reports on Jewish support for Rev. Jackson in her May 5, 1984 editorial. [36]

Furthermore, it should be added that Jackson, during the summer of 1984, made a public break with Minister Louis Farrakhan. [37] Jackson was not alone in his rejection of Farrakhan's anti-Semitic message of hate. Warith Deen (Wallace) Muhammad, Black Muslim leader of the American Muslim Mission (formerly the Nation of Islam) and son of Elijah Muhammad, also condemned Farrakhan's anti-Semitic

invective. After his father's death, Warith Deen was responsible for softening the Black Muslim's attitude toward whites and allowing for cooperation between the races. [38] In 1985, a Baltimore coalition of Blacks and Jews, called the BLEWS, worked together to respond to Farrakhan's anti-Semitism. [39] Farrakhan had in the late 1970's started his own Muslim religious group based on Elijah Muhammad's Black separatist and anti-White perspectives. [40]

Two more apologies took place in 1987. In April, Ben Ami Carter (Ben Carter), leader of the Black Hebrews, apologized from Jerusalem for the anti-Semitic propaganda set forth by those under his leadership, saying:

"All my anti-Semitic and anti-Israel remarks were not our real philosophy. They are only rhetoric and tactics. They were wrong." [41]

Carter's group--who were formerly African-Americans--made its way to Israel in 1969. Black Hebrews may have existed in the U.S. even prior to the turn of the 20th century. They claim to be the descendents of the ancient Israelites whom they say were Black. [42] One month after Carter's confession in 1987, Mike Wallace, a well known Jewish television reporter, apologized before students at the University of Michigan for "some thoughtless, arguably racist remarks" that he had made several years ago while preparing for his television show "60 Minutes". [43]

What does the data suggest we recognize about the composition of the Black and Jewish communities? Clearly, Blacks and Jews do not speak with a single voice when

expressing their perspectives on each other. From 1967-1987, there have been Blacks and Jews who have greatly downplayed the existence of Black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism. During this same time period, other members of the Black and Jewish communities have exhibited these hateful attitudes, not only in their speech, but through their actions as well. Along with these approaches, a third response has entailed the recognition by various Blacks and Jews that the phenomena of Black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism do exist and pose a danger to healthy relations between the two communities; consequently, this latter group warns against allowing prejudice to interfere with the potential for positive cooperation.

#### Contributing Factors

Religion cannot be entirely ruled out as a factor which has contributed to Black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism from 1967-1987. In a 1967 editorial carried by the American Israelite, James Baldwin is quoted as attributing Black anti-Semitism to Jewish assimilation:

...the most ironical thing about Negro anti-Semitism is that the Negro is really condemning the Jew for having become an American white man--for having become, in effect, a Christian. [44]

From a Jewish perspective, it would appear that Jewish prejudice against Blacks was not viewed positively. For example, Rabbi Murray Saltzman of Baltimore declared in the



winter of 1980 at a forum on Jewish attitudes toward Blacks that "Human dignity and justice must prevail, not just for Jews but for all people." [45] Yet, there were those Jews who in the name of Judaism sought personal gain. An argument one way or the other regarding the influence of Judaism on Jewish prejudice toward Blacks cannot be satisfactorily based on the facts available.

On the other hand, Louis Farrakhan, leader of the reconstituted Nation of Islam, espouses a sectarian brand of religious hatred directed at the Jewish people. [46] Farrakhan's statements on Jews and Judaism, however, are not representative of all Black Muslims. [47] Neither does James Baldwin's assessment of Black anti-Semitism speak for all Black Christians; the following remarks by Black Christian minister Sidney Daniels illustrate this:

From a Christian perspective, there is no room for hatred. Blacks have been victims of it and so have Jews. [48]

Finally, the reader will recall Ben-Ammi Carter's claim that his anti-Semitic statements were: "...not our real philosophy." They were just "rhetoric and tactics." [49]

Economics has also played a tremendous part in shaping Jewish and Black attitudes. Charges of economic exploitation of Blacks by Jews have been raised in a number of articles. Commenting on Black dissatisfaction with Jewish businessmen who kept shop in Black ghettos, The Chicago Defender maintained that Jews "do their best to satisfy the wants and needs of their Negro customers; the relationship breaks down

when the Negro buyer is unable to live up to the terms of his commitment." [50] However, Black extremists in Washington D.C.'s inner city during the late 1960's spoke angrily of "Jew stores," and one such Black militant declared at a public hearing on urban renewal that "no one puts the touch on the black man like the Jews with their 300% interest." [51] Yet, Black leaders such as SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) president Martin Luther King Jr. and CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) national director Floyd McKissick indicated that resentment towards the Jewish people on the part of Blacks was, for the most part, limited to slumlords and other such "marginal business entrepreneurs"; Blacks, these leaders stressed, did not condemn the Jewish community as a whole. [52] Between 1967 and 1973 this seems to have been a major focus of tensions between the two groups. Later, the economic conflict shifted to the realm of quotas and affirmative action.

Political factors have also fostered misunderstanding and prejudice. At least two insightful "myth bashing" articles emphasize that the Ocean Hill-Brownsville struggle--a conflict in New York during the fall of 1968 between the Black community and the teacher's union over community control of the schools--was perhaps mistakenly understood as an exhibition of Black anti-Semitism. Each of these articles suggests that the true confrontation, on both the economic and political fronts, was not between Blacks and Jews but between Blacks and Whites fighting over community control of Black neighborhoods. [53]

With Andy Young's ouster as Ambassador to the United Nations, Zionism--which had already been viewed as a major factor in Black anti-Semitism--became all the more pronounced. To be sure, Black identification with the Arab world may have been a means of lashing out at White racism using anti-Semitism as a tool. Ellen Willis suggests this possibility in her article for the Jewish Times entitled The Myth of the Powerful Jew. [54] In the 1980's, Louis Farrakhan and Ben Ammi Carter each unleashed a combined assault of anti-Zionist and anti-Semitic propaganda as part of their rhetoric, perhaps for the same reason.

#### Significance

Kivie Kaplan warned, in 1972, that Black anti-semitism and Jewish racism--were on the increase. Yet, he also attempted to persuade Israeli leaders and major representatives of America's Jewish community not to exaggerate Black anti-Semitism. [55] Throughout the period under study, various articles have addressed the question of how widespread the phenomenon has been. Most analysts agree that Black anti-Semitism is generally an extremist phenomenon. Jews, however, attach great significance to the problem when it occurs. They, along with many mainstream Blacks, have viewed Black anti-Semitism as an infectious virus which needs to be kept in check.

How significant has Jewish prejudice against Blacks been? Has the phenomenon simply been a response to a

perceived threat; or, has it been more deeply ingrained? These questions are extremely difficult to answer. Gary Rosenblatt's article entitled Jewish Attitudes Towards Blacks touches on the problem, but as Rosenblatt notes there has been a hesitancy to discuss some of the more pointed questions on this matter. Conrad Nathan, the executive director of Baltimore's Jewish Big Brother and Big Sister League in 1980 and a participant at a Jewish forum on Black-Jewish relations that Rosenblatt reported on for his article, suggested at the session--which was closed to Blacks--that the feelings of Blacks and Jews toward each other partly stem from a class struggle for power in society. [56]

One college student attending UMBC (University of Maryland, Baltimore County) in 1978 provided a noteworthy response to the phenomenon of Jewish exploitation of Blacks saying:

You can't put all Jews in one category. Jews are just like everybody else. Some are good and some are bad. [57]

Looking at Black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism it is tempting to lump all Blacks and Jews into one narrow category or another. Recognizing this tendency, one more attitude expressed in the newspapers, over the years under study, requires consideration. Members of the Black and Jewish communities have each stressed empathy for each other's struggle. While militant voices within the Black community have expressed resentment at the perceived success and acceptance of Jews by White America, other moderate voices

have noted that Blacks and Jews are each still vulnerable and continue to have enough in common to make working together a useful endeavor for both.



## Unified Negro Anti-Semitism Does Not Exist, Paper Says

CHICAGO (JTA) — The Chicago Daily Defender, one of the nation's two Negro daily newspapers,

asserted in an editorial this week that "there is no organized anti-Semitism among Negroes" and urged that both Jews and Negroes avoid becoming "over-exercised about superficial interracial frictions."

The editorial was based on a



review of an evaluation of Jewish-Negro relations made recently by Dr. Judd Teller, an observer of the American Jewish scene, who called tensions between Jews and Negroes "the most fateful domestic Jewish issue in American history." The editorial agreed with Dr. Teller that Jews should not leave the battle for the Negro's civil rights because of occasional expressions of anti-Jewish feelings but otherwise did not indicate agreement with Dr. Teller's view of the significance of the issue.

### Commitments

The editorial, dealing specifically with Negro charges against Jewish businessmen operating in Negro slum areas, declared that the fact was that Jews "do their

best to satisfy the wants and needs of their Negro customers" but that "the relationship breaks down when the Negro buyer is unable to live up to the terms of his commitment."

The editorial said that when, in such cases the usual "harsh legal procedures" were instituted, the Negro reacted with resentment and "cries of usury, unfair advantage and gouging." However, the editorial added, the Negro buyer "who does not know his financial limitations and who besides is callous about his obligations, comes in for sharp criticism from his own people."

The editorial also commented on a suggestion by Dr. Teller that the Jewish community should force the removal of the Jewish slumlord from the Negro ghetto "by barring him from all office, national and local, in Jewish life."

The Baltimore Jewish Times

February 24, 1967

(p.3)

## As We Were Saying

(Continued from Page 1)

served at close range.

A second consideration has been expressed trenchantly by William Styron, the Virginia-born writer, whose "Confessions of Nat Turner" are soon to be published.

Styron insists that the American Negro now is "purifying himself of 300 to 400 years of a sense of his own abject second-rateness as a citizen, as a participant in an American life, from which he has been largely excluded."

"That there is tragic destruction is beside the point. The Negro is animated by a desire to break through and assert himself."

Styron pointedly calls this process "purification by violence" and notes that it "is outside of morality, it is for the Negro psychological necessity."

That Jews should be attacked so vigorously in this process is lamentable.

But it is also a tribute. "In the American context," James Baldwin said not long ago, "the most ironical thing about Negro anti-Semitism is that the Negro is really condemning the Jew for having become an American white man—for having become, in effect, a Christian. The Jew profits from his status in America, and he must expect Negroes to distrust him for it."

Baldwin went on to say that the fact that the Jew himself has been despoiled and slaughtered does not increase the Negro's understanding, but rather increases the Negro's rage. And for good reason:

"The Jewish travail occurred across the sea, and America rescued him from the house of bondage. But America is the house of bondage for the Negro, and no country can rescue him."

Meanwhile, the pathetic distribution of anti-Semitic sheets by SNICK workers at an early August rally in Queens and the use of Arab press puffs asserting that "Zionist terror gangs...deliberately slaughtered and mutilated women, children and men" have given us all one more shocking, complex problem with which to grapple.

How shall we unravel this one?

To point out the inconsistencies of the Brown-Featherstone position is easy enough. On one sum-

mer day, they say that if American whites intend to play Nazis, "black people ain't going to play Jews". In other words, if Negroes go down, they'll go down fighting.

But how square this character with the Brown-Featherstone attack on Israelis, those Jews who in early June, showed the world how to fight when threatened by powerful war machines on their borders?

Again, would Rap Brown and Ralph Featherstone really listen if one asked them:

"Since you pin the label, devil, on the Israelis, and the label, heroes, on the Arabs, partially on a basis of a racist belief in supremacy through color, where does that leave the 50,000 colored Yemenite Jews now in Israel?"

No, this won't help; nor will it help to cite the martyrdom under the SNICK banner of two Jewish youths, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, slain in Philadelphia, Miss., Aug. 5, 1964, by white racists.

Obviously, the help must come from a total America working with renewed dedication to have color irrelevant in commerce and human endeavors; a total America committed to make every section of every city livable and attractive; a total America determined to smash down the last barriers of inequality and indignity.

"It seems to me," Bayard Rustin, perhaps the wisest of current Negro leaders, wrote not long ago in The Amsterdam News, "that it would be one of the great tragedies of Negro and Jewish experience in a hostile civilization if the time should come when either group begins using against each other the same weapon which the white majorities of the West used for centuries to crush and deny them their sense of humanity...To engage in anti-Semitism is to engage in self-destruction—man's most tragic state."

## As We Were Saying

Looking For Beyond  
Snick's Anti-Semitism

By Robert E. Rupp

Before concluding that the bumpy surfacing of anti-Semitism in the leadership of SNICK (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) adds up to an irreparable break between the Jewish and Negro segments of America, we owe it to ourselves and to all mankind to step back and take a good hard look at the tragic picture.

To say that SNICK leadership now represents an infinitesimal slice of Negro opinion is to delude ourselves. The gasoline is on the fire and the flames are hungry. And when H. Rap Brown, Ralph Featherstone and other SNICK leaders recently reached for the filthy propaganda tar bucket provided by Arab propagandists, they knew that by this despicable action they could articulate the sentiments of thousands of Negroes, desperate for visible scapegoats.

Many Negroes now are completely fed up with whitey, with the hookies, with the Man; and while they are at it, they mean to swing with all their fierce anger at those Whites who are handiest—the little shopkeeper, the fellow who owns the supra-obscene, rat-infested flat, and the civil rights leaders whose human failings they have ob-

## The American Israelite

September 28,

1967

(p.1)

(p.15)

# A Goal For Jews And Negroes

BY MILTON FRIEDMAN

**WASHINGTON** — *The coming summer will tell whether Jews and Negroes can still work together for social justice.*

PRESIDENT Johnson has made grim prediction that more race riots are inevitable. The President said, "we can't avert it." He explained that the best would be done with the resources available, but he did not see that anything could prevent more trouble in the cities this summer.

Reflecting the mood of the nation, a Jewish backlash is evident. Behind it lies the fear and hate generated by last summer's violence. Aggravating factors were the new manifestations of Black Power anti-Semitism highlighted by a few attacks on Israel. Although the extremist fringe espousing anti-Semitism spoke only for a tiny segment, the emotional response among Jews was tremendous.

The depth and intensity of the Jewish backlash can not yet be assessed. Jewish organizations continue in the forefront of national drives for education, health, open housing, model cities, and anti-poverty programs. Yet the gap between Jews and Negroes has widened to a degree inconceivable in 1963. Jews then assumed a leading role in the "March on Washington" led by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

REV. KING in April will return to Washington with a massive campaign of non-violent civil disobedience. He will bring 200 trained organizers from each of 15 cities, including some that his avowed aim is to "peaceful-



ly paralyze" the national capital until "economic justice" is rendered.

The thinking of Rev. King is in terms of a multi-billion dollar crash program by Congress to assure jobs and a guaranteed annual income. Congress is concerned about other things—anti-riot legislation, crime control laws, and armored cars.

Rev. King has emphasized to Jewish leaders that the "poor people's" demonstration for jobs and income is interfaith and inter-racial. Jews are invited to pitch tents under the Washington Monument with underprivileged American Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, Appalachian Whites, and non-violent Negroes.

THE DEMONSTRATION is not just for one afternoon. It is a "stay-in," to go on until Congress relents—or the troops charge with bayonets unsheathed. A follower of Rev. King said the "stay-in" will separate the parlor liberals from the freedom-fighters. This causes a measure of consternation among those who want to help the poor but are not quite ready to stretch out in front of the tanks.

Military authorities are mak-

ing serious preparations. There is talk of everything from chemical warfare battalions to helicopter gunships. Authorities fear that the non-violent Rev. King may not be able to control all demonstrators. Fanatics may trigger incidents to stampede the mobs. It is understandable that the White House has ordered steps taken to assure that Washington does not become another Saigon.

Against this background—with the Black Power extremists yelling for the blood of "whitey"—will the scholarly gentlemen of the American Jewish Committee and the gentle ladies of Hadassah find a place for themselves?

Much has happened since the

The Baltimore Jewish Times

February 23, 1968

(p.6)

(Cont. on p.7)

idyllic amity of Jewish-Negro brotherhood in 1963 and subsequent freedom marches. Jews found it almost impossible to identify with the spearhead of Negro activism. Even Negro moderates fell by the wayside.

AN INTERFAITH dialogue still exists among responsible leaders and intellectuals. There are some contacts in the narrow confines of the New Left and between Jewish and Negro hippies. But Jewish-Negro relations, on a people-to-people basis, have all but collapsed—reflecting the wider cleavage between the nation's white and colored.

Rabbi Richard Hirsch, director of Reform Judaism's Washington Religious Action Center, is also secretary of the Citizens' Crusade Against Poverty. He is highly regarded by responsible



Negro leaders. The rabbi is striving to keep lines of communication open, to keep issues in proper perspective.

Rabbi Hirsch, like hundreds of other rabbis, is telling Jews they can't abdicate responsibility for social justice just because a handful of Negro cranks (SNCC) takes a biased stand against Israel.

In Rabbi Hirsch's view, there are less anti-Semites among Negroes than in the white community. This is confirmed by Anti-Defamation League studies. The rabbi believes that the human rights movement belongs to Jews as well as Negroes—indeed, to all whose religion and ethics assert human dignity.

IF APRIL showers bring bricks and bullets to Washington, quivering Jews may find new excuses for abandoning the Negro. Reactionary pressures would mount. Efforts to fight slums and poverty could be weakened at the time of greatest need.

Jewish individuals, meanwhile, continue to heed their Talmud Torah lessons. This is seen in the actions of Jewish congressmen and at the hearings of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders.

Rep. Benjamin Rosenthal, New York Democrat, held special hearings to investigate the practices of food stores in low-income neighborhoods. There were many complaints that chain stores use their low-income outlets as dumping grounds for meats and vegetables that are beginning to spoil, charging the same prices demanded for fresh food in fashionable suburbs.

PROF. DAVID Caplovitz, of Columbia University's Bureau of Applied Research, testified before the President's Commission on possible links between consumer exploitation in the Negro ghetto and riots. He talked to many "victimized by unscrupulous merchants" bitter and resentful as a result.

He described how merchants in Harlem along Third Avenue and 125th Street, charge \$300 for TV sets that wholesale for \$100. "This," he said, "is the pricing policy prevalent in our Ghetto areas."

At least some Jews are champions of the consumer—possibly far more in number than greedy individuals of the same faith.

Must Jews, it would appear, want to cooperate for brotherhood and economic opportunities for all. The answer this summer will be found in whether progress can be consolidated in peace.

## The Baltimore Jewish Times

February 23, 1968

(p. 7)

## CORE LEADER SAYS CORE NO ANTI-SEMITIC

Mr. Floyd McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), declared today that Negro-Jewish hostility serves the interests of white racists—just as it served the purpose of Southern whites to keep Negroes and Indians from joining forces in slavery days. He quoted this as one of the examples of the secret Negro history which white history books keep obscure.

On the question of anti-Semitism, he went on to make three points:

+ First, CORE is not anti-Semitic.

+ Second, that there is an enormous residue of good-will in the Negro community for the Jews because of the suffering they had undergone, which the Negro equated with his own experiences.

+ Third, that any anti-Jewish feelings expressed, have mainly been against Jewish installment merchants, slumlords and the

like, and that this was a protest against exploitation of Negroes by individuals and not the Jewish community as a whole.

The Negro leader developed these themes in an address at a Seminar sponsored by the New York Federation of Reform Synagogues, an arm of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Invited by the Federation to express his own views on the topic of "Black Power and Jewish Response," Mr. McKissick also declared that black nationalism is neither extremist nor separatist. He said that some of the "extreme" actions and statements of CORE and other black power advocates really served "to widen the road" for more moderate groups such as The Urban League and the NAACP.

As for "separatism," McKissick stated that the condition that exists now in the United States is truly separatism, but

that if Negroes should attain their share of political and economic power, their discourse with the white community could produce equality.

Indignantly attacking the actions of the Orangeburg, S. C. police who recently killed and wounded several Negro students, he stated that Orangeburg was a perfect example of a community that should be under the political control of Negroes, who constitute a large majority of its residents. This, he declared, was not merely theory, but a question of physical survival. It is a matter of record that where a large proportion of a community population is Negro, whites tend to use more brutal and coercive measures in maintaining political control.

The Seminar was held at the House of Living Judaism, 838 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C., the headquarters of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, central congregational body of Reform Judaism.

The Cincinnati Herald

March 2, 1968

(p.2)



## Capital Spotlight

By Milton Friedman  
(Copyright, JTA)

WASHINGTON.—Black Power extremists have revealed there is a method in the madness of burning and looting. Their stated intention is to make so-called ghetto areas of the District of Columbia and other communities "Judenrein" (free of Jews) — an aim of Hitler. Fanatics have disrupted meetings in which responsible leaders, white and black, sought to plan a cooperative reconstruction of the inner city.

One such meeting, convened by D.C. authorities, heard an extremist denounce white merchants with the public charge that "no one puts the touch on the black man like the Jews with their 300% interest."

A concept of Negro nationalism was advanced with implications for every city where a Negro ghetto exists. "This land will belong to its people...We can't live with the white man who gyps us...

(p. 1)

## Capital Spotlight

(Continued from Page 1)

Let them go to their suburbs...We drove the moneylenders out of the temple before and we can do it again."

At another meeting here, the militants took over and actually ordered all white participants out of the room.

Advocates of "Black ownership" proclaimed that white-owned enterprises "will be burned again and again."

Since approximately one-half of the mercantile and property damage here was suffered by Jews, concern is felt by Jewish businessmen.

But an even deeper fear pervades the whole spectrum of Jews devoted to integration and human equality. It is apprehension lest U.S. Government appease Black Power segregationists to the extent of creating two nations, one white, another black.

Jason Silverman, regional director of the Anti-Defamation League, has said that a grave crisis has developed in the wake of the riots. It is his view that Jews are dedicated to an open society based upon integra-

tion and brotherhood.

But black fanatics are denouncing the "Jew stores" while white extremists urge police state measures against Negroes.

The concept of Negroes controlling the business life, education, housing, and other aspects of ghetto neighborhoods has been accepted by the Government.

The U.S. Small Business Administration has announced that it will defer "disaster area" loans in D.C. until long-range plans are made for an inner city acceptable to Negroes.

A master redevelopment plan is being drafted by one Government — subsidized Negro group, Pride Inc., that would give Negroes control of all business, social and political activities in the area. Pride Inc. has demanded that disaster loans be burned-out merchants be suspended until the black control plan is completed.

Moderate Negro spokesmen, like the Washington representative of Dr. Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference, have avoided all reference to Jews. But he tended to explain the burning as a blow against "explo-

itation" and a form of "instant debt reduction." He said there was great "anger and venom" among Negroes against proprietors of stores that sell appliances, clothing, jewelry, etc., on credit.

The "Blackman's Volunteer Army of Liberation" does not mince words. The enemies of the black people are "Zionist Jews," according to handbills distributed here.

Not all Negroes go along with such nonsense. One Negro businessman told an extremist that "you don't own anything on this street but your big mouth."

Federal authorities in Washington are adopting policies on the ghetto that will be reflected nationally.

The tendency now appears to attempt to cool down the riots by accepting the premise that Negroes can decide the fate of white businessmen who operate in Negro neighborhoods.

This trend is troubling to advocates of civil rights. They see a danger in the increased separation of the two races. The report of the President's Commission on Civil Disorders voiced similar concern.

On the other hand, advocates of elementary social justice see merit in the Negro drive to rid the inner city of exploitative merchants who prey on the uneducated and poor.

Charles Y. Lazarus, of Columbus, charged the businessmen with "inexcusable callousness" toward explosive urban problems.

Mr. Lazarus, president of the American Retail Federation, said:

"Just ask yourself how a whole generation of corporate executives could drive their Cadillacs through the slums of America and not know that, one day, these ghetto poor would rise to threaten both the corporate balance sheet and the whole fabric of American life."

(p. 17)

## The American Israelite

April 25, 1968

## A TWO-WAY STREET

Speaking at the leadership meeting of the National Community Relations Advisory Council in San Francisco earlier this week, Jordan C. Band said American Jews cannot withdraw from positive efforts to solve the urban crisis "just because some Negroes are violent, or ungrateful or anti-Semitic."

Mr. Band, chairman of the NCRAC who spoke in Baltimore just about a month ago but whose remarks at that time were "strictly off the record" said that American Jews have a massive stake in the urban crisis and should not be guided by "the attitudes of a small group of black extremists."

But Mr. Band should take into consideration the pattern which has emerged during these past few years and particularly during the past several months before he makes such appeals. The emerging pattern has been that although in the past Negro leadership has accepted and enjoyed the help and advice of white Civil Rights supporters, most recently there has been a radical change. Those who would offer such advice and help . . . those who were in the vanguard of trying to do something about the filth and degradation of the inner-city ghettos, are being told to mind their own business . . . are being warned that this is a Negro problem and has nothing to do with the whites . . . particularly Jewish whites.

Certainly, Negroes have every right to lead their own campaigns, drive for their own equalities. But Negro leadership which until now has been glad to accept the help and guidance of whites has suddenly shown a complete reversal and now refuses to accept such aid, no matter how well meant.

Negro leadership which has turned a deaf ear to those who would assist the Negro in his fight to overcome the problems of the ghettos, would do well to be the group to hear Mr. Band.

You cannot help a man who does not want outside help.

You cannot give aid and support to a cause if such aid and support is rejected.

You cannot feel that you have a stake in doing something about improving conditions in the ghettos if such help is rejected.

Negro causes which suffered a set-back as a result of lawlessness and strife several months ago can be improved if Negro leadership does not reject the help and support of well-meaning whites . . . Jews included . . . in a struggle to improve ghetto conditions, employment and equal rights. But the definite "white backlash" which resulted from the looting and burning of a few months ago can be blunted if Negro leadership will sit down and calmly and sanely accept the help and guidance of right-thinking people who are just as anxious as they to overcome the problems of the inner-city ghettos.

If the Negro community and its leadership can prove it understands the need for such support, then we are sure Jews will be in the vanguard of those who will not only work for their cause, but do everything possible to make sure that work shows accomplishment.

But . . . it is up to Negro leadership to make the first move!

The Baltimore Jewish Times

July 5, 1968

(p.8)

## THE MYTH OF BLACK-ANTI-SEMITISM

The drive for racial solidarity among black people is leading to a healthy interest in creating black business and improving ghetto schools, but it is also resulting in friction with other ethnic groups.

It would be tragic if that friction were to be misinterpreted. The current controversy about alleged black anti-Semitism is a case in point.

In some cities, the black thrust for self-determination is running head-on into the entrenched interests of some white people who happen to be Jewish. But this doesn't indicate any anti-Semitism. Jews who are caught in such conflict aren't singled out because they are Jews but because they are whites whose presence in some ghetto institutions is resented.

In New York City, the failure of the educational establishment to provide decent training for children in ghetto schools has led to bitter conflicts between the black community and the

teacher's union. Because so many teachers are Jewish, this has been pointed to as an example of anti-Semitism by those who should know better.

But the same kind of friction exists in Boston, where the schools are controlled by whites who happen to be Irish. In both cases the black community is fighting to establish its own power and influence—the ethnic makeup of the present establishment is incidental.

Because a majority of the teachers dismissed by New York's Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district were Jewish, ugly charges of black racism were made. But that embattled school district still has a white majority on its teaching

staff, a large number of whom are Jewish, so the charges are obviously false.

Another conflict area is in business ownership in the ghetto. In many cities, Negroes moved into neighborhoods which

were predominantly Jewish. As the neighborhoods became black ghettos, Jewish storekeepers stayed on. Now many of these storekeepers are experiencing hostility.

But this isn't anti-Semitism. It is the natural desire of a people to replace whites who don't live in the community and who take profits out of the ghetto. In many cities these stores are owned by Italians or other ethnic groups and the same friction is present, proving that anti-Semitism is not a major factor.

It is important for both Jews and blacks to understand what is happening. The visible signs of white power in black communities are resented—and this has nothing to do with the ethnic makeup of white storeowners, teachers, or policemen.

The ghetto resents this white presence because it has often frustrated legitimate Negro demands for equality. Jewish

teachers and Irish policemen are welcomed when they teach ghetto kids and patrol ghetto streets. They are resented when they don't teach well or when they abuse their powers. Their religion and their nationality have nothing to do with it.

And their color shouldn't either. Black people sometimes exploit other blacks as much as white people do. There are black teachers who crush their student's desire to learn and there are black storeowners who cheat their customers, and there are black cops who abuse their powers.

The overwhelming majority of black people know this. They welcome whites who want to work with the black community, and they aren't letting legitimate racial pride and militancy be perverted into a reverse racism.

And black people fully understand the great role Jews have

(Continued on Page 9)

### THE MYTH

(Continued from Page 6)

played in furthering civil rights. It would be tragic if the his-

toric liberalism of the Jewish community and its great contributions to the black man's cause were to fall victim to a misunderstanding of the issues.

Statistics have documented the fact that there is less anti-Semitism among blacks than among any other group in America. And there is more support for black people among Jews than among any other group. In racism and prejudice, we face a common enemy. I hope that black people, Jews, and other minorities will see that anti-Semitism is not a real issue and that today's friction, where it exists, is the product of white-black confrontations having nothing to do with specific religions or national groups.

The Cincinnati Herald

December 14, 1968

(p.6)

(Cont. on p.9)

#### Are The Panthers Anti-Semitic?

The American Jewish Committee charged today that the activities and statements of the Black Panthers had been so consistently anti-Zionist and anti-Israel that it was almost impossible to make the distinction between that attitude and anti-Semitism.

In a report issued by Seymour Samet, Director of its Intergroup Relations and Social Action Department, the Committee noted that "for a variety of reasons, attacks on Jews as Jews are no longer politically effective in this country. In recent years the anti-Semite has conveniently camouflaged his purpose under a cover of anti-Zionism."

The study, prepared by Milton Ellerin, Director of AJC's Trends Analysis Division, includes compilations of public statements by Panther functionaries, and editorials and news stories in The Black Panther, the Party's official publication, all of which indicate the group's support of Al Fatah and the Arab guerillas, [sic] and opposition to Israel and its supporters.

The report quotes Stokely Carmichael, at the time a high functionary of the Black Panther Party, as telling the annual convention of Arab Students [sic] at the University of Michigan on August 31, 1968 that "we will fight to wipe it [Zionism] out wherever it exists, be it in the ghetto of the United States or in the Middle East."

As far back as June 1967, the report shows, Black Power [sic] printed "an obscene anti-Semitic song entitled 'Jew Land'." Since that time Panther publications and leaders have "consistently and vigorously supported Al Fatah and other guerilla [sic] movements," the report declares.

#### The Cincinnati Herald

February 21, 1970

(p.1)

(Cont. on p.5)

The American Jewish Committee study quotes Panther Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver, in a December 1969 interview in Algiers, as stating that "Zionists, wherever they may be, are our enemies. We totally support the armed struggle of the Palestinian people against the watchdogs of imperialism."

The report also quotes a news story from the International [sic] edition of the Herald Tribune, which reported on December 29, 1969 in a story from Algiers that "Al Fatah leader Yasser Arafat and Eldridge Cleaver, an American Black Panther leader, hugged and kissed each other at a meeting with Palestine [sic] refugees here yesterday...that Cleaver climbed the rostrum to deliver a fierce attack on American Zionists." [sic]

Other Panther leaders who are quoted as supporting Arab guerillas [sic] are David Hilliard and Ray "Masai" Hewitt.

The study quotes the Jan. 20, 1970 report of CBS correspondent Richard C. Hottelet from Algiers on an Al Fatah-Black Panther alliance. The Al Fatah guerilla [sic] organization, Mr. Hottelet declared, "is discussing training Black Panthers in actual combat against Israel to prepare them for a sabotage and assassination campaign in the United States."

The AJC report notes that the August 30, 1969 issue of The Black Panther charged in a full page article headed "Zionism (Kosher Nationalism) + Imperialism equals Fascism" that "the Zionist fascist State of Israel is a puppet and lackey of the imperialists and must be smashed."

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews at home and abroad, and seeks improved human relations for all people everywhere.

### The Cincinnati Herald

February 21, 1970

(p.5)



## Black Muslims Called Anti-Semitic

The Black Muslim movement, whose publication emits a "constant drumbeat of inflammatory anti-Semitism, anti-Israel and anti-Semitic propaganda," is potentially more menacing to Jews today than when it first came to public attention a decade ago because the Muslims "are a significant source of anti-Semitic education in the black community."

This was reported here today by Philip E. Hoffman, President of the American Jewish Committee, whose top policy-making Board of Governors is holding a special meeting through tomorrow at the Palm Beach Towers.

The report, compiled by Milton Ellner, Director of the Committee's Trends Analysis Division, is contained in the forthcoming issue of CURRENTS, the Committee's quarterly publication dealing with extremists. The publication is part of the program of the Committee's Intergroup Relations and Social Action Department, headed by Seymour Samet.

The Black Muslims, the report discloses, have made deep inroads into the black ghetto in this country. Their publication, Muhammad Speaks, has a sworn paid circulation of 50,000; they have established approximately 30 mosques located in every large American city; and their weekly radio broadcasts are carried over 70 radio stations in 40 cities, the report adds.

Mr. Ellner's description of their strength continues:

"Trailing over a vast empire, with an iron hand and unquestioned authority, an empire whose physical assets are valued in terms of \$20 million, a 75 year-old Elijah Muhammad, self-proclaimed Messenger of Allah. Faith in Elijah Muhammad, implicit faith in the routine of his proceedings from the pulpit or associated in his books and publications, has fastened the Nation of Islam into a monolith. In spite of recent runnings of discontent, it remains a movement of unconverted millions who think and act as the Messenger dictates."

The Muslim's newspaper, the analysis points out, indulges in anti-Semitism and persistently displays books and publications, has fastened the Nation of Islam into a monolith. In spite of recent runnings of discontent, it remains a movement of unconverted millions who think and act as the Messenger dictates."

The Muslim's newspaper, the analysis points out, indulges in anti-Semitism and persistently displays hostility towards Israel. This has become especially pronounced since the Six Day War of 1967. "This attitude is readily translatable to American Jews, with whom most of the Muslim newspaper readers are in frequent contact." Far in addition to anti-Jewish features and distorted news items, Nazi-like stereotypes of Jews frequently appear in the publications.

The report also indicates that

### BLACK MUSLIM (Continued from Page 1)

There are instances where the Muslims follow the Communist Party line, as, for example, in their castigation of civil rights activist Bayard Rustin after he protested the treatment of Soviet Jews by Communist officials.

Finally, the report concludes that "it is uncontested that the Nation of Islam anchored in the ghetto of America, is a significant force in Black America. The autocratic discipline imposed on its members, their unquestioning acceptance of Muslim dogma as associated by Elijah Muhammad through the widely-circulated Muhammad Speaks, gives the movement impact far

beyond their numbers. And they are a significant source of anti-Semitic education in the black community."

Founded in 1964, the American Jewish Committee is this country's premier human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of people at home and abroad, and

seeks improved human relations for all men everywhere.



Take stock in America.  
See how the Jewish people are making it.

The Cincinnati Herald

February 5, 1972

## African-American Teachers Association Rejects ADL Charge Of Anti-Semitism

NEW YORK (JTA)—The president of the African-American Teachers' Association said last week he was "appalled" at the action of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in labeling the ATA "anti-Semitic" just because the two organizations "disagree" on the approach to Black-Jewish problems.

If a Jew "disagreed" with a Black program, Albert Vann told the JTA it would be unfair to label him automatically "anti-Black."

Vann, who had not returned earlier JTA telephone calls, was responding to charges by the ADL that public funds to the ATA from the Department of Health, Education and Welfare were being "used to subsidize racial or religious hatred," epitomized by what the ADL said were anti-Semitic quotations in Forum, the ATA's journal, in 1967 and 1968; by former ATA official Leslie Campbell in Black News, and by ATA official Tyrone Woods in a WBAI radio broadcast on Jan. 24, 1969.

The quotations variously referred to Jewish "domination" of the city's public schools, Jewish "exploiters" of Blacks, "Despicable Jew boys," Israeli "imperialism" and Hitler's virtues.

### Didn't Recall Quotations

Vann said he did not recall the quotations and wanted to know if they had been taken out of context by the ADL. He also asked why alleged statements made several years ago were just now being raised by the ADL.

Asked his opinion of the quote attributed to Woods—"As far as I'm concerned, more power to Hitler. He didn't make enough lampshades out of them. He didn't make enough bells out of them"—Vann said: "I

wouldn't endorse such a quote."

But he expressed "doubt" that Woods had made the statement.

The ATA president charged the ADL with "skillful manipulation" in its choice of quotations, adding: "To what extent have these statements affected the quality of life in the city?"

Asked if he would endorse the reported statement in the lead article of the Nov.-Dec. 1967 Forum criticizing "the Jews who dominate and control the educational bureaucracy of the New York public school system," spelling "death for the minds and souls of our Black children," Vann said it was important to know whether the

article was a Forum editorial or a bylined opinion piece. He himself, he said, did not recall the quotation or the article.

Asked if he believed Jews "dominate and control" the city's public schools, Vann replied: "Who has the power, to change and affect life?" adding that Jews were more preponderant in the educational world than in the general population.

### Numbers Mean Power

When the JTA asked Vann if through larger numbers a group automatically has inordinate power, Vann said: "Sure, in some institutions." Asked if this included the public schools here, he replied that this was "common knowledge."

Advised of Vann's rebuttal to the ADL's charges, Irwin Suall, the B'nai B'rith unit's domestic fact-finding director, told the JTA that in seeing educators in terms of religion, Vann was concocting "a Jewish conspiracy."

He pointed out that the ADL's protest to NEA Secretary Elliot L. Richardson listed "a number of other" instances of "anti-Semitic" statements by ATA leaders beyond those indicated to the press, the most recent one being in the Nov. 1971 Forum.

In that issue, he said, more than a page of the eight-page publication was devoted to an article signed "Carol Williams" declaring that the position of school secretary has through the years been "a Jewish-dominated position, as is everything else in the Board of Education."

Suall contended that since Miss Williams was not identified by anything but her name, the implication was that she spoke for the Forum editors and the ATA.

Besides, he added, "It's an organizational bulletin not a discussion magazine, not a newspaper, it's not Commentary magazine."

The Baltimore Jewish Times

March 17, 1972

(p.4)

SEPTEMBER 9, 1972

## Black, Jewish Ties

Barry Rudin, the respected civil rights and labor leader, talked broadly and bluntly to a group of Jews at the B'nai B'rith's 58th annual national convention about the growing threat to one of the nation's most significant coalitions—that which has existed among blacks, Jews and other minorities.

It is essential to the welfare of all these minorities that they do not remain too badly trapped in a network of limited duration, and allow themselves to go their separate ways.

Rudin was correct when he declared that "black anti-Semitism is one of the most exaggerated myths to surface in many years."

He went on to point out that "every poll taken demonstrates that blacks are less anti-Semitic than are other racial, ethnic or religious groups."

However, he observed that polls also show Jews to be more receptive to racial integration than any other group.

He then accurately summed up the situation by declaring: "Whatever mutual degree of anti-Semitism does exist pales by comparison to our numerous areas of agreement and cooperation."

It is true there have been some "crises in recent years, some of it

attributable to the rhetoric of separatism, and others of relatively small numbers; some of it due to fears on the part of Jews that their interests here and in Israel are not sufficiently appreciated.

We think that responsible people have spoken to the important issues in a way that should result in the lessening of frictions before our coalition becomes further estranged.

This political year will be a trying time for the outcome of an election should not be rated more important than traditional friendships and principles.

Neither the black nor Jewish minorities in this country have progressed to the point where either should feel safe to desert the other.

The clock moves forward or turns backwards as the majority group responds to the pressures of minorities that demand every right of the Constitution be granted every citizen.

We would like to suggest that blacks and Jews face no threat from one another that compares with the danger they invite by losing sight of the overriding necessity of their working together in an effective coalition.

### The Baltimore Afro-American

(p.4)

### Jewish Leader Hopeful

## Kaplan Urges Closeness Between Blacks And Jews

New York-Israelis were urged not to exaggerate the problem of black anti-Semitism by an American Jewish leader who is also the national president of the NAAACP.

Rivie Kaplan of Boston, a vice-chairman of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, said that "at meetings with Israeli leaders last week they made inflated statements regarding black anti-Semitism, the role blacks play in New York and other metropolitan school controversies and in inner city crime." He just returned from Israel where he represented the UAHC as part of the delegation of the President's Conference of American Jewish organizations.

Kaplan, who has been the 1st president of the NAAACP since 1966, reported to the UAHC Board of Trustees: "The time has come to place this in the proper context. Only a tiny minority of blacks are bearers of the cancer of anti-Semitism. The major reservoirs of anti-Semitism in this country are still white Christians."

He cited a recent study by the ADL which showed that blacks are less anti-Semitic than American white Christians and Jews are less anti-black than Americans generally. The Jewish leader further asserted that "the racial dimensions of both crime and the school problems in the U.S. were being misrepresented and inflated." He believed Israelis were "making a grave error in generalization" regarding blacks, since most blacks are favorable to Jews and Israel, and blacks represent a major public opinion resource for Israel.

Kaplan said that while black anti-Semitism may be growing, so is anti-black prejudice among Jews, and "both of these problems must be addressed and attacked." He felt that most blacks admire "Israel's tremendous record of achievement and help to African nations, but all blacks should not be blamed for the negative action of a small group. Every religious and ethnic grouping has its cancerous cells but that doesn't make the entire body sick."

Kaplan stated that he was proud of Israel's achievement in becoming the "18th country in the international listing of gross national products,"

observing "that's quite a record for a twenty-five year old country."

The Jewish lay activist has been a frequent visitor to Israel and works on behalf of numerous philanthropic causes. Thirty years ago he assisted in the formation of the American Christian Palestine Committee, headed by his late friend, Dr. Ralph Harlow.

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations represents the congregational body of Reform Judaism consisting of 710 synagogues in the United States and Canada with more than one million members.

The Baltimore Jewish Times

December 29, 1972

(p.14)

# ACROSS MY DESK

By Marjorie Furham

The historic alliance between blacks and Jews has been all but shattered with the anti-semitism manifested by militants out, what this writer believes to be a deliberate attempt to break up a combination of people fighting for survival.

There is little doubt that the aspirations of Jews in this country is similar to blacks. That Jews also wish to participate in the American American Dream that not only calls for success, but also acceptability.

In the forefront in the black fight for social justice and integration is a society called a melting pot has been the Jewish American leaders and the financial resources of America in that group. Now, we note, that few blacks have discouraged the

attacks upon Jews. In fact many blacks have joined those who would attack our brothers on the right who have given as much of themselves and their personal resources to aid us in the one sided fight.

But even though we have shown weakness Jews continue to fight in an effort to aid the black cause. A recent local example came from the Jewish Community Relations Council when they issued two statements. The first dispatch urged support for the African Famine Victims. The Jews are Humanitarians. The second dispatch supported the recent proposal to remove racial isolation in the Cincinnati Public School System. Further the resolution recognized some of the labor and weaknesses in the local

proposed in the following two supportive quotes: "... At this time we find it important to reaffirm our belief that integration is essential in pursuit of the goals of education," and additional steps be taken to achieve this aim. Jews understand the problem.

Thus the local Jewish community reaffirms its support of the black problems even though the support is along the classic lines of integration. This does not mean that the dynamics of racial integration are rejected, but it does mean that our brothers and friends have not abandoned us because of a few misguided big mouthed actions to pursue their own agendas at the expense of all of us.



Mrs. Furham

The Cincinnati Herald

September 8, 1973

(p.6)



(p. 21)

## The Status Of Black Jews

According to a Yeshiva University Talmudic scholar, blacks who consider themselves Jews solely by virtue of their heritage and deportment should not, with one possible exception, be recognized as Jews under Jewish law, although those who have converted according to Jewish traditions should be accepted into the community without discrimination.

"Judaism is color blind; skin pigmentation is unknown as a *halakic* concept," writes Rabbi J. David Bleich, on the Talmudic faculty of the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, an affiliate of Yeshiva University, and assistant professor of philosophy at the University's Stern College for Women. His article, entitled "Black Jews: A Halakic Perspective," appears in a recent issue of *Tradition*, published by the Rabbinical Council of America.

"The question of recognition of Black Jews as members of the Jewish community . . . is simply one instance of the much broader question 'Who is a Jew?'" Rabbi Bleich states.

Black Jews — black groups and individuals who claim to be Jewish by virtue of genealogy or conversion — have been an historic recurrence. They range from a community of Ethiopian blacks whose reference in Western literature dates from the ninth century, to slaves who identified with the Children of Israel, to a variety of religious

sects in the 20th century who claim to be the only true descendants of the early Jews, Rabbi Bleich writes.

Of the groups and individuals claiming to be Jews, Rabbi Bleich reports that the only ones who have a fairly well substantiated claim to Jewish ancestry (and who have been accepted without conversion by some rabbinic authorities) are the Falashas, the Black Jews of Ethiopia. They are said to be descended from the tribe of Dan and have been recognized by many renowned rabbis and scholars throughout the ages as being Jewish, according to Rabbi Bleich.

Except for the Falashas, Dr. Bleich says, all contemporary sects of Black Jews are known to have been descended from gentiles, and thus the "Jewishness of such groups is of fairly recent origin" and any claims that they are descended from the lost tribes "must be dismissed as sheer fabrication."

If a person claims Jewish identity by virtue of conversion rather than through direct ancestry and is unable to provide witnesses who could testify to his conversion, his behavior must be such as to substantiate that claim, Rabbi Bleich said. This would include observance of all rituals and practices of Judaism and his recognition by the entire community as a convert, he said. Rabbi Bleich maintains that with the exception of "a small number of individuals who have been formally converted to Judaism in recent years and who have been recognized without reservation as

(p. 22)

## Observations

*Continued from preceding page*

righteous converts, those claiming to be "Black Jews" fail to meet one or more of these tests."

The appeal of Judaism to blacks during this and the last century is explained, according to Rabbi Bleich, by the "Old Testament accounts of the persecution and election of the people of Israel, a ready appeal to an enslaved people. Recently, emancipated Negroes saw a commonality of experience and anticipation between themselves and the Israelites of the Bible."

When a Black Jew has converted, he must be treated the same as a native-born Jew, as must any proselyte, Rabbi Bleich reports. "The Torah expressly forbids any type of discrimination whatsoever. Any form of prejudice, whether expressed in word or deed, constitutes a violation of this precept. The Torah does not countenance discrimination against converts, nor does it tolerate discrimination among righteous proselytes on the basis of color," he said.

The Baltimore Jewish Times

August 6, 1976

# BLACKS & JEWS AT UMBC

BY MARC SILVER  
Associate Editor



Jewish Times Photo David Pines

**T**he up-and-down nature of black-Jewish relations in the 1970's was illustrated in microcosm on the Baltimore County campus of the University of Maryland this month. A clumsily anti-Semitic article called "Blacks and Jews," tucked away inside the April edition of the school's Black Student Union paper, touched off an often murky campus debate that brought out both the best and worst of human nature. To some observers the episode proves that religious blacks and whites, specifically Jews in this case, are deeply alienated; others saw in it the spark of future dialogue which could wipe away existing prejudices and misconceptions.

The University of Maryland, Baltimore County (UMBC) is a relatively new school, about 10 years old, in the Catonsville area. Approximately 5,000 students attend; roughly 20 percent are black and 20 percent are Jewish. It is primarily a commuter campus, meaning that there isn't a strong sense of a campus community. After finishing classes for the day, most students gather up their books and head for home.

The UMBC Black Student Union published a paper called *Voices of the Fall*, which is around seven years old and comes out monthly during the fall and spring semesters. Funded by the Student Government Association, *Voices* prints between 800 and 1,000 copies of each issue, enough for the school's black students; in the greater campus community, the journal is fairly obscure. Even the Chancellor of UMBC, John Dancy, admits that "until I started getting phone calls about the article on blacks and Jews, I'd never hear of it."

The article in question appeared in the April, 1976 edition of *Voices*. Featured on the issue's front page are articles headlined "Carter's Disappointment With Blacks in Ohio" and "Return To Babylon." Page three contains a blistering attack on Arab conspiracies that "discriminate" against blacks and encourage their "poor African brothers or friends" for oil. On page 11 there are two "Blacks and Jews." Written by Winston Collins, about whom no biographical information is supplied, the article begins on a note of understatement: "The rela-

tionship of Jews and blacks is a very delicate issue." From there, Mr. Collins launches into a loosely structured diatribe which paints Jews to be racist, power-mad, money-loungers, and two-faced. "Jews have manipulated blacks against non-Jewish whites and vice versa" going back 300 years, Mr. Collins writes, claiming that the Jews "discovered" the African slave trade and the Christians who expelled the Jews from Spain and France. Not only have blacks fallen prey to the schemes of Jews, Mr. Collins continues, but "Jews have gained economic, political, and psychological control over the non-Jewish masses by first labeling groups of people as anti-Semitic (sic). That term is said to have originated at the time of Hitler's 'populist control policies.' By crying 'anti-Semite', Mr. Collins claims, Jews had a justification for fighting discrimination, turning the Zionist movement, and conquering 'a previously occupied territory that they would later call their homeland, Israel.' The names of the Jews sources are revealed in *The Jewish Pioneer* (sic), Mr. Collins says, describing the book as "a col-

(Cont. on p.45)

# The Baltimore Jewish Times

May 26, 1978 (p.45)

action of meetings held and written by Jews." The book in question is in fact called *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the traditional description assumed it, as worded by Vladimir Lury Dewidowicz, is "an implausible forgery concocted by the (Russian) czarist secret police at the turn of the century... to disclose the secret plans of the so-called international Jewish conspiracy for world domination." According to Mr. Collins, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* explains how the Jews conspire to pick their own candidate for United States president, take charge of him as if he's a puppet once he's in office, and discard him if he is naughty. As an example, Mr. Collins accurately cites "Nixon and Watergate." No elucidation of this example is provided, nor is any other source book mentioned in the article.

Mr. Collins broadly hints that President Carter is under the Jewish thumb and therefore cannot "take up a major stand against Israel." Israel is accused for victimizing "thousands upon thousands of black Israelis" and Mr. Collins links the Jewish state to the racist regimes of South Africa with a curious succession of statements: "Blacks as well as whites in this country support the South African government by investing money into Jewish owned banks. These banks invest their money into South African industries. Israel is one of the major exporters of diamonds in the world yet there are no diamonds mined in Israel. The triangular capitalistic monopoly of the U.S., South Africa and Israel reveals the real power of the Jews." It is one of several instances of fuzzy logic and/or writing in the article which includes this unfathomable sentence: "However the major contribution is, while they (the Jews) are supporting blacks, assimilation/integration programs, they have never assimilated or culturally integrated into this society."

Further, Jews who have publicly supported the black struggle for civil rights do so in order to "gain and reap the benefits while blacks steadily suffer the policies of racism," Mr. Collins believes. In conclusion, he calls for an exploration of black-Jewish relations. To his mind, the exploration will surely turn up evidence of Jewish cunning and cruelty. "It is time to 'Point the Finger' and question the policies of the Jews," he asserts. "Blacks in this country must wake up and become critically aware of the people who call themselves our friends, the Jews."

**W**hen the April edition of *Voices* was distributed on campus, Mr. Collins' article catapulted the journal from obscurity to notoriety. Jewish students were most affected by the piece. "My first reaction was that I wanted to throw it out," recalled Janet Michael, the outgoing president of UMBC's Jewish Student Association. "I was surprised that someone had printed an article like this," commented sophomore Rosalyn Kurland. "Surprised and shocked." At the other end of the spectrum, outgoing Student Government Association vice president Jeff Silver said, "I just kept my cool. It's the only way to handle it. But a lot of Jewish students were revolted."

As president of the JSA, Janet Michael was faced with the task of formulating a Jewish student response. She telephoned several local Jewish leaders for advice. One told her "Don't do anything. It doesn't deserve an answer. He wouldn't even pass English 100 with that." Another leader suggested writing a letter to the UMBC student newspaper, the *Reviver*, condemning the article without getting entangled in a point for point rebuttal. The May 18 issue of the *Reviver* ran Ms. Michael's letter, which read in part:

"This is exactly the kind of hate liter-

ature circulated on university campuses in Nazi Germany in the 1930's to justify persecution of Jews and is also the kind of literature found in the Soviet Union to justify oppression of Jews. This should not be tolerated anywhere, especially on a university campus."

"It is a tragedy that hate literature such as this can surface so easily in a state supported university. It is also a tragedy that minds can be so twisted as to produce such hate literature. It will be a further tragedy if rational and progressive human beings will not condemn this outright as HATE LITERATURE."

The paper also printed a news story on the article, quoting various student leaders and faculty members. Dr. Louis Canori, an associate professor of political science, told the *Reviver*, "It is a very immature and juvenile article, from an intellectual standpoint. The author is not in command of the facts by either footnotes or statements in the article. At a minimum, the editor of this journal has an apology to make to the Jewish community." History professor Norman Levine referred to the article as "a racist document which runs right down the Hitlerian line." History instructor Hadassah Gordon, whose specialty is Jewish history, refused Mr. Collins' charges that the Jews have systematically exploited blacks for 500 years. Up until the 20th century, she said, "most Jews were from Eastern Europe, where there were no blacks."

the Student Senate dealing with articles of the genre of "Blacks and Jews" rather than the article itself. The bill asked that "all future articles appearing in University of Maryland Baltimore County Student Government Association-funded publications clearly expressing one person's opinion wherein no attempt is made to verify facts, must appear on pages clearly marked *Letters to the Editor*." Violation of this position would result in "the editors of the offending publication to be liable for reprimand by the judicial branch of the Student Government Association."

Before the meeting got underway, no one really knew what would happen. Having listened to racist remarks from some Jewish acquaintances, Janet Michael was afraid violence would erupt, a feeling shared by other Jewish and black students. Acting dean of faculty Lawrence Lasher went partly because he thought "there might be problems." The Baltimore Jewish Council had offered to come and assist in whatever way it could, but the Jewish students opted to go it alone.

There were large contingents from UMBC's black and Jewish student body at the meeting. Early discussions were "intense," one student representative said. Black students labelled the proposed bill a form of censorship. When the time came to take a vote on the bill, six black senators walked out of the meeting. Without them, there was no quorum and no vote could be

## A classically anti-Semitic article in a black student paper touched off an often stormy campus debate that brought out the best and worst of human emotions.

Outgoing SGA president Lisa Dickerson, who is black, is quoted as saying, "The article isn't my view." Ms. Dickerson added that Jews and blacks have worked together on campus activities. Janet Michael has this comment in the story: "I have nothing against opinions except when someone tries to pass them off as fact." Defending the article itself was its author, Winston Collins, and defending the right of *Voices* to print it were several black student leaders. Black Student Union chairman Les Ransom deemed the article "one person's view" and wondered by the Black Student Union or *Voices* should repudiate it when racist articles about blacks haven't been repudiated by the white media.

Finally, the *Reviver* ran an editorial about "Blacks and Jews," headlined "Propaganda Does Not Belong On Campus." The editorial quoted a Holocaust survivor as saying "If you tell a lie often enough, people think it is the truth" and went on to lament that a "supposedly well-educated person" could write an anti-Semitic article. The editor of *Voices* was accused for allowing the article to be run without "attributions or footnotes." A publicly-funded organization should not spread prejudice, the *Reviver* stated. It then noted the irony of Mr. Collins' philosophical agreement with the American Nazi Party about Jews when his color would keep him from joining the group.

**A** week later, on May 15th, the first and only public consideration of the article took place. Jewish students had been meeting over different approaches to the situation and eventually decided to submit a bill to

taken. A closed door caucus followed, the Jewish students withdrew their bill and instead agreed to file a complaint about the article through the campus judicial system. The meeting lasted four hours.

Virtually everyone who attended was pleased that the issue had been handled peacefully. Dean Lasher said: "I saw Jewish and black kids who felt very strongly about what was going on but managed to maintain a level of civility that surprised me. There had been a meeting of the minds. The students had come to resolve this. I came out feeling better than when I went in."

"I believe it was healthy," Jeff Silver commented. "There was a lot of heat blown off." A positive exchange grew out of the meeting, said Les Ransom. "There are always some tensions between blacks and whites because there are tensions in society. Somebody can ignite them at any time. I think the whole thing was confused by people who pushed the issue. They said, 'Did you see what the Black Student Union position is about Jews, not what Winston Collins' position is. If you feel strongly about something, all you have to do is write another article and rebut it. We don't have any problems with that.' Mr. Ransom didn't see the need for an apology from *Voices*. It is an 'editorial' newspaper, he said, and this category allows for the publishing of diverse opinions. However, *Voices* did not specify anywhere in its April edition that it was a journal of opinion or that Mr. Collins' article was, as so many people said, "one man's opinion."

Quentin Watkins, chairman-elect of the Black Student Union, thought that the meeting was "a fine example for the rest of the world. We didn't have to have people come in from the outside to help us. It acro-

(Cont.  
on p.46)



# The Baltimore Jewish Times May 26, 1978

good health, good education, and good jobs." His advice to Winston Collins was: "Don't be taken in by the Three M's: mislead, miseducation and misuse."

**A**n article in the May 15th edition of *The Chronicle of Higher Education* probed black-white relations at universities and found that "racial disharmony and a simmering discontent are seldom far from the surface on predominantly white U.S. campuses." Does the article "Blacks and Jews" back up this assertion? Random interviews with black students produced a wide range of reactions to both Mr. Collins' opinions and the overall state of black-white relations at the school.

To Kim Everett, who was sunning herself by the campus pond, the *Times* article was "full of opinions that were put out as facts. But if you know it's not the truth, don't worry about it." She felt that it shouldn't have been printed unless it could have been better documented. A companion said it was "real biased and a waste of time to read." Ms. Everett went on to comment that black and white students at UMBC "co-exist in a physical area and interact in the academic arena but 'just to sit down and talk, you don't do that'."

In the Student Union television lounge, one student at a table of four said, "I think the article was true. The Jews have manipulated blacks over the years." A young woman at the table gave him a cross look and said, "I disagree with it totally. I feel to a certain extent, Jews have been in the same boat as we have." A third student interjected, "But I think the article was over publicized. People made fools out of themselves. They shouldn't have made that big an issue out of it."

## One student said, 'I agree with the article — Jews do manipulate blacks.' His companion disagreed.

A young man standing outside chatting with a friend said he didn't think the charges about Jewish manipulation of blacks were true. "I can't say that Jews are out to oppress blacks," he noted. "But in my neighborhood, there have been Jewish merchants that get a lot of money out of the community and don't put any money back in. The Jewish merchants, that's the big emphasis." (Actually, Mr. Collins' article did not once mention Jewish merchants or land-lords, focusing on grander cases of exploitation and oppression.) The young man went on to say that "You can't put all Jews in one category. Jews are just like everybody else. Some are good and some are bad."

What do the two young men most responsible for "Blacks and Jews", its author and the editor of *Times*, have to say about the article and the controversy it provoked? Winston Collins, interviewed on campus, is not at all contrite, nor is *Times* editor Bobby Moulden.

Mr. Collins is not the "angry young man" one might imagine him to be judging from his rhetoric. A likeable young man, he has a pleasant demeanor and a winning smile. Asked about the article, he said he wrote it to alert blacks to the true nature of Jews, who are "possibly" out to take over the world. Mr. Collins is an ancient history major; his article was adapted from a term paper he wrote several semesters ago. One of his sources was a magazine called *Black Book Bulletin*, which devoted an issue to the topic "Blacks and Jews" this past winter. (See box.) He stands by what he wrote and if he could change the article now, he would try to improve the writing style only. Despite

his charges that Jews are racist and power-hungry, he does not think of himself as an anti-Semite. "I have a lot of friends who are Jewish," he said with a grin, "but I don't know if they're my friends now."

Mr. Collins' use of the phrase "population control policies" as a euphemism for the Nazi's systematic murder of 13 million individuals, six million of them Jews, was one of the main targets of Jewish anger. "I didn't put that phrase in the article," Mr. Collins said, "I think my editor did." During a telephone interview, Bobby Moulden acknowledged that "I might have put it in. I thought it was safe." Pressed to explain that statement, he noted that no one is perturbed by the murder of "25 million black people when slave trade was going on, so if you all want to kill each other..." Listing sources for the article never occurred to Mr. Moulden, who is a history major. "I never knew it was a policy to document sources in a newspaper," he said, "but it seems all of a sudden people want to know that." Before the article was printed, he thought there would be a reaction to it from Jewish students. The eventual scope of the reaction struck him as being "a little too emotional" and black people are always accused of being highly emotional. "If someone prints something about you and you think it's bullshit, why get upset about it? Why even get defensive?"

Mr. Moulden himself doesn't regard the article as nonsense. Jews control the "media" in America and campus life at UMBC, he asserted, although like Mr. Collins he says he is not an anti-Semite and doesn't hate Jews. In retrospect, he only wishes the article had been longer. He has little patience for complaints that the so-called facts in the article are distortions of the truth. "What is a fact?" he asked. "Something two people agree on." *Times* would print a rebuttal, he added, but only if submitted by a black student since it is a black publication. He sounded like he is relishing the attention the article has received and said he is compiling a scrapbook of articles written about *Times*. "And I wish someone from the Jewish Student Association would thank me," he remarked sarcastically. "No one ever heard of their organization before the article came out. Give credit where credit is due."

**C**hancellor Dorsey wasn't especially fazed by the incident. "It's just one of my spring problems, along with promotion and tenure," he said. "I'm glad to see spring come and go. People get crazy then." As the spring semester has come to an end, there won't be an immediate follow-up to the issues raised by "Blacks and Jews". Plans are for the matter to be taken to the school judicial system when fall semester begins, and the Black Student Union and Jewish Student Association hope to hold joint rap sessions in order to continue the dialogue that was a result of the article. It will be interesting to see if the intervening three months of summer vacation will make the matter a dead issue or whether students will care enough to pursue it further this September.

This past Tuesday, May 23rd, UMBC faculty member Dr. Elliot Shimoof introduced a resolution to the UMBC Senate condemning the publication of the article "Blacks and Jews." The Senate, which is made up primarily of faculty but also has some student representatives, discussed the resolution before voting on it. Some said they hadn't read the article yet, some felt the Senate shouldn't censure publications and shouldn't interfere with student affairs. When a voice vote was taken, the resolution failed to pass.

(p.47)



## Coretta Scott King Declares Blacks, Jews Natural Allies

By George Miner

(Editor's Note: The following story was originally published in the Cleveland Jewish News)

It is cruel to tell Blacks to "kiss yourself up by your bootstraps," Coretta Scott King told an audience of several hundred who had gathered at Cleveland's Fairmount Temple on Yom Kippur afternoon for a special social action program.

The widow of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. declared, "There is a tendency to compare the Jewish experience with the Black experience, but it is important to understand there is a difference in terms of the advantages that you as Jewish people have had that Blacks did not have and do not have."

Though persecuted, Jews were able to maintain and transmit their heritage. Not so with Blacks. She reminded the audience that Blacks were forcibly taken from their African tribes and brought to an alien land as slaves. Families were broken up and tribal languages disappeared.

Jews, as well as other white immigrant groups, could easily assimilate and were given a chance to establish themselves in business, to become educated and to receive land grants. When Blacks were finally freed it was to a life of poverty and ignorance.

Throughout her talk, Mrs. King stressed that Blacks and Jews have much in common and are natural allies. "We have a basis for understanding in that we both have suffered," she remarked.

She added that the two groups have had a common

history of oppression and must therefore work together in a common struggle. What affects one group affects the other indirectly.

**'Civil Rights Partners'**  
She pointed out to the audience that the civil rights movement could not have been successful without allies in the Jewish and other white communities who joined Blacks in their civil rights marches, gave moral support and financial contributions.

Does she see any lessening of Jewish support in recent years due to Black anti-Semitism and a turning inward of the Jewish community? The Black leader replied, "There is a tendency for Jews to become preoccupied with their own problems, but there are good reasons why this may be."

She continued that in urban centers Blacks have suffered exploitation from white merchants, many of whom are Jewish, and have lashed out at them.

This may seem like Black anti-Semitism, but actually it is an attack on white oppression. She added, "There is a greater need for communication and understanding of the problem and who is the common enemy so that we don't lash out at our potential allies."

**Common Effort Needed**  
Mrs. King called for an effort to educate people in

both white and black communities to understand what the problems are and how they can be solved by working together in a common effort. She asserted that Blacks don't want "missionary work" any longer, but want to work in equal partnership with whites.

The attractive civil rights leader talked at length about the work of Martin Luther King Center for Social Change in Atlanta, which is dedicated to bringing about the fulfillment of the dream of the late Martin Luther King, Jr. Coretta Scott King is president of the organization.

High on the group's agenda is the solving of the problem of economic injustice. The group has formed coalitions to lobby for the passage of the Humphrey-Hawkins Bill, which is committed to a full employment policy.

In Mrs. King's view, it would be a major step forward in assuring all Americans a chance to earn a decent living with decent wages and under decent working conditions.

With religious fervor she declared, "The God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob is here today and will deliver us if we will but submit our will to His. Then we can have the kind of America and the kind of world that we dream of for our children and their children's children and generations yet unborn."

The Cincinnati Herald

November 4, 1978

(p.5)

# **Blacks And Jews**

Dear Sir:

I view with dismay the appalling clamor within the Black community caused by its leaders in scrambling to board the bandwagon of anti-Zionism (code word for anti-Semitism). I can understand the exploitation of anti-Semitism for political purposes. That's not new. What is disturbing are the Jewish Uncle Toms who see in the events of these past few weeks not a threat to the survival of Israel, but rather, a threat to their role as brokers between the Jewish and Black communities.

Instead of raising such issues as, for example, why the Department of Health, Education and Welfare should not meet with the Ku Klux Klan on civil rights, or where is the Black community's sense of justice, they stand with hat in hand deploring the possibility that recent events will move the Jewish community to the ideological right. Isn't it sad that our "professional" Jews who stake their thirst at the trough of Jewish philanthropy and whose allegiance to the Jewish community does not extend beyond their job descriptions should presume to warn the Jewish community against responding to the abuse and scorn that Andrew Young has unleashed.

It is time now for Jews who are not ashamed of being Jews to speak up. If we leave that chore to our "professional" Jews, the job will not be done. Somehow, in critical times, concerned Jews have thrown off the shackles of organizational hierarchy, drowned out our "professional" apologists and made their voi-

ces heard. I hope this happens again. Soon.

Elias C. Elkin  
Bethesda.

The Baltimore Jewish Times

August 31, 1979

(p.7)



The Baltimore Jewish Times September 14, 1979

psychology of anti-Semitism, the way it functions in society, and the nature of the threat to the Jews are in certain respects unique.

Unlike racism, anti-Semitism does not necessarily involve straight-forward economic subjugation. Historically, Jews' distinctive class and cultural patterns, their visibility as representatives or symbols of authority (from the Harlem storekeeper on up the class ladder, but rarely at the very top), and their reputation as hustlers, achievers, intellectuals, and social activists have been the basis of anti-Semitic stereotypes used to justify attacks on Jews. Jews are simultaneously perceived as insiders and outsiders, capitalists and communists, upholders of high ethical and intellectual standards and shrewd purveyors of poisonous subversive ideas.

The common theme of these disparate perceptions is that Jews have enormous power, whether to defend established authority or to undermine it. It is this double-edged myth of Jewish power that has made Jews such a useful all-purpose scapegoat for social discontent.

Just as the idealization of femininity is inseparable from male resentment of women, anti-Semitism is two-faced. It includes admiration of Jewish achievements, the idea that Jews are morally superior, guilt, and identification with the Jew-as-victim. The complementary attitudes inevitably follow: envy; the conviction that Jews are too powerful; a combination of special outrage and covert gloating whenever Jews are revealed to be, alas, morally imperfect; check out the reaction to any Jew judged guilty of unsavory behavior, from Bernard Bergman to Menachem Begin; resentment at having to feel guilty about the Jews, it was 35 years ago, after all, a mixture of self-congratulation and defensiveness at daring to criticize Jews; anger at Jews who refuse to act like victims. Vanessa Redgrave exemplifies a mentality that has flourished ever since 1967, when Israel became the prime metaphor for the powerful Jew; she hates Bad Jews — Zionists — and loves Good Jews — victims, preferably dead. But the power of Jews as emotional symbols would mean little if they were not hugely outnumbered and so, in reality, powerless. It is the combination that makes anti-Semitism so appealing: to kill a gnat, imagining it's an elephant, is to feel powerful indeed.

I think people's feelings about Jews are largely unconscious, that discrimination and outbreaks of anti-Jewish persecution are only the most obvious symptoms of a chronic social disease that exists mainly under the surface. That is why anti-Semitism flares up so readily in times of social crisis; it is why Jews feel permanently insecure; it accounts for the gap in communication between Jews who feel that gentiles are oblivious to the threat of anti-Semitism and gentiles who think that Jews are always looking for anti-Semites under the bed.

Anti-Semitism involves dark impulses that most people would rather not recognize in themselves, impulses connected with our deepest guilts and anxieties. Even people

who are sophisticated about the politics of race and sex tend to cling to a simplistic view of anti-Semitism as plain old discrimination, punctuated from time to time with persecution by evil lunatics — in either case, nothing to do with them. There is enormous resistance, even among Jews, to analyzing anti-Semitism as a serious, on-going social force, or to recognizing the anti-Jewish subtext in superficially reasonable political arguments. A lot of Jewish alienation has to do with the subterranean character of anti-Semitism. Suppose your friends and colleagues were always having fits of selective amnesia, during which they insisted that what you clearly remembered was your imagination. Eventually you would begin to question your reality: What's going on? Am I crazy? Is she doing this to me on purpose? By means of a similar process, Jewish "paranoia" about anti-Semitism often becomes paranoia in fact.

(p.46)

**B**lack people who scapegoat Jews for white racism and exaggerate Jewish power are collaborating in a familiar and scary game. That black leaders should blame Jews for Andy Young's resignation is not surprising, but the evidence doesn't bear them out. Jews, who can add two and two like anyone else, could not fail to note that Young's meeting with Zehdi Terzi was consistent with the noises the administration has been making for some months. It is Carter's policy Jews care about, not Young — a point Jewish spokespeople have taken care to emphasize. If Carter starts talking to the PLO, Young's dismissal won't gain him any Jewish support; if he doesn't, Young's retention wouldn't have lost him any.

**If the United States decides to abandon Israel, do Jews have the power to prevent a change in policy?**

Behind the furor over Young lurks the larger issue of how relations between Jews and blacks, Jews and gentiles, blacks and whites affect and are affected by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Some draw clear battle lines: Jews, white racists, and imperialists for Israel; blacks for the Palestinians, as victims of racist colonialism. But they leave something important out of this picture — or cartoon — of reality, and that something is anti-Semitism, a semantically unfortunate term since Arabs are also Semites. Middle East politics would be a lot less confusing and agonizing if anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism were, as so many people want to believe, entirely separate issues. Which is to say that things would be a lot simpler if the Israelis weren't Jews.

But if anti-Semitism is, as I have argued, a systemic and pervasive pathology endemic to Christian and Islamic cultures (and, I would imagine, easily communicable to any patriarchy), then anti-Semitism is as much a factor in the Middle East as oil.

(Cont. on p.47)

# The Baltimore Jewish Times

September 14,

1979

(p.47)



the military importance of the region, the Palestinian demand for a homeland, and anti-Arab racism. Anti-Semitism is so central or potential influence on the conduct of the United States, the Soviet Union, Europe, the United Nations, the Arab countries, and the Palestinians themselves. Over anti-Semitism has never been as widespread or severe in the Islamic world as in the Christian West, but since World War II the Arabs have been using explicitly anti-Jewish propaganda, borrowed from Europe, as a weapon against Israel. Fear of proclonal anti-Semitism is a determining influence on Israeli policy far more decisive, I believe, than expansionism, racism, or the fanaticism of religious nationalists. Without anti-Semitism, there would still be a power struggle between the West and the Third World, but the Israeli-Palestinian conflict would not exist, since there would be no political Zionism and no Jewish state.

**If there is a resurgence of anti-Semitism in this country, do Jews have the power to quell it and insure their survival?**

Anti-Zionism, in the modern political sense, is the argument that a Jewish state in Palestine inherently violates the rights of the Palestinian people. It regards Zionism as a racist, imperialist movement in which the European Jewish bourgeoisie (Jewish power, against) acted in concert with the colonial powers to displace the indigenous Arabs, furthering white Western domination of the Middle East. It assumes that religious belief is the movement's ideological rationale, and so the PLO calls for the abolition of the Israeli state in favor of a "democratic, secular" Palestine.

The essential problem with this argument is that it ignores or denies the reality of the Jewish condition. First of all, in part around the fact that the Jews also have

historical ties to Palestine, that they are not simply aliens and interlopers, anti-Zionists tend to define Jewishness purely in terms of religion, and dismiss as mythological the idea that Jews spread the world are one people. But Jews have always regarded themselves, and been regarded by others, as an organic entity in some sense a nation: a traditional excuse for anti-Semitism has been that Jews have divided loyalties. Nor is political Zionism basically a religious movement. Orthodox Jews who believe in the Biblical prophecies are Zionists by definition, but they did not conceive of Zion in political terms — indeed, many opposed the establishment of a Jewish state as sacrilegious. The movement for statehood came from "assimilated" Jews who believed that Jews would always be oppressed so long as they were homeless and forced into marginality in gentile societies.

Zionism is a national liberation movement, and despite the rise of religious nationalism and a powerful religious establishment that, like the Catholic Church elsewhere, has imposed some religious laws on unwilling subjects, Israel is essentially a secular state.

As for the charge that Zionism is an imperious job, it does not apply equally to all Jews, but makes Zionists and the Palestinians have always been tense and suspicious they have served each other's needs are very different. And the Jews who settled in Palestine after World War II were neither anti-Semitic capitalists nor Zionist ideologues; they were transplanted refugees who were sometimes impoverished. Some years ago I asked a woman who supported the PLO if she thought Jews had no right to national aspirations. She said she assured me, as long as their nation wasn't on someone else's back. Which are we to muting about possibilities. The Chavim Dine? The American Jewish League? Imagine what would have happened if the Zionists had accepted Britain's offer of a homeland in Uganda.

Another difficulty with the idea that

(Cont. on p.48)



My guess is that none of my readers have no quarrel with this last point. Most of us have been conditioned by the Zionist thinking predominance in Israel of the world, but there it has been mostly confined to the secularist left. Nearly everyone agrees, in principle, on Israel's right to exist. We feel that non-Jews in America—particularly my peers, middle-class liberals—suffer from the misperception of "antisemitism" and make the misperception of "antisemitism" do their own rather serious work of making the Jews disappear. In theory, they acknowledge that Jews are oppressed in practice, they are Israel as a powerful nation, but they bustle up on the bathroom. They

**Why should they trust the United States, when no country has ever proved trustworthy in its dealings with Jews?**

ture that Israeli chauvinism, expansionism, and refusal to admit the justice of its position, and the Palestinian cause are primarily, or exclusively, to blame for provoking a settlement. But a two-state compromise can work only if the international community supports and enforces it, and the international atmosphere is overwhelmingly hostile to Israel. Most consider this overwhelmingly hostile to all of Palestine. If it weren't for the United States, Israel would be long gone. And now American support is eroding.

In this situation, the Israelis are damned if they do and damned if they don't. If they resist a Palestinian state they can be condemned as oppressors and racist colonialists, and give their only major electorates and give their only major international supporters a good reason for withdrawing support. If they agree, the Palestinians with their own state as a base will be in an inhibitory better position to pursue their claim to what they deeply believe is theirs, and the Israelis have no good reason to believe that anyone will lift a finger to defend them. It is any wonder that they resist what has gone to black.

like suicide by installments? Why should they trust the FLD to accept a state as more than a temporary expedient?

Why should they trust the United States, when no country has ever proved trustworthy in its dealings with them? The American ruling class is profound in its anti-

In this situation, the Israelis are damned if they do, and damned if they don't.

So, what is the role of the international community in the Middle East? It is not to impose a solution on the people of the region, but to create the conditions for a negotiated settlement. The international community must be willing to provide a haven for Jewish refugees during World War II, or "never" for the Palestinians. It must also be willing to condemn the Arab leadership, simply because it is a "balanced view". It is not only the Jewish people who are suffering from the current Israeli government's policy, including its relations with Palestinian refugees, but also the Arab people who are suffering from its inaction in the face of the situation in the West Bank. It will be the reason for being that at least I can't imagine a situation where the Arab people are so desperate that they are at all at risk, as understood — no — above the business deal, say, to bail out the morality and would option. World opinion seems to be ailing for the Jews."

The lenses are in the classic Jewish



bind. To the Palestinians and the Third World, they are white oppressors, but to their fellow white opponents they are Jews. If they are outrageous for the West, it is largely in having to pay for Western sins. For once, the West may end up paying as well. But no matter whose side history is on, Jews have always been expendable. And so long as we're responsible, to talk of Jewish power is absurd. ■

Excerpted with permission from *The Village*  
 Mary, copyright 1978 New Crown Publishers  
 Inc.

The Baltimore Jewish Times

September 14, 1979

(p. 48)

## Dayan off target

McCOLL, S.C. — Israel's Moshe Dayan says that we blacks are too ignorant to know how to fight. We think he has his people mixed up. It was not us who sat quietly awaiting the holocaust and, when it came, marched without resistance to the concentration camps and execution. Mr. Dayan should be told that ignorance is making insulting statements about people he knows nothing about. We blacks have fought in every war that this country has ever been involved in, even those before the Emancipation. We have been cited for bravery in every one of them, from Lexington to Vietnam. The black soldier has always been there.

We have no idea why Mr. Dayan made a statement like that — a statement that is both a lie and an insult. We can only attribute it to what he charges us with.

If he does not realize that the black man and the Jews have the same enemies and that those who are planning the destruction of one also plan the destruction of the other, he is dumb.

Maybe, but maybe, he hopes that by insulting the blacks, he can win the friendship of the "new right" that seems to be gathering strength. He may have forgotten that the "new right" is just as anti-Jewish as they are anti-black.

THOMAS C. McNEIL

The Baltimore Afro-American

November 29, 1980

(p.4)

(p.18)

## JEWISH ATTITUDES TOWARDS BLACKS

A recent conference here on the subject raised more questions than answers.

BY GARY ROSENBLATT

Editor

The first thing one noticed when arriving at a recent conference here taking up the question of Jewish attitudes toward blacks was that there were no blacks present.

The setting was the Baltimore Hebrew College auditorium and the four-hour program, co-sponsored by the local American Jewish Committee and the Baltimore Jewish Council, drew about a hundred people. The sponsors explained that blacks had not been invited because "we wanted an opportunity to conduct a forum where people in the Jewish community could hold an established, frank discussion — where we could really let our hair down."

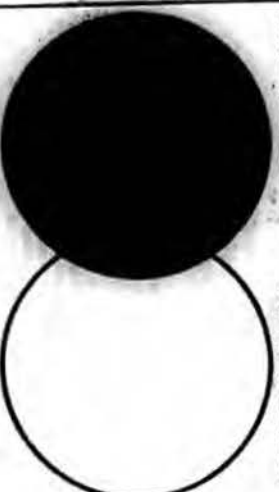
But judging from the questions that followed, there was little hair to let down. The talk speakers varied from Jewish converts to questioning ones, but no one came out and said, for instance, that quotas are a bad idea.

garment industry's exploitation of immigrant workers. "We don't like to dwell on these facts because they're painful," he said. "When others point them out, they may not be anti-Semitic, but accurate. It all depends on how they express it."

Baltimore cited statements, for example, that ranged from the blatantly racist (from Sen. Strom Thurmond and Dr. William Shockley), to Jews referring to blacks as "niggers," to statements critical of blacks from Rev. Jesse Jackson and a Harlem community leader. His point was that statements cannot be assumed in a vacuum. They do not stand alone.

It's one thing for black psychologists Kenneth Clark to say that lowered standards are a conceivable form of racism, and quite another thing for a white to say the same thing. And is one who disagrees with Clark a racist?

"I must think out our real feel-



Samuel Babione, who heads the American Jewish Committee's national discrimination division, put the proceedings off to a preliminary start by setting "some guidelines and raising a number of thought-provoking questions in his address. He noted that people tend to have two standards, a strict one for outsiders and a far more lenient one for members of their own group."

"This double standard is a form of racism and it's at the heart of the issue," he said. "Not all critics of Jews are anti-Semitic and not all critics of blacks in racism. Much depends on the rights and the context in which a given statement is expressed."

Babione noted that Jews were arriving in New York's morning newspapers and the Los Angeles

lags toward blacks," Babione said. "It is critical to be patronizing or condescending to them? And so, I am suggesting, how should we respond to the hostility we find toward blacks among our fellow Jews and our own rabbis?"

Unfortunately, these questions were never dealt with directly. The next part of the program featured question-and-answer sessions to the Baltimore talk from three local Jewish leaders. One was Shalom, a local attorney and former president of both the local American Jewish Committee and the Baltimore Jewish Council.

He began by saying he planned to share his "ambivalence" with the audience. He sought to distinguish

(p.19)

between racism and what he calls "areas of racial tension," such as economy, education and affirmative action.

He told of his meeting with a group of young Israeli students visiting Baltimore recently and how, in conversation with them, he was struck by some of the at least superficial parallels between affirmative action in this country and the establishment of the State of Israel. While emphasizing that he was not equating the two, he pointed out that Israel was created to rid a people's wrong on an international basis through an act that had some negative effects on other people — as affirmative action programs have for blacks in America.

"I'm not rationalizing this," Shalom cautioned. "There are parallels and we as Jews ought to 'lean up about our feelings.'"

Conrad Karkut, the executive director of the Jewish Day School and Big Sister League, spoke from a social worker's perspective and suggested that black anti-Jewish sentiments "can be attributed more to the struggle between the powerful and the powerless than to anti-Semitism. The more powerful we get," he said, "the more we identify with the powerful and become racist. Our responsibility is not yet caught up with this."

Babbi Henry Katzman of Baltimore Hebrew Congregation, who is also a member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, gave a lengthy personal history of his own liberal upbringing, including his helping to fund the anti-semitic may well have been the rabbi's first civil rights talk, which took place in Cincinnati in the early 1960s.

"I am as unbalanced, as unbalanced liberal," the rabbi declared, noting that liberalism represents flexibility rather than rigidity. He asserted that Jewish anti-racism stemmed from liberalism, which provided a positive view, "human dignity and justice for all." He said, "I have learned that for all the public anti-Semitism that has been intended, it should not be confused about great good."

During a question-and-answer session, the two speakers were asked about "white flight" and each offered a different interpretation.

Continued on page 14

The Baltimore Jewish Times  
December 19, 1980  
(pp.18-19)

Continued from page 19

tive in addressing the problem. Shapiro noted that schools systems are a key factor; Nathan suggested that Baltimore Jews, when faced with a confrontation, tend to move away rather than take a stand; Saltzman pointed out that Jews share the American Dream to buy a home in the suburbs; and Rabinovitch asserted that it is not so much "white flight" as "middle class flight" and that many blacks are also moving out of the cities in search of better neighborhoods and schools.

Few of the other questions covered new or significant ground, though. The only sparks came when, at separate times, Don and Evelyn Avery, a husband and wife who are college professors here, spoke out from the audience against affirmative action.

**S**everal people interviewed after the conference expressed dissatisfaction with its format. "I had hoped for some history, some statistics, some research," one woman commented, "but there were just generalizations -- and they had warned against

**"Not all criticism of Jews is anti-Semitic and not all criticism of blacks is racism."**

generalizing." Said a middle-aged man: "I kept waiting for them to take the gloves off but it never happened."

"It was so one-sided, they were just preaching to us the virtues of liberalism," a visibly angered woman said.

Indeed, no mention was made of the growth of neo-conservatism in

the Jewish community, personified by *Commentary*, the influential monthly published by the American Jewish Committee. The neo-conservatives feel that affirmative action programs are not only unwise but harmful to Jews who are not hired because they are not part of the right minority. *Commentary's* Milton Himmel-farb and others have called on Jews to abandon their traditional alliance with blacks, which they view as frustrating and unsuccessful, and join the ranks of white Middle Americans in seeking political and economic stability.

Still, the conference organizers, Lois Rosenfeld of the Committee and Maggie Gaines of the Council, expressed satisfaction with the program in terms of the turnout and the discussion and called it a "positive first step." Mrs. Rosenfeld expressed surprise at the seeming conservatism of the members of the audience, but it seems clear that local Jewish leaders are far more liberal than the people they purport to speak for.

"Black-Jewish relations remain a problem that has to be grappled with, and no real accomplishments can be expected from one session," Mrs. Rosenfeld said. "This was a start and it did allow people to speak out. Now we'll have to decide what the next step should be."

Under consideration are promoting a clergy dialogue in the northwest and holding a conference where small groups of people can share experiences and deal with individual feelings and problems.

One wonders when the black community will be ready to hold a conference of its own on black attitudes towards Jews. □

The Baltimore Jewish Times

December 19, 1980

(p.24)

## Religious leaders for Jesse

CHICAGO—A black Muslim sect that espouses separation of the races and has traditionally shunned politics led mainstream religious leaders Saturday in a rally to back the presidential campaign of Jesse Jackson.

The Nation of Islam invited Jackson and three other Christian ministers to speak Saturday night at its "Revolution's Day" rally. The American Muslim Mission—a black Muslim group that admits whites—also joined the rally.

Louis Farrakhan, the 50-year-old leader of the Nation of Islam, and his wife, Betty, registered to vote for the first time Feb. 9 and said they did so because Jackson is worth supporting.

The Rev. George Clements, a black Roman Catholic priest who adopted two black children to dramatize a need for adoptive parents in the black community, said the rally indicates a move toward unity among black Americans.

"I believe in the need for unity among black people, the need for us



CHICAGO — Jesse Jackson is embraced by Minister Louis Farrakhan at a Revolution Day rally with religious leaders.

Continued on page 2

## —Religious leaders

Continued from page 1

to protect our own businesses, the need for voting in candidates that would serve our interests," he said.

The Rev. Clay Evans of the Pentecostal Baptist Church and the Rev. T.J. Stewart of Life Center Church also joined in the rally.

Farrakhan, coauthor of the Nation of Islam and former aide to the late Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, has been widely reported to support Jackson's bid for the 1984 presidential nomination.

Muslims have long been politically inactive but Farrakhan said it is not religious beliefs that have kept them away from the polls; it is lack of a sympathetic candidate.

He said religious leaders of his sect have pledged financial support for

Jackson's campaign and promised to join a voter registration drive.

Abdul Alim Muhammad, editor of the group's newspaper, Final Call, said leaders of the Nation of Islam and the Jackson campaign staff realized the group's endorsement could frighten away some potential Jackson supporters.

But, he said, "We believe the message will be outweighed by the positive response."

Farrakhan says he has spent the last eight years working to "rebuild" the black Muslim community in the footsteps of the late Elijah Muhammad.

Elijah Muhammad preached black separation, warning blacks against association with "white devils" and calling for separate nations for black Americans. His death in 1975 led to a

split in the religion.

Elijah Muhammad's son, Warith Deen Mohammed, now heads the American Muslim Mission—the largest black Muslim sect with about 200,000 members—and has opened it to all races and led it toward Islamic orthodoxy.

Farrakhan's Nation of Islam, with a few thousand members, has continued some of Elijah Muhammad's teachings on black nationalism and on the white race—in the latter case characterizing white Americans as "devils" rather than racially inferior.

But it has maintained the Model of separation, espousing a philosophy of racial and economic independence and admits only blacks to membership. (UPI)

The Baltimore Afro-American

March 3, 1984

## Jackson denies anti-semitism



MANCHESTER, N.H. — Jesse Jackson speaks to members of the congregation at Temple Math Yeshua, as two members look on.

MANCHESTER, N.H. — Jesse Jackson admitted to a campaign ad-dress Sunday night that he had referred to Jews as "Soyuz" but denied that meant he was anti-semitic.

Jackson, running for the democratic presidential nomination, said the remarks were made in a private conversation overheard by a reporter and he was discussing the issue so that it would not get blown out of proportion.

"Even so I affirm to you that that term used in private conversation ... I categorically deny that I am anti-semitic," Jackson said.

In another issue, Jackson said he "called my campaign on a vehicle for reconstruction" among all minority groups, including Jews.

"At first I was shocked by the press' interest in private conversations apparently overheard by a reporter," Jackson said.

"What concerns me now is that something as small has become as large that it threatens the fabric of relations long in the making. These

Continued on page 2

## —Jackson denies

Continued from page 1

relations must be protected," he said. "I am in a bind and for that I am deeply distressed. For that my hear and mind will be wracked. I have been confronted by conflicting moral challenges," he said in trying to explain his delay in acknowledging using the term.

He apologized for his "delay in coming to the temple" which he said was caused in part because "I like to be accepted in the Lord's house."

Jackson was generally well received by the audience, getting applause at certain points in a speech and several pointed following his talk. Many people who gathered said otherwise they were glad to hear the admittance and get the issue out in the open.

"I think he sincerely apologized and opened the door to dialogue," said Rabbi Arthur Hays of the Temple Math Yeshua, a Reform Jewish temple. He said he believed the people who came to the temple were

curious and wanted to hear what he had to say.

Jackson's campaign, called a "Soyuz Coalition" appealing to many different groups in the democratic party, has been plagued for the past few weeks by a *Washington Post* story that said he used the word "Soyuz," a slang term from the Jewish name Soyuz that is offensive to many Jews, and referred to New York city as "Soyuztown."

Jackson at first said he could not recall using the term. Finally, he apologized for the delay in admitting he used them.

A spokesman for the *Post*, whose Feb. 15 article said Jackson used the words "Soyuz" and "Soyuztown," "in private conversations with reporters," said the paper would not have any further comment on the matter. He said the *Post* stories have fully explained it.

Jackson was approached during the question and answer session. The questions had been submitted in advance and were read to him by a

representative of the congregation. The only time there was any bickering was when Jackson answered the press.

Peter Friedman, vice president of Shefford Village in Montreal, Mass., said, "I'm going to cast his a check. I don't know if I'll send him a vote thank."

"I can make a damn fine statement. I don't intend. I believed the information was not there. It just a believe a lot of data to come."

Many in the audience seemed amazed that Jackson had made an effort to answer the charges, however others thought the remarks still were disturbing.

Larry Hunter, a member of the congregation, said, "I don't think Jackson's remark was anti-semitic. It was a remark that was in everyone's poor taste. My name isn't Soyuz." Later, I wouldn't call him "Soyuz."

Browner said nothing he had heard Sunday night would sway him from voting for President Reagan for re-election.

The Baltimore Afro-American

March 3, 1984



## Behind the Scenes

by Ethel Payne

While everyone else seems to be focusing on the flap over Jesse Jackson's alleged derogatory labeling of Jews as "Rhinoids," I have questions about the motives of Milton Coleman, the Washington Post reporter who blew the whistle on the scam. In slavery days there was always the informant who carried news from the owner by talking on the rebellious field hands, whether the slave was cool or bawling.

[illegible]

Colson was the ideal selection to be assigned to follow Jackson on his peripatetic pursuit of the nomination. This was the impossible dream, coming close to the pursuit through the magic of show, broad headlines. It was no longer just an observation on the body politic; it had become serious and the warning signs were posted — stop him before the whole thing gets out of hand.

Unless you are willing to share accounts, you will recall the infamous Janet Colburn case, in which the *San Francisco Post-Examiner* was sued on the grounds that it had libeled a prominent California man who was then editor of the Christian Science Monitor. The suit made the national news. The lively story that inspired the suit, it was two years ago this April that the house that started the world of journalism collapsed. The revelations were heard in every courtroom throughout the country. Janet Colburn was the young black newspaper writer who was the Pulitzer Prize winner for her story of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King. She was asked to let his voice be his. Indeed, she did so. The next year, she wrote the article the biggest presidential hype and assigned one of the best illustrators to make graphic drawings of a and little boy with homeless eyes and the vital portraying from his little eye. It was sensational. It said, Colburn was in for it. *San Francisco* and its audience suffer every morning long favorite poets for their *San Francisco* and its audience suffer every morning long favorite poets for their

When a few chapters of the paper, raised questions about the authenticity, Coleman and Onda quickly laid these to rest with assurances that there was indeed a Henry, and his identity had to be protected for fear of further harm being done to him. The ring of the crack magazine provided a nice alibi. For Henry, Martin Barry and the D.C. Police Department, the Henry story was a nightmare. For weeks, they conducted a fruitless search for the child with no cooperation from the Post. The paper refused to respond to a subpoena for the notes of the story, citing back to the First Amendment freedom of speech provisions.

The jury for the annual judging of the Pulitzer awards was meeting in New York. The Ochs story would be the eye of some members of the jury.

Two days later, things fell apart. The web of ambition and greed was porous. Cooke had not only fabricated the Jimmy story — she had lied about her academic credentials, and Coleman was the accomplice. The hapless young woman was fired before the day was out. Coleman was demoted to reporter, with the heavy caveat that he had wanted to be relieved of his heavier responsibilities. But the stigma of being involved in a seamy scheme of promoting professors at the point of truth left him with a serious credibility gap in the black Washington community. That is why many doubted him as the sole witness to the "Frankie" case.

Now, even after James Jackson's "confession" in the congregation at the New York synagogue, the question of William Coleman and the Jewish factor remains. Was Jackson up to the part? Why did it all on the incident from Jan. 20 when the meeting between Coleman and the candidate took place at the Jewish Anshei Tzemaith in Washington until Feb. 21 when I left the place? Why was there all the quote of antisemitic and communitarian drumming then for a racial episode when "Hyman" is an abbreviation for a proper name. Hyman, just as it is "Alan" for Alan for Alexander, "Bob" for Robert, "Lil" for Lilian, "Katie" for Catherine, "Sam" for Andrew and so on?

People of the Western world have a penchant for abbreviations and there are pluses for the organizations. There are no proper names for "niggers," "kikes," "wops" and "dagos," but they are all true racial epithets frequently used by Jews and Gentiles alike, and much too derivatively by too many blacks in self-deprecating lampoons. I think that semantics should be suggested from another place.

As for Jackson's charges of harassment by Jews, there is substantial evidence that he has been targeted by not all, but some Jews, and these who shatter him intensively are not necessarily members of the Jewish Defense League. For example, why did Nathan Perlmutter circulate a 20-page memorandum to Anti-Communist Action League members, warning them of the "Jewish threat" to the American Revolution, in the summer of 1963? Why was he invited to the National Executive Committee of the organization and was elected Oct. 6, 1961 with a motion: "MOT FOR PUBLICATION." Yet, it somehow failed to appear? Just before the New Hampshire primary and in time for Janet's Chicago appearance, the nation of Israel's Jewish's Day observance, was the following collected. It is their conduct, to my knowledge, but not mine.

Then there was the head of a pig placed on the doorstep of his Chicago residence. By query by a Jewish interviewer for Harvard University of Jackson's daughter, Smith, when she applied for admission to the school, as to her political views on the Palestinian question, the incense who disrupted his announcement rally and the protesters carrying signs, "Ruin Jesus, Run," is first of his campaign headquarters.

To put it plainly, Jews are no more racist as a whole than Irish, Italians, Poles or any other white ethnicities. But those who monitor the movements of James Jackson and all other blacks whom they see as incompatible to their cause — chiefly, the State of Israel, subject them to the same kind of Gattopardo like tactics that are portrayed over and over in films about the Holocaust. What blacks object to most is the constant whitewash of their sayings and the blatant charges of unprovoked and unprovoked anti-Semitism that are so freely slung on them like the yellow stars of David that they were used in the ghettos of Warsaw and other places during the reign of Adolph Hitler.

I have a right to resist being told by a staff member of the American Jewish Committee that "I will be monitoring your activities carefully." "I do not intend any organized campaign, for any blacks or whites, Jews or Gentiles, Communists or Catholics. Nor do I intend to issue to those who insist upon setting the government of my rights as a free citizen who is entitled to all the rights and privileges of any other American. I, like 30 million other blacks, want an equal and free life."

When the Jews say, "Never Again!" I am on their side. But when they try to limit me in what I say and what I do to advance the cause of me and mine I say, "Enough!"

## The Coleman, Judas factor

The Baltimore Afro-American

March 10, 1984

( p.5 )

# Gibson Denounces Jackson's Slur

New York, N.Y., March 12 follows:

... Kenneth A. Gibson, mayor of Newark, N.J., and head of Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign in that state, has repudiated Rev. Jackson's defamatory remarks about Jews and the comments made by the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, a Jackson lieutenant.

In a letter to Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Mayor Gibson said he "emphatically deplores" the Jesse Jackson slur(s) the Rev. Jackson made, and that he "finds it 'very, very frustrating... as a supporter of Jesse Jackson's campaign to have to read and hear of his insensitivities, ignorance or possibly worse."

Mayor Gibson wrote to Mr. Perlmutter after reading a copy of a column by the ADL leader on Jackson's "Rhytmic" reference to Jews which appeared in USA Today March 1.

The column, which welcomed Rev. Jackson's apology, called for his "clear-cut censure" of remarks made by the Rev. Louis Farrakhan addressing a Chicago throng with the Rev. Jackson at his side ("I say to the Jewish people... If you harm this brother, I warn you in the name of Allah, this will be the last one you do harm").

Mayor Gibson told Mr. Perlmutter:

"I'm sure you realize that Black people are able to think for themselves and the great majority of us do not subscribe to negative ethnic, racial, or religious references and speeches. Therefore, the implied threats by Muslim Minister Farrakhan do not represent the thinking of myself or other Blacks who know the difference between 'hypocritisms and rhetoric.'"

Mayor Gibson commented Mr. Perlmutter for his "reasoned and reserved response to these incidents are commendable. I'm not sure if I could be as reserved in my response if I were in your position. Several years ago during a visit to Poland, I was taken on a tour of the former concentration camp at Auschwitz. While in Israel recently, I visited the Memorial to the victims of those atrocities. I have often thought that such visits should be mandatory for public officials, military leaders, social scientists, educators, religious leaders and anyone else with a desire to influence others.

Sometimes the person who least needs the lesson is the one who hears the sermon. I didn't need to visit Auschwitz or the Memorial in Israel to become sensitive to what happened under Nazi leadership in Europe. I didn't need those visits to know that too many world and national leaders act quietly in their positions while these atrocities were being executed. I appreciate your understanding that 'the Black person' is not reserved in my respect. I do not reflect the thinking of all Black people. I emphatically deplore the Jesse Jackson slur(s) the Rev. Jackson made, and that he 'finds it 'very, very frustrating... as a supporter of Jesse Jackson's campaign to have to read and hear of his insensitivities, ignorance or possibly worse.'"

The full text of the letter, for themselves and the great

March 5, 1984  
Mr. Nathan Perlmutter  
National Director  
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith  
823 United Nations Plaza  
New York, New York 10017  
Dear Mr. Perlmutter:

I appreciate your sending me a copy of your article which appeared in USA Today on March 1, 1984.

It is very, very frustrating to me as a supporter of Jesse Jackson's campaign to have to read and hear of his insensitivities, ignorance or possibly worse. I have tried to talk to him personally by phone since the admitted derogatory references to Jews but was only able to talk to a campaign leader. I expressed my serious concerns about those remarks and I intend to discuss these issues with Rev. Jackson personally in the next few days.

Your reasoned and reserved response to these incidents are commendable. I'm not sure if I could be as reserved in my response if I were in your position. Several years ago during a visit to Poland, I was taken on a tour of the former concentration camp at Auschwitz. While in Israel recently, I visited the Memorial to the victims of those atrocities. I have often thought that such visits should be mandatory for public officials, military leaders, social scientists, educators, religious leaders and anyone else with a desire to influence others.

Sometimes the person who least needs the lesson is the one who hears the sermon. I didn't need to visit Auschwitz or the Memorial in Israel to become sensitive to what happened under Nazi leadership in Europe. I didn't need those visits to know that too many world and national leaders act quietly in their positions while these atrocities were being executed. I appreciate your understanding that 'the Black person' is not reserved in my respect. I do not reflect the thinking of all Black people. I emphatically deplore the Jesse Jackson slur(s) the Rev. Jackson made, and that he 'finds it 'very, very frustrating... as a supporter of Jesse Jackson's campaign to have to read and hear of his insensitivities, ignorance or possibly worse.'"

The full text of the letter, for themselves and the great

The Cincinnati Herald  
March 24, 1984  
(p.5)

majority of us do not subscribe to negative ethnic, racial, or religious references and speeches. Therefore, the implied threats by Muslim Minister Farrakhan do not represent the thinking of myself or other Blacks who know the difference between 'hypocritisms and rhetoric.'

So once again we have another division between historical allies! What happened to the liberal and civil rights alliance? What can be done to improve these relationships?

I respectfully suggest that you and other National Jewish leaders meet with Blacks in National leadership positions to discuss the importance of all of us in the public principles by

which we worked for a few years ago. If there is anything I could do to help, please call upon me.

Sincerely,  
Kenneth A. Gibson,  
Mayor  
KAG/cms  
P.S. If you think that publication or distribution of this letter would be of any value, please feel free to do so.

## Behind the Scenes by Ethel Payne

Last week, we noted some of the negative views on the candidacy of Jesse Jackson in light of present controversy over his association with Minister Louis Farrakhan. But only now is apparent to the presidential bid of the former director of Operation PICO. There is a vocal body of Jewish opinion that is favorable to Jackson.

Writing in the Village Voice of April 1, 1984, Barry Commoner states his position in a full-page article, "The Case for Jackson." He is a professor in the New York University system and a long-time activist in various causes from government to nuclear disarmament and civil rights. He served as Vice-Chair of the American Nuclear Campaign Committee.

Commoner takes exception to the complaint by the Jack Weinfield that Jackson is hurting the chances of advancing the civil rights needed between blacks and Jews because he, Jackson, "has a persistent habit of stereotyping and denigrating Jews." He compares Jesse to New York Mayor Ed Koch who he says is "the white mirror image of Jackson." Commoner calls this "grossly false conclusion, a grotesque distortion of political fact and common sense."

He contends that both men should be characterized by their respective political positions expressed over a long period of time. He says that Koch has demonstrated a cynical disregard for the poor and the powerless, for minorities and for the simple well-being of the city over which he presides. "His approach to politics is heavily conditioned by greed, and reminiscent less of a politician, more of a capitalist."

On the other hand, says Commoner, "However Jackson has devoted his life—and has risked it—in hard battles, not only for his black constituency, but for the poor and oppressed in the United States and throughout the world. He has repeatedly opposed for racial harmony, especially in the current campaign, among Jews, Arabs and blacks."

He adds, "In their greatest political roles, Koch and Jackson are also opposites. For all his bluster, vaudeville, however Jackson has managed in a few short months to accomplish what progressive Americans have long sought—and failed—to achieve: the development of a political coalition that can challenge the corporate grip on this country."

Commoner rightly states that the Jewish-black issue is full of political hot air. The more could and for more different persons to constructive criticism of Jews by Jews and by blacks. . . . There is a need for a coalition that can bring the entire spectrum of progressive movements. Jackson has accepted this political responsibility. He has been actively extending the special interests of any group whether Jewish-black, gay, lesbian or environmental. In order to find his proper place in other broader interests. . . . Jesse Jackson's skill in bringing people, to other groups, to other nations, is beginning to accomplish what progressives have failed to do."

A lone perception of the Commoner-Jackson-Farrakhan feud was given by William Kattner, a lawyer noted for taking on controversial cases. He is

The other side of the coin—

## In support of Jesse Jackson

Vice President of the Center for Constitutional Rights. Commenting on the articles against Jackson for his "Nigger-Jew" remark by columnist Carl Rowan and Washington Post staff writer, Ronald White, Kattner had this to say:

"It is distinctly uncomfortable for a white person, like myself, to stand up and tell two black men, they either do not understand, or are ignorant of the racial struggle in the United States. Their point of view, one very similar to that expressed by opponents of affirmative action, is that the concept of universal equality requires black reporters to treat black subjects as if all concerned were white. This argument is as simplistic, as it is appealing to a white audience. What Rowan and White forget is the history of the black experience on these shores, commencing with slavery and proceeding through discrimination. . . .

"Commoner, in deciding to print Jackson's unfortunate remarks, allowed himself to let his white desire for a 'nigger' subordinate his own blackness. . . . Civil rights and blacks are truly equal in his society, a black reporter, like a black anyone else, must be black first and a reporter second. The struggle for parallel status is simply too intense and too vital to subordinate the common denominator of race to the alleged standards or demands of one's own occupation."

Washington lawyer Clarence Minton, a black, is Vice Chairman of the D.C. Republican Party. He cites the inequality of blacks in the media — few, if any, blacks on editorial boards and none as vice president or bureau chiefs in interviews. Minton says he totally refuses to accept blacks to be American first and blacks second when the black system is weighted in favor of white domination. He notes that if a Jewish reporter continually expresses a pro-Israel position, he is not accused of being "too Jewish." The same measurement applies to white female reporters who express the cause of feminism. Why then should black reporters be held to a higher standard, he asks?

Finally, Julian Winfield, a white, is co-chairman of Howard University, grades B. S. & C. Degree in his famous address on the Negro, "Two warring blacks in one dark body, whose struggle through these pages it from being torn apart." Says Winfield, "There is little point in choosing candidates Jesse Jackson or any other black person in a candidate position about whether he is black or an American. He simply doesn't know the answer. He may tell you how he feels, but his white questioner, reflecting white society, are in a better position to answer. The question is whether Jackson is the black candidate, or all American candidate who happens to be black. And any of the black reporters who have refused to denounce their patriotic protestations have conveniently forgotten that their first breaks in journalism came in the 1940's when, for a change, their blackness got them in and out of neighborhoods too dangerous for their white colleagues."

One active group in the Washington Area Jews for an Israeli-Palestinian Peace. In a recent meeting on April 17 at the annual night of Palestine, they presented a joint celebration with questions from the traditional Hagadah and readings on the Jewish struggle throughout the world.

The statement said it supports security and stability for the State of Israel and the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, as a way of resolving the Jewish-Palestinian conflict. The group supports mutual recognition between the government of Israel and the Palestinian Liberation Organization.

The dispute goes on, and as the weeks and days details to conversation count down in San Francisco, the pressure mount and the stakes get higher. Where are the chips in the poker game? There are the questions to be dealt with. Before anyone else accuses my exclusive Jewish say people and the next to divide who says that we have Jews as place like in, I want to see some private strategy on hold on, and finally survival, but for making the system respond to a fair share of the big American pie.

I don't intend to sit around in the Year 2000 to get some relief. I'll be too old to enjoy it. Years ago when I was a Chicago militant marching with so-called "redskins" there was a wonderful activist minister named Rev. D. Brown. We would hold rallies on street corners where he would always close out his observations with the line, "We don't want to wait for the event by and bye to happen. We want the event now and now right here at night."

The Baltimore Afro-American

May 5, 1984

(p.5)

The Cincinnati Herald June 9, 1984  
(p.4)

Across My Desk  
by Marjorie Farnham

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith is continuing and escalating its attack on both Rev. Jesse Jackson and on Muslim Minister Louis Farrakhan for remarks attributed to them they consider anti-Semitic. It is understandable that a Jewish organization would be deeply concerned that two spokesmen in the Black community would ignore the historical relations and suffering that both Jews and Blacks have encountered in this racist society.

However, this continuation of diatribe against these two Black men can only exacerbate [sic] the emerging problems that both groups now see and admit are deepening the chasm between them. There is little doubt that the Jewish community have been friends of Black people over the years and it has been their support and money that has enabled many of our civil rights organizations to fight for Black equality. Indeed it was Jewish leadership that founded the NAACP and financed that movement with Jewish dollars.

But of late friction has existed between the two groups and the ADL's policy on Affirmative Action and Reparations has not been and is not acceptable to the more militant Blacks across the country.

Other frictions exist which enhance the schism that threatens to become a full break to the detriment of both groups.

In their most recent newsletters the organization insists that both Jackson and Farrakhan have a history of anti-Jewism. This may be so, but to continue to enhance the problem can only alienate many Blacks who see both men as heroes because they have challenged the White establishment, as it were, on racism in America. And make no mistake, racism still lives and even though Blacks and women are most affected by it, the fires of anti-Semitism in this country are not completely dead.

The statements of two Black leaders should not cause our Jewish friends to fall into the trap of classifying all Blacks as being anti-this or that because of the remarks of two men... no matter how inflammatory. There have been Jews who have been anti-Black. And in the beginning of Hitler's march to extinction, there were Jewish collaborators who embraced his philosophy. Unless Jackson and Farrakhan mount some sort of national anti-Jewish crusade, their insensitive statements should be ignored.

## Jackson renounces Farrakhan statements

By David Lowery  
WASHINGTON (UPI) — Jesse Jackson, under growing pressure from political friends and foes, publicly broke with nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, renouncing his recent anti-Semitic remarks "repugnant and morally indefensible."

Jackson said in a statement released by his campaign Thursday he would not allow Farrakhan's words to divide the democratic party.

"Neither anti-Semitism nor anti-black statements have any place in our party," he said.

Farrakhan, a controversial leader of Jackson's bid for the democratic presidential nomination, called Jackson a "gentle religion" and said nations that supported Israel are "criminals" during a speech broadcast Sunday in Chicago.

Farrakhan denies he used the word "gentle religion," insisting he said "dirty" nation.

The remarks took the national day into Thursday of voting 24 to condemn Farrakhan for "hateful, biased expressions of anti-Jewish and racial sentiments."

The renouncing Jackson, the chairman of the Democratic and Republican parties to request they immediately repudiate Farrakhan's remarks in writing.

Farrakhan, informed of the action during a live interview with Cable News Network, denied and said, "and there is not one black man in there."

He then added, "My reputation of the people never more ought with God than their reputation of me."

Farrakhan said he was not disturbed by Jackson's comments.

"If it will help him go to the (democratic) convention and represent the 40 percent of the blacks who voted for him... then the debate on the reputation is well worth it."

Walker, Memphis, who only hours earlier Thursday harshly criticized Jackson for not repudiating Farrakhan, quickly granted his opponent for the democratic nomination.

"I continued favored Jackson for... making it clear that Mr. Farrakhan has no part in his campaign," Memphis said. Farrakhan said he was not disturbed by Jackson's comments.

way to advance the cause of justice in America is to condemn bigotry and prejudice wherever it appears.

Louis Farrakhan returned home for a visit to arch nations calling the statement of Israel as "unlaw act" and attacking Jackson as a "gentle religion."

Farrakhan denied reports from his speech Sunday at his home of Islam headquarters, which was broadcast on WFLX radio. Farrakhan continued to visit to arch nations and a

meeting with Libyan leader Muammar Khadaffi, but mostly preached Muslim doctrine and its relationship to communism.

He said the bible says the Jews were "chosen to be a light to the people nations" but instead "led a corrupted light to the people and were the father of false religions and false religious practices."

Farrakhan said Israel has had no peace in nearly four decades "and she will never have any peace because there can be no

Continued on page 1

## — Jackson renounces

Continued from page 1

peace structured on injustice, lying and deceit and using the name of God to shield your gutter religion under his holy and righteous name."

"The presence of a state called Israel is an outlaw act," said Farrakhan. He charged that nations supporting Israel have been participants in a criminal conspiracy.

If you "aid and abet someone in a criminal conspiracy, you are a part of that criminal conspiracy. So America, England and the nations are criminals in the sight of almighty God," he said.

He called the formation of Israel "gold, naked scheming and plotting and planning against the lives of a people there in Palestine."

Farrakhan said Zionists made a deal with Adolf Hitler not to boycott German products before World War II in exchange for allowing 65,000 German Jews to emigrate and for permitting 200 million in Jewish assets to be transferred to Palestine.

He said this act is documented

in the book "The Transfer Agreement" by author Edwin Black, "one of their own kind."

"The Zionists made a deal with Adolf Hitler, the same people that condemn me for saying Hitler was a great but wicked man," Farrakhan said.

Many Jewish leaders and politicians have criticized Farrakhan for his remarks about Hitler and for allegedly threatening a Washington Post reporter who revealed Jackson's reference to Jews as "Rimons."

"The bible calls Babylon the great but she's not the good. Hitler was great, but wickedly great," Farrakhan said.

Farrakhan preaches black Muslim beliefs that the Caucasian race is not "a natural people on earth," but rather "a gifted people that came out of the original black people."

He said American support for Israel is drawing into a third world war.

"Instead of recognizing your mistakes, you persist in your evil," he said. "You hate us because we dare to say that we are the chosen people of God and we can back it up."

The Baltimore Afro-American

July 7, 1984

"What the question is not at all what we believe in," Mohammed said at a news conference before leaving an indigenous Day parade in America, District of Columbia. "We may be representing the times of our struggle in the street and a time of confusion in us and we don't want to be associated with that. As for his [Mohammed's] question, we're not aware in that at all."

Muhammad was joined in the news conference by the world heavyweight boxing champion, who called Par-rabian's remarks "understandable." "We're here to explain that we're not him, I'm not with Jabbarian, and none of these people are with Parrabian," Ali said.

All was referring to the more than 100,000 followers of Muhammad who is the leader of the American Muslim Mission. Upon Elijah Muhammad's death at the age of 77, his son took over the leadership position of what was known as the Nation of Islam, changed the group's name to "The Black Muslims" and sought to make the group more "black" and "Islamic" in its teachings. The group's teachings are based on the teachings of the prophet Muhammad, who is believed to have lived in the 7th century in Arabia.

By the late 1970s, with Black Muslim membership suffering, Parkland formed a separate group which he viewed as reforming the doctrine of Elijah Muhammad and his vision of the Nation of Islam. These doctrines included the belief that whites are "devils," that Blacks are superior to all other races, and are God's chosen people, and that Blacks should have a separate nation within the United States.

Perman, who on June 24 addressed the followers in a speech broadcast over a local radio station, urged "the Jewish people to join the Communist Party because of its relationship with the Boy Scouts, who was making the Jewish children gay and lesbian." Perman also declared Israel a "gay nation."

Ali, who converted to Islam in the 1960s, said, "Talking about calling white people 'devils': all men are brothers, black, brown, red, white. None of that devil stuff."

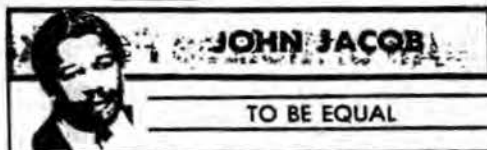
“Mohammedan criticised Jesus as the political assassin who was killed by British law. If the answer returned, it would be different but what I read in the *Nerve* [?], *Testament* has no place for Jesus, and if he is *Testament* represents Christ as a *Testament*, then he should understand that a *Testament* should be associated with such persons.”

The Baltimore Jewish Times

July 13, 1984

(p.5)





## Black, Jews and media

The historic alliance between blacks and Jews has been strained by, among other things, the provocative statements of Minister Louis Farrakhan. Each of these has been seized upon by the media and played for all its worth. The result: a manipulated press provides a strange sort of entertainment for anti-Semites and anti-blacks.

Added to this is the supposition, which has roots in historic racism, that statements by virtually any black person must be responded to by other blacks.

This is where other blacks are caught in the media trap. Here is how it works:

Minister Farrakhan makes a statement such as the outrageous slur on Judaism as a religion or on the supposed illegitimacy of the state of Israel. Such reprehensible statements are representative of only a small segment of the black community; in fact far more whites are likely to share them than blacks.

But the media report them, often in big headlines designed to sell papers. It doesn't seem to matter to the media that such statements are the opinion of but one black minister and his relatively small group of followers. Would the media be so anxious to publicize the views of a white minister who is not representative of the larger white community?

Once the remarks become news stories, reporters and talk show hosts try to corral black leaders into denouncing these statements.

It is virtually impossible to interview these same reporters in constructive community programs we run or in the advocacy positions we take. But let Minister Farrakhan say something, and the media reporters buzz around us like flies.

Just imagine the position that puts us in. Being asked whether you agree with statements denigrating the Jewish religion or the legitimacy of the state of Israel is in itself insulting, like being asked if you beat your wife or take drugs.

I can understand the anger of the Jewish community which finds itself the subject of ethnic slurs and ugly, racist

remarks. Blacks too, are outraged by the remarks and resent being asked to account for statements they do not share.

I have no hesitation in affirming my support for Israel, the embodiment of Jewish national aspirations and as a sign of democracy in a desert of dictatorships. And my deep respect for the Jewish religion is based on its high ethical teachings and on the recognition that it is the foundation of both Christianity and Islam.

I continue to object to the idea that black leadership must always respond to extremist remarks of other blacks, even if the only purpose they serve is to prolong a media circus.

But the virulence of the most recent reported remarks by Minister Farrakhan and the reality of the bitterness they engender, suggests that the time has come to publicly condemn these statements.

We should recognize that black people have produced far fewer demagogues than whites. In fact, given the oppression blacks have been subjected to, it is remarkable how few extremists have sprung from and that historically narrows extremism.

Demagoguery is encouraged by the media, whose fanning of the flames of discord prolongs the agony of divisions among ethnic communities that should not be diverted from their constructive alliance.

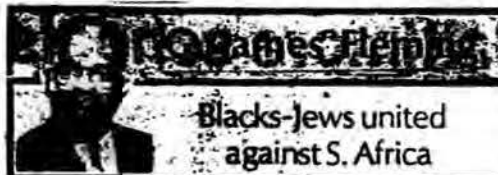
The current controversy takes on tragic proportions when we realize it comes on the twentieth anniversary of the brutal lynchings of Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner, and James Chaney — two Jews and a black who marched hand in hand for black freedom and died together in the same cause.

Their sacrifice embodies the spirit of a black-Jewish coalition for justice that will endure long after today's tensions are forgotten. Anti-Semitism and racism are an insult to their memory and to a free society being damaged not simply by extremist statements of a handful but also by the irresponsibility of the media.

The Baltimore Afro-American

July 14, 1984

(p.5)



It was a very happy sight seeing Blacks and Jews picketing downtown last week, to call attention to South Africa's apartheid practices.

Just as happy as it was seeing the same kind of joint demonstration in Washington before the South African embassy—demonstrations which led to the arrest of many Whites and Blacks, Jews and Gentiles.

Blacks and Jews supporting each other in civil rights protests is nothing new. Recently, however, there has been erosion of that kind of cooperation brought on by a comedy of errors in the Rev. Jesse Jackson's campaign for president of the United States.

A "comedy of errors" because there can be no "rainbow coalition" that leaves out Jews—Jews who have long made a significant contribution to the spirit and programs of coalitions.

There can be no political coalition—rainbow or otherwise—that humiliates, antagonizes and insults Jews; that seeks to ignore the historic facts of pogroms and holocaust; that targets the loss of over six million lives of the Jewish people to Hitler's insanity; and that is blind to the continued anti-Semitism in America even today.

The "BL-EWS," one little group of Blacks and Jews that is keeping the flames of cooperation and coalition burning in Baltimore, furnished pickets and speakers for the downtown and City Hall stands against apartheid.

Among those who picketed and spoke were Congressman Warren Mitchell and Kurt Schmoke, state's attorney for Baltimore City, and Rabbi Donald Berlin, of Temple Obad Shalom and current president of the "BL-EWS."

Rabbi Berlin, rightfully, paid testimony to the fact that "there are more things on which we agree, than those on which we disagree."

Besides the immoral and hate-filled aspects of anti-Semitism, there are other reasons why Blacks cannot, and should not, indulge in a campaign against Jews in general—either personal or group prejudice.

American Jewry has a long record of registering and voting and, whenever

Black candidates have sought to make a political breakthrough Jews have been of foremost in giving them substantial support.

At the turn of the century through World War I as this column has stated before, the only lawyers ready, able and willing to take civil rights cases to the higher courts for the NAACP were Jewish lawyers, some volunteering their services.

Jews have marched with Blacks whenever they have marched, in city after city, and in the nation's capital. They were present, 36,000 strong, when Martin Luther King, Jr., proclaimed "I have a Dream."

Jews were also among those who were viciously bitten by "Bull" Connor's bulldogs and clubbed and gored by electrically charged prods. They were also willfully drowned in those days of the Freedom Fighters.

Perhaps one of the most important contributions of the Jewish people is their being a model of love of education, hard work, frugality and sharing.

Only a very foolish people would turn their backs on such friends and collaborators—freedom-loving friends, sacrificial friends.

Not to say that some others are not, or have not, been friendly and have not made sacrifices; such, for instance, were those New England spinners who went by the dozens to the South to teach the newly freed slaves.

Such were generations of abolitionists who made the walkin ring with their protestation against the slave trade; such also, have been pockets of Southerners who, even in the dark days, quietly worked for improving the condition of Blacks.

Neither all Jews, or all Christians, or all of any other group are "angels" all of the time, but the "I hate Jews" syndrome has taken on such new life, and sometimes not based on any personal experience, that this first column of 1982 seems a good way and a good time to wish "A healthy, happy and prosperous New Year, and may Blacks and Jews always be harnessed in coalition."

The Baltimore Afro-American

January 12, 1985

(p.15)

## **Coping With Louis Farrakhan**

Baltimore's Black-Jewish Coalition, the BLEWS, feel that the controversial Black Muslim minister ought to be allowed to have his say at Morgan State, but they hope he won't bring a message of hate.

The Baltimore Jewish Times

September 27, 1985

(p.30)

(Continued on next page)

# The Baltimore Jewish Times

September 27, 1985

(p.30)

(p.31)

They supported the right to speak publicly, but when it came to the content of that speech, leaders of the Baltimore Black Jewish Coalition were "so supportive," Minister Louis Farrakhan, a controversial Black Muslim whose anti-Jewish statements have placed their share of attention and media publicity, spoke last night before a packed audience on the campus of Morgan State University. Farrakhan spoke as the guest of the Morgan Student Government Association, which had contracted with the student lounge months ago without the knowledge of incoming university president Earl S. Richardson.

"Most of the students are ecstatic and enthusiastic to hear him speak," said Francis Anony, vice president of the Morgan Student Government Association. "He has reached a national prominence, and he is a down-to-earth person to have on campus now."

"His statements on Jews presented a small problem especially with the school administration. But students don't support his anti-Semitic views. I know I don't. But he has some other good things to say, and that's interesting."

Anony said it cost the SGA around \$1,000 to bring Farrakhan to the campus. Rabbi David Berlin, president of the BLEWIS, read a statement and answered reporters' questions during a press conference last Friday at the B'nai B'rith United Methodist Church in Pikesville.

"Today we join together in offering the following appeal to Mr. Farrakhan and to the community at large," the statement said. "We hope that Mr. Farrakhan will not bring a message consisting of anti-Semitism, racism and bigotry to our community as reported in other cities. We affirm that there is no place for hate-group hatred here in Baltimore."

"Social and economic justice cannot be achieved by calls to hatred and violence. Therefore, we urge those who hear Mr. Farrakhan to listen discriminately. We recognize that there are legitimate and illegitimate in our society. Everyone of us, each individually and together, must work to remedy them."

Raymond Sidney Daniels, vice president of the BLEWIS,

said that it was important not to allow someone from the outside to dictate the attitudes of the Baltimore black and Jewish communities.

"He has every right to come to Baltimore," Ray Daniels said. "But we just want people to realize that we don't want someone to come into our community and break down what we've worked hard to establish."

"From a Christian perspective there is no room for hatred. Blacks have been victims of it and so have Jews."

"Our purpose is to make an appeal for a sincere effort among blacks and Jews to work together," Ray Daniels has also commented. "It is of utmost importance that the total community be aware of our attempts to work together. And with this in mind I think it's important we don't make any rash statements putting Farrakhan down. He has a right to speak. And we have a right to analyze what he has to say. We're not in the business of fighting with Farrakhan. But we want to make sure that everything he says is put in the proper perspective. For us to simply attack him increases his appeal."

"Farrakhan appeals to people who are feeling the hurts of social and economic injustices," Rabbi Berlin said. "And we are not against his speaking on this. We just don't want him to suppose hate and to take our community over the coal. We don't wish to engage in a rhetoric that is inflammatory. That sort of action has done nothing to stop him in the past. We want to try to rise above his message."

"There's a long tradition in this city of a black and Jewish alliance," said Stanley Soulier, director of the Baltimore Jewish Council. "We don't need anyone to come in here and try to tear that all up. Farrakhan presents an accurate point of view and Soulier is an accurate response that our people could use against us."

Morgan president Richardson issued a statement that said, "The academy is, by its very nature, a place for exchanging and sharing divergent ideas and viewpoints. Morgan State University does not subscribe to or endorse any doctrine of racism, anti-Semitism, bigotry or prejudice."

Indiscreetly enough, the Morgan SGA sent its political



union tried to get Farrakhan to speak last year, according to Dennis Barrow, a Morgan graduate and past president of the political union.

Barrow, who is white, said that she was against his coming to speak, but that she was overruled by her black political union colleagues.

"You have to realize that very few people actually support or believe in what he has to say," Barrow commented.

"But he is attractive as a speaker because he is a black man who has made it into the public eye. There's a curiosity in him. He's a phenomenon within the black community. Some see him as a worthy replacement for Malcolm X."

"I do think that the general opinion of Farrakhan has changed in a year," Barrow continued. "He's not as prominent as he was during the 1984 presidential election when he was seen as a close associate of James Jackson. Also, Morgan is a white, black school. And the knowledge base of politics is

generally low. Farrakhan has the same appeal as someone popular in the media or in culture, sort of like a rock star."

Both Ray Daniels and Rabbi Berlin said that the response to the BLEWIS message was favorable.

"Nobody called me in on this," Rabbi Berlin commented. "People have approached me and told me it was the best way to handle the situation."

"I think it was a good statement," Rabbi Berlin said. "I don't know who is going to take to the message. Farrakhan is a phenomenon. The people at the BLEWIS often don't speak out to the extent where people like Farrakhan get later support. I think he's going to build up a negative message, and then get up and leave. He's a hit and run speaker."

Rabbi Barrow has been to Morgan in many years. The last speaker he had there, he said, had a much different message. His name was Martin Luther King.

THURSDAY, MAY 14, 1987

THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE

## Opinion

### Black Hebrews apologize for anti-Semitism

The Black Hebrews "permanently, unilaterally and without condition renounce and apologize for all anti-Zionist, anti-Semitic and anti-Jewish activities," declares their leader Ben-Ammi Carter in an

session declaring, "I have not come here to bargain, but to confess."

The charismatic leader of some 1200 American Blacks living in Dimona and thousands more in several

Jews of perpetrating genocide against Black babies, organizing boycotts and anti-Israeli funding campaigns in Congress, picketing and protesting at American and Israeli institutions throughout the country, declaring the Holocaust to be a fraud, and becoming a major proliferator of the "international Jewish conspiracy" myth.

At the meeting with the two American Jewish leaders, Clayman and Wall listened cordially to Ben-Ammi's pre-



#### The Cutting Edge by Edwin Black

exclusive interview.

As such, adds Ben-Ammi, "all protest activities in Washington, Chicago, Atlanta, New York and other cities will immediately cease." Moreover, avers Ben-Ammi, "all literature — some of it blatantly anti-Zionist — will immediately be recalled and destroyed." Asked when the materials would be destroyed, Ben-Ammi replied, "Immediately."

To prove his point, following the interview, Ben-Ammi requested a meeting with the representatives of American Jewish organizations in Israel. The next day, April 29, a meeting was arranged at the Laromne Hotel with the American Jewish Congress' Jerusalem director David Clayman and Harry Wall, Jerusalem director of the Anti-Defamation League. Ben-Ammi opened the hour long

American cities asserts that he and his followers have "a new outlook." "After 20 years living here, we realize that our destiny is locked into the destiny of the State of Israel and the Jewish people," explains Ben-Ammi. "We do not want our predicament to be used as ammunition by enemies of the State of Israel."

Confronted with the fact that he and his followers in America had been responsible for a long, vicious campaign of anti-Semitic literature and anti-Zionist activities, which exacerbated Black-Jewish relations, Ben-Ammi replied, "All my anti-Semitic and anti-Israel remarks were not our real philosophy. They are only rhetoric and tactics. They were wrong."

Those "tactics" include publishing pamphlets calling Israel a Nazi state, accusing

**Ben Ammi Carter:  
"My anti-Semitic  
and anti-Israel  
remarks were...  
only rhetoric and  
tactics."**

entation, which began with an admission of and apology for his anti-Zionist activity. Ben-Ammi then produced the draft of a statement disavowing and renouncing all anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish activities during a so-called 80 day moratorium, but declared that since writing it he had decided to make the cessation unconditional and permanent.

Please see page 28

**Sedra of the week**

The American Israelite

May 14, 1987

(p.5)

(Cont. on p. 28)

## The Cutting Edge

Continued from page 8

ment.

Clayman and Wall said there could be no dialogue unless the public statement was modified to reflect this "new outlook" as a genuine and permanent change. Ben-Ammi replied that was his intent and the statement would be revised prior to distribution in America.

The conference then began in earnest. Clayman declared that nothing could be forgotten. "We can only admit what was," admonished Clayman, "and then say what you now want to be. But first let's admit what you did." Pulling no punches, Clayman held up examples of scurrilous anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist material circulated by the Black Hebrews, openly denounced them and demanded an explanation. Ben-Ammi focused on Clayman's eyes as the Congress leader catalogued attack after attack launched by the Hebrews. "I want an answer," demanded Clayman. "What was this stuff?"

"Some of it was excessively anti-Zionist," answered Ben-Ammi quietly. Clayman snapped back, "Excessively?" Ben-Ammi replied, "It was anti-Zionist."

Harry Wall, holding a recently issued ADL Factfind-

er on Black Hebrew anti-Semitic and criminal activities in America, reminded Ben-Ammi that their group had been the beneficiaries of a massive bank and airline fraud conspiracy. He added that although the Black Hebrews had vitified American Jewish organizations, those organizations had in fact, quietly lobbied the Israeli government to improve conditions for the sect and Black American tourists to Israel who were

**Wall called the Black Hebrew conflict a "festering sore" no one wants to aggravate.**

unjustly suspected of being collaborators. Ben-Ammi seemed astonished when David Clayman held up a letter of last August to the Welfare Ministry urging the government to resume its hot lunch program for some 280-300 Black Hebrew children.

Ben-Ammi declared, "Both sides have not been entirely innocent, both sides have not been entirely guilty...I want to start all over."

The atmosphere took on a

positive note when Clayman said, "Okay, where do we go from here?" Wall commented that "speculation [of the Black Hebrews from Israel] was not desirable or attainable." He was referring to the fact that upon reaching adulthood, most Black Hebrews renounce their U.S. citizenship, which stymies their deportation to America. Moreover, the entire Black Hebrew conflict was a festering sore in Black-Jewish relations which no one wanted to aggravate.

Both Jewish leaders stressed that they did not believe there would be any settlement with the Israeli government. And it seemed clear that Ben-Ammi's "new outlook" was born of desperation. But Clayman added that American Jewish organizations could nonetheless respond to the strictly humanitarian aspect of a group of Israeli inhabitants on the brink of starvation and urgently seeking jobs to feed their families. At least two children were suffering from aspects of malnutrition.

Clayman conceded that while their American supporters had been virulently anti-Semitic and criminal, the Dimona group had been "masterful and law-abiding" in their conduct. He added that Ben-Ammi had as much a right to protest as "any other group, including marches and

even civil disobedience, so long as it was not couched in the language of anti-Zionism or anti-Semitism."

Ben-Ammi pledged to do away with the clannish secrecy of the group, and become productive members of Israeli society, even if legally unrecognized. Their natural ice cream shops are well known in Tel Aviv, as is their jewelry and jazz troupe. But lack of equipment and opportunity have prevented them from making these successes.

"We want all the responsibilities of Israeli citizens," said Ben-Ammi.

He included army service, entertainment of army troops with their jazz ensemble, normal registration of births and deaths, a cessation of all illegal immigration and normal participation in Israeli education. Ben-Ammi added his people could be especially useful to the State in being goodwill ambassadors to both Black America, and the emerging gateway to black Africa.

"You are here," declared Clayman. "I recognize that we are in this land together. This is an excellent first step. The next step is for us to help alleviate your problem."

The meeting ended in amities and handshakes with an invitation to Wall and Clayman to visit the Black Hebrew compound in Olmona as

honored guests for dinner within two weeks. Clayman and Wall readily accepted.

Edwin Black is the author of "The Transfer Agreement: The Untold Story of the Secret Pact Between the Third Reich and Jewish Palestine" (Macmillan), winner of the Carl Sandburg Award for the best nonfiction of 1984 and nominated for the Pulitzer Prize. His weekly syndicated column is published by Jewish newspapers in 40 cities throughout the United States and Canada. Black has previously published interviews with Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, Minister Louis Farrakhan and South African Bishop Desmond Tutu.

© 1987 International Publishers

## The American Israelite

May 14, 1987

(p.28)



The Cincinnati Herald May 23, 1987 (p.2)

Page 2 - THE CINCINNATI HERALD - Saturday, May 23, 1987  
**"60 Minutes" Star**

## Mike Wallace Apologizes For Racial Remarks At College

Journalist Mike Wallace told University of Michigan graduates last Saturday that the pursuit of professional success should not diminish their commitment to the youthful ideals of honor, decency and compassion.

In remarks prepared for the Univer-

sity's spring commencement, the well-known CBS journalist and U-M alumnus apologized for "some thoughts, arguably racist remarks that I, myself, made six years ago in the course of preparing an investigative piece for '60 Minutes'."

Wallace alluded to protests by campus anti-racist groups against his appearance as commencement speaker and honorary degree recipient with South African civil rights leader Nelson Mandela (in absentia), German conductor Kurt Masur and soprano Jessye Norman.

These are, he said, "understandable objections from some individuals who, I

like to think simply don't know me well."

Such sentiments, Wallace added, also are understandable "in the context of what has been playing out on this campus and other campuses across the nation the past few months — insufficient numbers of Black students and, of course, Black faculty, not to mention Black sports managers and coaches and, oh yes, too few Black reporters and news executives here and elsewhere."

### Recent Protests

"It is all part of the unfinished revolution in civil rights in America — unfinished no longer only as a result of

historic white injustice, but unfinished also because of the Black frustration, sometimes despair, that racism has engendered."

Wallace said the recent U-M protests, which resulted in the setting of a new administrative agenda to increase minority representation on campus, made him recall his own sentiments as he was about to graduate from Michigan in 1981.

"I think I smoldered then with some of the same feeling that I sense appropriately infects some of you today — idealism, sympathy for the underdog, a deep sense of right and wrong, sensitivity to the feelings and

(Cont. on next page)

vulnerabilities of others.

"I was Jewish — matter of fact I still am. And though it had never really caused me any serious difficulty here, none in fact beyond being banned from membership in some campus fraternities which I wouldn't have wanted to join in any case, I was keenly aware of being Jewish, and quick to detect slights, real or imagined."

Though they now seem like "ancient history," Wallace said, his experiences then made him sensitive about slights to others, including Black students with whom "we Jews felt a kind of kinship" even though "Lord knows, we weren't riding the same slave ship."

He said it was not until years later that he realized the "behind-the-hand" prejudice of northerners could be as mean and bitter as the "flat-out" racism practiced by many southerners.

Career choices

"It's the mean stuff that worries me," Wallace said. "The behind-the-hand stuff, the self-aggrandizing put-downs that begin to creep in and infect the dialogue. Little by little, that takes on a life of its own. The stereotypes harden. And they hurt. And the last thing that any of us who is decent wants to do is hurt another person, and certainly not because of circumstance or origin or color."

He told the graduates that choices forced on them by careers and life events can allow youthful sensitivity to dissipate and narrowness to settle in, to the point of making thoughtless remarks seem acceptable.

There is nothing wrong with seeking money, fame, accomplishment, success, Wallace concluded, "but along with that, hold on to honor, kindness, decency, fairness, compassion."

The Cincinnati Herald

May 23, 1987

(p.2)

## CHAPTER TWO

### Black and Jewish Perspectives on Israel and the Middle East

Prior to May 14, 1948--the day when David Ben-Gurion declared Israel's statehood--few African-Americans spoke out on the issue of Zionism. Their voices echo ambivalently regarding the establishment of a Jewish homeland. Prompted largely by Pan-Africanist aspirations and philo-Judaic sentiments, men such as the versatile African statesman Edward Wilmot Blyden, who immigrated to Liberia in 1851 and the prominent African-American leader W.E.B. Du Bois (1868-1963), who played a key role in the founding of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), were staunch advocates of the Zionist cause during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These Black thinkers empathized with a cause that they considered to be much like their own. The success of Zionism, they reasoned, would provide a good example for the Pan-African movement that they espoused. [1]

Marcus Garvey, Jamaican-born Black nationalist, leader of UNIA (Universal Negro Improvement Association), and early 20th century advocate of a Black-American return to Africa, likewise favored Zionism--so long as it did not interfere with Black nationalist interests. But when Garvey learned of British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain's consideration of British Guiana as a Jewish homeland, in 1939, he was annoyed. Garvey felt that this territory belonged to Blacks; consequently, any attempt at Jewish settlement there would

have been grounds, in his eyes, for a Black-Jewish confrontation. [2] The well known Black educator and founder of Tuskegee Institute, Booker T. Washington, whose life included both subjection to slavery in the pre-Civil War South and an invitation to the White House by Theodore Roosevelt [3], felt that Zionism was not a serious movement. Washington believed it wiser for Jews to accommodate to the American way of life while trying to effect certain adjustments, rather than to depart for a foreign homeland; therefore, he could not find much sympathy for the Zionist perspective. [4] Walter White, executive director of the NAACP in 1947, helped convince Haiti and Liberia to vote for the United Nations resolution which partitioned Palestine between the Arabs and the Jews--but had reservations about whether what he was doing was right. [5]

While White was not completely comfortable with Zionism and the separatist approach it entailed, Ralph Bunche--a Black-American who won the Nobel Peace prize for his role as a mediator in the 1948-1949 Arab-Israeli war--expressed empathy for the Zionist cause: speaking to Menachem Begin at the time of the conflict, Bunch grasped the future Prime Minister's hand and declared: "I can understand you. I am also a member of a persecuted minority." [6]

In the Black press, opinions were also divided. George Schuyler, a columnist whose commentary appeared in the Pittsburgh Courier, offered praise for the Zionist model; yet, this same individual castigated Palestinian Jews for being "Hitler-like" in their tactics. The Courier, though it

carried Schuyler's columns, editorialized in favor of the Zionist cause. [7] Blacks were thus divided on the issue (Zionism)--as indeed Jews were.

African-American reactions to the 1956 Suez War showed that little had changed. George Schuyler was hostile; he went so far as to suggest that the Jewish state was established for the purpose of aggression against its Arab neighbors. [9] In contrast to this viewpoint, the Norfolk Journal and Guide, referring to Israel as "this little democracy--the only one in the Middle East," expressed the following sentiments:

When the little Zionist nation struck, it was a blow of desperation, for the Arabs were mobilizing armed forces for a push against Israel. [10]

Significantly, the Afro-American suggested that Israel was merely a puppet in the attack whose strings were being manipulated by imperialistic masters--England and France. [11] Later, Israel itself would be charged with imperialism, an allegation that Black militants employed against the Jewish State.

There are three major questions that readers may wish to address as they examine the newspaper articles that follow: this introduction:

1. Who represents the Black and the Jewish communities according to these newspapers?
2. What factors help to explain the perspectives held by Blacks and Jews regarding Israel and the Middle East?
3. How significant a role do these perspectives play in

contemporary Black-Jewish relations?

### Who Speaks for Blacks and Jews?

Neither Blacks nor Jews spoke with one voice during the years from 1967-1973. Leaders disagreed among themselves and issued contradictory statements. For example, in an editorial written on June 24, 1967, Roy Wilkins, a former executive director of the NAACP and Black moderate who believed in racial integration, issued a powerful call for support of Israel's right to exist. [12] Yet, in September of the following year, Stokely Carmichael, a Black militant and past chairman of the SNCC, spoke out vehemently in opposition to Israel's position in the Middle East. "We intend to fight imperialism," he wrote. "We will fight for Egypt." Carmichael continued, "There are many of us who are getting prepared and we will be come the fifth column. They can't stop us..." [13]

By 1970, it became evident that Carmichael and the SNCC were not alone in the Black community regarding their anti-Zionist stances: the Black Panthers joined in the Black militant rejection of Israel. Eldridge Cleaver, who served as Black Panther "Minister of Information" and embraced the anti-Zionist outlook of Palestinian El Fatah leader Yassir Arafat, insisted at that time that he was not anti-Semitic. Calling Zionists 'imperialistic oppressors,' He explained that "We have to make a distinction between Zionists and Jews because there are young radicals who are also of Jewish



origin." [14]

An article appearing in the April 1, 1971 edition of the Israelite noted that in contrast to the SNCC and the Panthers, Mr. Whitney Young echoed Roy Wilkins' sentiments with his enthusiastic report on Israeli society after returning from a visit abroad. [15] Further highlighting the ambivalent nature of Black perspectives on Israel and the Middle East, the Congressional Black Caucus and the National Black Political Convention disagreed, in early 1972, on their responses to the actions of the Jewish state in the Middle East: the Caucus stood firmly behind Israel's right to exist and identified, as African-Americans, with the "Jewish historical experience," while the Convention condemned Israel for "the alleged mistreatment of Arabs in the occupied territories." [16]

Jews who attended the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago were also divided. Reporting on the Convention, Jewish newspaper columnist Milton Friedman commented that younger Jews tended to be less concerned with Israel's fate than their elders; furthermore, he indicated that leftist Jews were more accepting of Carmichael's rhetoric than their moderate counterparts. [17] During the course of a 1970 editorial for the American Israelite, Friedman took issue with his radical co-religionists about their tolerance of Black Panther allegiance to the Palestinian El Fatah terrorist movement. He angrily inquired, "Is it 'genocide' only when whites kill dark-skinned peoples? Does the radical conscience accept Arab

murder of Jews?" [18]

A shift in Jewish perspectives on Israel may have occurred by 1972 when, in reaction to the disagreement between the Congressional Black Caucus and the National Black Political Convention, Rabbi Israel Miller--then president of the American Zionist Federation--had the following to say about Black-Jewish relations:

Israel is not negotiable to Jews, and the sooner this fact of life becomes apparent to the black community, the sooner a real dialogue leading to reestablishment of friendlier black-Jewish relations will emerge. The action taken by the 13 Black (Caucus) [sic] Congressmen, therefore, is a step in the right direction and augers well for improved Black-Jewish relationships." [19]

Rabbi Miller also encouraged the entire Black community to support the Caucus in its position.

In a cooperative venture, the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, an organization of Southern, Black Farmers, has been the beneficiary of Israeli technical assistance. By 1972, the African-American organization had already sponsored visits to Israel for its leaders to improve their agricultural know-how. A reciprocal visit to the site of the Federation's developmental farming projects in the U.S. was also expected. [20] Despite such cooperative efforts between African-Americans and Israelis, the following November, just after the Yom Kippur War, a number of Blacks in the U.S. were wondering if they would be called into combat against Africans in a Middle Eastern conflict. [21]

The pattern of ambivalence, described thus far,

continued from 1974-1980. Even though some Blacks were uneasy about the possibility of having to fight an American and Israeli war against their Arab brethren, African-American opinion of Israel following the Yom Kippur war--according to a survey of the nation's Black press by the American Jewish Congress--was generally good. But there were exceptions like the Los Angeles Herald-Dispatch, the Black Muslim movement's Muhammed Speaks, and the Black Panther, which were all virulently anti-Israel. [22]

A group of moderate Blacks joined together in the mid-1970s to act on their support for Israel. Organized by civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, BASIC (Black Americans In Support of Israel) was established in 1975. Included among the group's membership were moderate Blacks such as Roy Wilkins, labor leader A. Philip Randolph, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, and Texas Congresswoman Barbara Jordan. [23] An open, amiable exchange of letters on the issue of Israeli trade with South Africa also took place in 1976 between Bayard Rustin and Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg who was then President of the American Jewish Congress. [24]

Commenting on this same issue in September of 1976, the Afro-American expressed shock at the AJC equation of Israeli trade with South Africa to that of Black African exchange with the Pretoria regime. Unlike the Israeli form of barter, the Afro-American noted, Black African trade with South Africa did not include military hardware. [25] The same year, other Blacks expressed opposition to the Israeli raid on Uganda's Entebbe Airport aimed at freeing hostages, being

held by pro-Palestinian guerrillas, from an Air France flight. Some Blacks questioned the legitimacy of Israel's entry into Ugandan territory, as a violation of the Black nation's sovereignty. [26]

Andrew Young's resignation as U.S. Permanent Representative at the United Nations in 1979--due in part to the controversy which arose after his meeting with the PLO United Nations observer--elicited mixed reactions from the Black press regarding Israel and the Middle Eastern peace process. Although the paper's own editorial opinion was hostile to Israel and favored the "darker skinned" Palestinians and their cause, the Afro-American also provided G. James Flemming's commentary--which in its assessment of Ambassador Young's resignation--was more than fair to Israel and Jewish interests. [27] Yet, this balanced approach was not enough to prevent the Baltimore Jewish Times from responding to what it viewed as the Afro-American's twisting and distorting of history. [28] Nevertheless, despite the disagreement, the Jewish Times still extended a call for unity to its "colleagues" at the Afro-American in an effort to cooperate on matters of social justice.

Not all African-Americans empathized with the PLO (Palestine Liberation Organization). Bayard Rustin, in 1979, rejected the idea of negotiating with the PLO--the breach of U.S. policy which played a major role in Andrew Young's departure from the United Nations--on the grounds that it was morally indefensible to negotiate with terrorists. [29] Most Jews, of course, agreed with Bayard Rustin. They refused to

deal with the PLO, considering it to be a terrorist group. This did not, however, rule out sitting down with Palestinian Arabs who had no connection with the PLO. [31]

Black perspectives on Israel and the Middle East, as reported by the newspapers under study remained ambivalent even from 1981-1987. However, Israel was no longer a weak underdog in the Black perspective. For example, the Afro-American had the following to say about Israel's bombing of an Iraqi nuclear reactor in 1981:

Israel has the right to protect its security.  
It does not have the right to take  
unnecessary gambles that could well involve  
the security of its friends. In the  
treacherous and explosive Mid-East there is a  
responsibility that goes with being the  
area's superior power. [32]

Ethel Payne, writing in her column for the Afro-American a year later, was troubled by what she perceived as American support of Israel's military advance into Lebanon; yet, in her editorial, she was equally condemnatory of PLO terrorism. [33] Jesse Jackson, however, issued a blanket condemnation of the Israeli action in Lebanon. [34]

Commenting on the Sabra and Shatila massacres, not more than a few month's after Payne's column, Congressman Gus Savage--an African-American member of the House of Representatives--expressed his regret over the tragedy. He spoke out against Israeli sponsored violence in Lebanon and what he perceived as complicity on the part of the United States in the Israeli war effort. [35] Bayard Rustin, however, continued to promote a more favorable attitude



toward Israel. Agreeing that the West Beirut massacres were tragic, he was quick to emphasize that significant portions of the Israeli populace also condemned the brutal killings. Rustin encouraged Americans to show respect for the Israelis in their attempt to carry out a democratic investigation of the incidents. [36]

A few years after the war in Lebanon had passed from public attention, African-American writers such as John Jacob and Manning Marable began to focus on relations between Israel and Africa. Jacobs reported positively on Israeli society and the Jewish state's treatment of Ethiopian Jewry in 1985. Marable, on the other hand, had a far less enthusiastic assessment of the Israeli sponsored airlift of thousands of Ethiopian Jews to Israel in the mid-1980s. He was also displeased over Israeli ties to South Africa. [37]

Marable's comments drew sharp criticism from Rabbi Andrew Baker of the AJC. Baker's letter to the editor of the Afro-American reflected a Jewish perspective that was solidly behind Israel's response to Ethiopian Jewry. He further defended Israel in relation to South Africa by claiming that Marable's information was false and had been obtained from a disreputable source. [38]

In a different vein, ambivalent relations between African-Americans and Israel were further displayed in the mid 1980s. On January 20, 1986, the Israelis paid tribute to Black Christian minister Martin Luther King, Jr. by celebrating that date as Martin Luther King Day in Israel. Black Muslim minister Louis Farrakhan, on the other hand,



attempted to cultivate a relationship with the Black Hebrews based on a mutual antipathy toward White Jews. Several years earlier, in 1978, he traveled to Israel to meet Black Hebrew leader Ben-Ami Carter and to further ties with members of the sect living in Dimona. Significantly, in 1987--due largely to a sharp decrease in African-American financial assistance and the Israeli government's decision to bar them from employment-- Ben-Ami Carter and the Black Hebrews in Israel seem to have given up on the notion of waging an anti-Semitic, anti-Zionist campaign to claim Israel as their own Holy Land. However, the group's American members remained hostile to Israel. [40]

Another anti-Israel group involving American Blacks, The All-African People's Revolutionary Party, (AAPRP) coordinated by Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael), advocated the violent elimination of Zionism, during the mid-1980s. Over the past two decades, Toure has spoken at college campuses around the the United States. His appearance at the University of Maryland, in the mid-1980s, was particularly damaging to the school's Jewish student community. [41]

For their part, the AAPRP has claimed that it is not anti-Jewish, but anti-Zionist. [42] Jews however, are unlikely to be satisfied by these reassurances. Carmichael, for example told Columbia University students that:

The best Zionist is a dead Zionist. There is no such thing as the Jewish people. Zionism must be struggled against without mercy and without pity. [43]

The Anti-Defamation League has minimized Toure's impact on

American society; nevertheless, it has branded him a "provocative figure, whose activities warrant continuing concern." [44]

What does the evidence point to regarding the sources of Black and Jewish perspectives on Israel and the Middle East? Here again, as in Chapter One, we have seen that no lone voice speaks for the entire Black or Jewish communities. From 1967-1987, militants and moderates have declared either their fierce opposition to the very existence of the Jewish state or their strong support of Israel's right to take its place among the modern family of nations. At times, various Black friends of Israel have been troubled by the State's actions. Indeed, ambivalence has consistently characterized the nature of Black attitudes toward Israel and the Middle East over the past twenty years. From the Jewish perspective--with the exception of the leftists and some Jewish youth in the late 1960s--concern for the security and survival of Israel remained constant to the present.

### Analysis

Religion has played a vital role in Black and Jewish perspectives on Israel and the Middle East from 1967-1987. African-American religious belief has promoted both a healthy respect and appreciation for the Jewish state as well as doctrine which rejects the notion of a White, Zionist homeland altogether. For example, on the one hand, James S. Tinney writes that:

...The Pentecostal, Sanctified, or Holiness churches along with other independent black Protestants, doctrinally teach that the Jews are God's chosen nation; that the present Arab-Israeli conflict [written just after the Yom Kippur War] is the result of a disagreement between half-brothers Ismael and Isaac in Bible days; that the war between the two is predestined; and that those nations which support Israel align themselves with God and Bible prophecy. [45]

Yet, Louis Farrakhan and Ben-Ami Carter have each professed a religious belief which views either the Black Muslims, in Farrakhan's case, or the Black Hebrews, in Carter's case, as "cornerstones of a new world government." [46]

If either of these individuals and their followers could have this vision fulfilled it would not include the existence of a White, Jewish Israel. Since 1987, however, Ben-Ami Carter's position on White Israel has become less clear. When Rabbi Israel Miller declared to America's Black community, in 1972, that Israel is not negotiable to Jews, [47] he did not specifically cite a religious perspective on Jewish attachment to Israel; nevertheless, that a rabbi was President of the American Zionist Federation hints at the deep connection between the Jewish religion and Israel.

Economics cannot be ignored as a factor which has contributed to Black perspectives on Israel and the Middle East. African-Americans from Georgia, who were associated with the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, in the early 1970s have appreciated Israeli assistance geared to improve their economic welfare. American Blacks have also approved of Israel's efforts to assist developing African nations at

improving their economies. [48] Perhaps to Israel's detriment, Andy Young admitted, in September of 1979, that economics played a part in his decision to defy American foreign policy and talk with PLO U.N. observer Zehdi Labib Terzi.

Andrew Young admitted that fear of Arab economic pressure influenced his decision to speak with Terzi. [49] On a more hostile note, Manning Marable and Kwame Toure's AAPRP alleged in the mid-1980s that Israel is guilty of exploiting Black Africans through her economic interests in South Africa. Marable has stated that any kind of economic investment on Israel's part in South Africa's Bantustans (supposedly semi-autonomous Black territories) constitutes a politically subversive attack on the Black, South African fight for freedom. [50] Politically, Marable and Toure have not been alone in their attacks on Israel and Zionism.

During the past two decades, Black militant groups such as the SNCC, the Black Panthers, and the AAPRP have developed political and cultural ideologies which vehemently protest against Zionism. They have denounced Israel and Zionism as imperialistic, fascist, racist, and pro-slavery. [51] In contrast to these attitudes held by Black militant groups, Black moderates such as Whitney M. Young (past head of the National Urban League), Roy Wilkins, (a former executive director of the NAACP), and Bayard Rustin (founder of BASIC) have all defended Israel on grounds of political and cultural ideology.

Young and Wilkins have both emphasized the irony in

Black support of Arab liberation movements. These two Black leaders have noted that the Arabs were notorious traders in Black African flesh and terrible persecutors of Black Sudanese. [52] Rustin has, on more than one occasion throughout the 1970s and 1980s praised Israel's democratic values and commitment to equal rights for its citizens. [53] In 1979, Rustin also condemned the PLO's use of terrorist tactics as a means to achieve their objectives in the Middle East. [54] Also, during the same year, Andy Young explained Black sympathy for the Palestinian cause as stemming from the traditional African-American support of the underdog; he felt that if Israel should ever again wind up in that position, she would consequently receive a gush of Black-American backing. [55]

#### Significance for Black-Jewish Relations

Perhaps the dominant Jewish perspective on Black-Jewish relations regarding Israel and the Middle East is most clearly indicated in the following appeal to American Blacks made by Rabbi Israel Miller in the Spring of 1972:

It is inconceivable that any real friendship  
can be developed between our two peoples  
until the blacks are prepared to understand  
and accept our deep concern for Israel. [56]

At that time, the Black Congressional Caucus had, prior to Miller's plea, affirmed its strong commitment to Israel's security and survival. However, there were other Black voices--who during that same season in 1972 at the National



Black Political Convention--had expressed their condemnation of Israel for its alleged wrongful dealings with Arabs in the occupied territories. [57]

Andrew Young seems to have captured the mood of moderate Blacks when he declared, in 1979, that it was important for him to being able to speak his mind freely with regard to Israel--whether he was supportive or critical. Ethel Payne echoed this sentiment in 1982. [58] Young felt that in a pinch, most Blacks would stand behind Israel. Regarding Black-Jewish relations, he had the following to say:

There is an awareness that blacks and Jews have differences but there is also a willingness to sit down and deal with those differences. As a matter of fact, since my resignation there have been more meetings between the two groups than there have probably been in the last ten years. These dialogues have been productive and positive. [59]

Andrew Young, by contrast, did note that tensions had been building between Blacks and Jews. He spoke of the possibility of race riots--had he not resigned immediately. Headlines in the newspapers such as: "Israeli Agents Turn Young In" were responsible in part, noted Young, for exacerbating Black-Jewish tensions. [60]

A pattern of ambivalence regarding Black-Jewish relations and the Arab-Israeli conflict has continued well into the 1980s. Manning Marable's 1986 editorial on Israel and Africa along with Rabbi Andrew Baker's response illustrate the sensitive nature of Black-Jewish perspectives regarding Israeli foreign policy. Without doubt, serious



attention is being devoted by Blacks and Jews to this arena. Each group has at stake, a form of national and cultural pride. Both Blacks and Jews seek to insure freedom, peace, and security for those they feel a strong connection to--perhaps through color, religion, or political ideology--in Israel, the Middle East, and Africa. Future Black-Jewish relations in the United States will hinge on the degree of success which is achieved in understanding and tolerating ambivalent points of view.

## Wilkins Speaks • By Roy Wilkins

### Israel's Time Of Trial Also America's

In her smashing victory in one of the shortest wars in history, Israel has posed peace problems of the most complex nature. What principle will be the guideposts of the world's nations as they wrestle with the almost overpowering situation in the Middle East?

Nearly every spot in the world has a strategic value, but the Middle East is unique with its sea routes and its oil. There is deprecating talk about the Suez canal not being as necessary as it once was, but the fact is that the miles and days around Africa and the dollars of shipping costs make the Suez a crucial world waterway. More than half of Europe would be affected by a halt or a delay in Middle East oil delivery or by a sharp increase in its cost.

There is the fact of a powerful, modern Russia and the further awesome fact of the bomb. Diplomacy cannot be the same as it was in 1919 or in 1939 because the realities on the table are different and the consequences of a miscalculation could be catastrophic.

Finds issue not so simple.

The issue, then, does not seem as simple as one as partisans attempt to maintain.

An evident truism is that peace with justice and honor will come only with the recognition of the fact of Is-

rael as a nation. To insist that she is not there is the sheerest stupidity. On this basis all discussion will be persiflage.

Besides, in June, 1967, Israel's armed forces have declared with terrible emphasis that she is an entity. She is thus a spokesman in her own behalf, not merely a sponsor.

As a nation, Israel must be protected in the rights of nationhood as are other nations. She cannot be strangled by the closing of a waterway that had been, theretofore, a channel of commerce for all nations. Her nationhood and her people cannot be humiliated and deprived by being singled out for punitive action on the now ridiculous pretext that a state of war exists.

#### Made a land to bloom

A people persecuted down through the centuries has made a land to bloom. It has built a bastion of democracy in an area which has known only autocracy. The hateful and chilling cry that Israel must be destroyed must never be raised again. Never again must it be possible for 14 nations, united only in a fanatic hatred of a people and its religion, to surround, militarily, another nation and to announce to the world that its mission-in-conquest is one of extermination.

The United States of America has opposed this attempt of cruelty from its own revolution until this very hour. It went through a civil war to root out a tentacle of this evil from within its own borders.

Colored Americans see the familiar faces of suffering, bigotry and death in the Middle East conflict. Their astonishment at the League of Nations-Ethiopian debate lives again in the word-fencing and posture-building in today's United Nations. They watch the jockeying of great powers while a little nation fights alone for only life.

#### Conducted delicate debates

So often we Black Americans have fought only for life while others have conducted delicate debates, launched subtle procedures or condoned open violence with our trust — and our lives — as the victims.

Israel's hour of trial is also a time of trial for the American code. The small, brave country battled victoriously for its life, yes, but it fought as well for the tenets vital to the spiritual survival of mankind.

The degree to which these tenets remain the driving force in the moments of truth and of direction in our country's movement in the crisis will be one measure of man's push up the slope of civilization.

The Baltimore  
Afro-American

June 24, 1967

(p. 4)

## Can't You Accept A Black Man Or An Arab To Be As Human As Jews?

BY MILTON FRIEDMAN

WASHINGTON - Was there a special "Jewish" response to the events at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago?

It appears that Jews responded like everybody else—only more so. Many young people were troubled but it was a 22-year-old Jewish student who committed suicide in despair at Columbia University. Her action indicated the degree of commitment of youth to the cause of peace and the new politics.

The problem is different for older Jews. They have traditionally supported dissent and the outer fringes of civil liberties but are now caught between radical leftist anarchy and the growing right-wing backlash.

A consensus of Jewish delegates at Chicago indicated dismay over police behavior and the management of the convention. Included in the informal sampling were delegates pledged to Vice President Humphrey as well as McCarthy supporters. Most Jewish eyewitnesses found the use of brute force by authorities excessive. Provocations were acknowledged.

This reporter interviewed at random approximately 50 hippies, yuppies and other young demonstrators. About one-fourth identified themselves as Jewish. Some were militant in asserting their Judaism. Two girls wore mezuzah necklaces, a young man displayed the Star of David, another youth proudly

identified himself with Habonim, the Zionist youth organization. They had in common one main cause: peace in Vietnam. Another objective, phrased in various ways, was to protest the "hypocrisy" of the Establishment.

It was a different proposition for Jews over 35 or 40 who were identified with Jewish causes as well as the Democratic Party machine. One delegate said it was for him not only a dilemma but a personal and Jewish dilemma.

"I saw cops beat and curse some kids and I got sick," he said. "My own daughter against my wishes is somewhere in that crowd. She is convinced that the demonstrations are essential for a better society and to stop the war. She carried a sign that said, 'Get the troops out of Saigon, Prague, and Chicago.' She was raised in a liberal Jewish home and I encouraged her to read about Nazism and our people. Now she is for humanity and against war. It is very simple for her. What can I say? What can I do?"

Apart from the generation gap, an ideological chasm emerged. A typical delegate said he was interested in Israeli survival and the preservation of democracy in the United States. He saw the Democratic Party committed to these aims. While he thought the extent of U.S. involvement in Vietnam was a mistake, "the danger of Communism is even more obvious after the war last year in the Middle East."

Younger Jews said it looked to them as if Israel were able to take care of herself. There were more urgent problems. After Vietnam, there were "exploitation, police brutality, Fascism and racism in our cities." Nixon and Humphrey were ridiculed. President Johnson drew scathing denunciation. The old politics had to go. But it was

The Baltimore

Jewish Times

September 13,

1968

(p.5)

(Continued on

next page)

not so clear what was to replace it.

At least the young knew where they stood—for the moment. They were spared the torment assailing middle-aged Jews.

A self-described liberal asked: "How can I be a consistent civil libertarian when I am convinced that Stokely Carmichael is as dangerous as Sirhan Sirhan. I don't know what laws apply. An agitator like Carmichael is far more dangerous than the Klu Kluxers and American Nazis. He must be put away."

This outburst was evoked by Carmichael's address to an Arab student convention at the University of Michigan. Denouncing both America and Israel, Carmichael said he and other Negro militants were ready to take up arms and die if necessary to help the Arabs free Palestine.

Carmichael boasted: "We will become the fifth column. They can't stop us . . . There are many of us who are getting prepared and we intend to fight

imperialism. We will fight for Egypt."

Jews of the "New Left" were asked to comment on Carmichael. Their replies ranged from disinterest to a feeling that he was only trying to be dramatic. They made plain that one must accept Black Power fanaticism as "a phase of black emancipation just like Jewish emancipation years ago in Israel. There was a lot of rhetoric and violence from Jewish nationalists. Can't you accept a black man or an Arab as being as human as a Jew?"

## The Baltimore

## Jewish Times

September 13, 1968

(p.5)

## Capital Spotlight

By Milton Friedman

(Copyright JTA)

Washington—Young radicals who claim the support of Israel is consistent with defense of the Black Panthers are having trouble explaining the new Panther links with El Fatah, Arab terrorist movement.

Jewish new leftists joined the outcry that alleges "genocide" by the police against Black Panther leadership. But no public comment came from the same sources about the Panther endorsement of El Fatah.

Jewish radicals are aware that El Fatah takes pride in the murder of Israeli civilians, including women and children.

Is it "genocide" only when whites kill dark-skinned peoples? Does the radical conscience accept Arab murder of Jews?

These are questions that will have to be answered by the new "Jewish radical" groups forming in the United States.

The Jan. 4 issue of the Black Panther magazine carried an editor's note, "Palestine Guerrillas vs. Israel Pig." The guerrillas were Arab, the "pig" Jewish. Reference was made to El Fatah's "struggle for the liberation of Palestine." The Israeli government was branded "fascist."

Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver is hiding in Algiers to avoid a U.S. police warrant for his arrest. The leading Panther theoretician, Cleaver served as "Minister of Information." He was candidate for Pres-

(Continued on Page 14)

## Capital Spotlight

(Continued from Page 11)

idency of the United States in 1968 on the "Peace and Freedom Party" ticket. But he is perhaps best known for the best seller, "Soul on Ice," which he wrote in California's Folsom State Prison.

On Dec. 27 an event for radical history books took place in Algiers. Cleaver hugged and kissed Yasser Arafat, the leader of El Fatah. Both received standing ovations from 200 delegates and observers at the First International Congress of Committees of Support for Palestine.

In a speech considered relatively moderate for El Fatah, Arafat pledged to fight until victory over the Jews and rejected the concept of a peaceful Middle East solution. He said that violence was the only way to "liberate" Palestine.

Cleaver responded with a vitriolic attack on "American Zionists." He expressed "heartly support" for the Arabs.

According to Cleaver, Blacks "can no longer allow Zionists to point to the bones of the victims of Nazism and blind us from the piles of bones they are making of the Palestinian (Arab) people."

He denounced a number of Jews, including Arthur Goldberg, former ambassador to the United Nations, and Dr. Henry Kissinger, President Nixon's special advisor on foreign affairs.

Cleaver alleged that "Jewish intellectuals" were helping President Nixon formulate domestic policies which were "racist." He added that Black Panther leaders Bobby Seale and

Huey Newton were sent to prison by "Zionist" magistrates.

In Cleaver's view, there was a distinction between anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism.

He alleged that Zionists believed in imperialistic slavery, and in oppression. Black Panthers, he said, were not anti-Semitic.

"We are just anti-imperialism, anti-oppression, anti-slavery. We have to make a distinction between Zionists and Jews because there are young radicals who are also of Jewish origin."

A few days later, Cleaver announced that the Black Panthers in the United States fully supported the Arab guerrillas fighting Israel.

He told the Algerian newspaper, "El Moudjahid," that "Zionists" tried to prevent Blacks from achieving liberation.

In "Soul On Ice" Cleaver suggested that sensitive young whites supported the cause of colored peoples because of a guilt complex arising partly from "the slaughter of the Jews by the Germans."

But Cleaver appears free of such guilt. Among the outstanding "heroes" of world emancipation he listed was Gamal Abdel Nasser, President of Egypt.

All of Cleaver's "heroes and models" were "people of color."

Mentioned with Nasser were such men as Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-Lai.

## The American Israelite

January 8, 1970

LET THERE BE LIGHT

# As We Were Saying

Are Arabs Beasts?

by Robert L. Segal

One of the most effective acts of the late Whitney Young Jr., widely mourned leader of the National Urban League, was to give eloquent answer, not many months before his untimely death, to someone who had criticized him for joining other black leaders in a public appeal for U. S. support for Israel.

Having signed a New York Times ad along with other widely known black leaders, urging U. S. support for Israel, Mr. Young received the usual anti-Israel, like South Africa, has political prisoners; Israel isn't a democracy; Oriental Jews suffer indignities at the hands of Israelis, and why doesn't Mr. Young join in the Arab revolution?

In knocking down this transparent rebuttal, Mr. Young observed that most of black Africa trades with South Africa.

He noted the wide degree of self-government practiced by West Bank Arabs and comparatively good pay and availability of jobs for Arabs.

Nor was there any non-bias of democracy when Jordan ruled the territory now occupied by Israel.

He added that when he visited Israel in 1969, he was deeply conscious of the way millions of Oriental immigrants and was impressed with remedial educational and economic steps taken by the government.

"Finally," he said, "I must confess to being unaware of what you call the 'Arab Revolution'. If the Arab nations had really been concerned with improving the social, economic, and political conditions of their people, they would long ago have passed threatening to push Israel into the sea and concentrated their energies on improving the lives of their people."

To seal his point, he recalled that the Arabs had plunged into the slave trade centuries before white men "and kept it up longer, up to a few days ago."

Ray Wilkins, long-time executive head of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has also spoken up.

Mr. Wilkins chose persecution of Indians blacks by Arabs as a starting point for setting straight a part of the record.

The Wilkins blast began thus:

"Two black victims have suffered the persecution of black people by the Arabs in Northern Sudan and thus have forced the pro-Arab black operators here in the United States aware a moment of truth."

Continuing, he said: "The petition filed with the Department on Page 11."

## The American Israelite

April 1, 1971

(p.1)

(Cont. p.18)



# As We Were Saying

(Continued from Page 1)

UN by two black Sudanese puts genocide in its proper place. They charge that 250,000 black Sudanese have been shot to death and 250,000 have died of hunger.

The half million dead, they assert, were the result of official policy which the Arab-led Khartoum government is enforcing against 4,000,000 blacks in Southern Sudan. If one-eighth of the black population is killed off by government, then genocide is a valid charge.

"The petition, however, exposed more than the genocide fantasy of American black militants. All the far left Negroes, the big-name black leaders in exile in Algeria or those taking their

leisure elsewhere in Africa, have been preaching the vilest anti-Semitism.

\* \* \*

He then pointed out that Israel's enemies in the black community have promised Egypt that black American volunteer soldiers would help the Arabs against Israel and notes further that he has seen no rush of such black reinforcements. And he concluded:

"The disciples of blackism and their white sycophants now are called upon to become something they have never been: consistent. Are they for the liberation front in black Sudan as they declare themselves to be for the liberation front in Vietnam? Do they oppose the Arab-led government in Khartoum, or do they con-

tinue to urge Negro Americans to help the Arabs exterminate Israel?

The fate of the blacks of the Sudan and the fate of the Berbers who also have been victimized by Arabs might well concern American blacks who protest against Israel--the same Israel which in the few years since the state was born has graduated 11,000 black Africans from her flourishing institutions of higher education.

"It is like a letter from home wrote one of the recent recipients of a gift-subscription to The American Israelite For former Cincinnatians who wish to keep in touch with their friends. The Israelite makes an ideal gift.

## The American Israelite

April 1, 1971

(p.18)

## Black Caucus Stand On Israel Welcomed By Miller, AZF Head

NEW YORK (JTA)—Rabbi Israel Miller, president of the American Zionist Federation, has called on blacks to follow the lead of the Congressional Black Caucus, which stressed Israel's "right to existence" and said the Jewish historical experience "has helped inspire Black people in this country to strive for self respect and dignity and to revive their own cultural heritage."

The AZF leader declared that "American Jews want to develop a good relationship with the black community here, but the black leadership must know that any such steps are impossible until the Blacks reject in more positive fashion the values cherished by the Jewish community."

It is "unacceptable," he continued, "that any real friendship can be developed between our two peoples until the Blacks are prepared to understand and accept our deep concern for Israel."

### Answer To Sanctions

Rabbi Miller's criticism was in reference to the resolution passed recently at the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., endorsing the "dismantling" of Israel. A spokesman for Rabbi Miller said he considered it an official resolution even though it was passed at the tail end of the convention with only some of the delegates present.

Richard G. Hatcher, the black mayor of Gary, has called the resolution "very unfortunate" and "unrepresentative of the community's attitude."

"Israel is not negotiable to Jews," Rabbi Miller asserted, "and the sooner this fact of life becomes apparent to the black community, the sooner a real dialogue leading to re-establishment of friendly black-Jewish relations will emerge. The action taken by the 13 Black (Caucus) Congressmen, therefore, is a step in the right direction and augurs well for improved Black-Jewish relationships."

The Caucus strongly defended Israel's "right to existence" and warmly backed the Jewish Society's support to "30 Black African nations from Mauritania to Zambia." The chairman of

the Caucus is Rep. Louis Stokes of Ohio. It was underlined that the statement was drafted by Rep. William Clay of Miss.

### All Democrats

All the caucus members are Democrats. Besides Stokes and Clay, they are Mrs. Shirley Chisholm and Charles B. Rangel, New York; George W. Collins and Ralph H. Metcalfe, Ill.; John Conyers Jr. and Charles C. Diggs, Jr., Mich.; Ronald V. Dellums and Augustus F. Hawkins, Calif.; Walter Fauntroy, D.C.; Patern J. Mitchell, Md.; and Robert N. C. Rhys, Fla.

The JTA learned that the statement was prepared after questions had been raised on where the black members of Congress stood in view of the Gary resolution. One source said it was prepared so there would be no misunderstanding of the Caucus' position on Israel.

However, the JTA also was informed that Gary was not particularly relevant. This is a position paper on Israel, one

source said. He added that the statement is redundant by itself and that the important thing is that it was made and the Caucus is fully behind Israel.

The 300-word statement of the Caucus said in part: "The black leadership supports the position that the US Congress is reaffirming our position that we fully respect the right of the Jewish people to have their own State in their historic national homeland. We vigorously oppose the efforts of any group that would seek to weaken or undermine Israel's right to existence."

The American people, including Black Americans, have cherished the friendship of both the peoples of Israel and the Arab states. Our government, reflecting that friendship, has sought to promote an Arab-Israeli peace.

"Moreover, we think it appropriate to call special attention to the cordial relationship Israel has maintained with the developing Black nations in Africa and the Third World nations in Asia."

"As these new states were established, many were inspired and helped by Israel's example. Israel sent her technicians, technicians and experts to many countries . . . (which) benefited from Israel's financial and technical assistance."

The Baltimore Jewish Times

March 31, 1972

(p.3)

## Black Convention Softens Resolution: Condemns Israel, But Would Not Destroy It

NEW YORK (JTA)—A spokesman for the National Black Political Convention has confirmed to the JTA that a recent meeting of its steering committee unanimously approved a "rectified" and "softened" version of a resolution adopted in Gary, Ind. March 12 which called for the dismemberment of Israel.

According to Jeleli Mfuumi, Mayor Richard G. Hatcher of Gary and Rep. Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D-Mich.), co-chairman of the Black Political Convention, "went along with" (the) revised version that condemned Israel for the "forceful occupation" of Arab territory but eliminated the call for Israel's dismemberment.

Neither Hatcher nor Diggs could be reached directly for comment. An aide to Hatcher told the JTA that the Mayor took the same critical stand on

the revised resolution as he had on the original, which he has called "unfortunate" and unrepresentative of the convention as a whole.

### Unanimous Statement

Diggs is one of the 13 members of the Congressional Black Caucus, which issued a unanimous statement in Washington March 21 in defense of Israel's existence, three days before the Black Convention steering committee met at Howard University in Washington. The statement, hailed by Jewish bodies, was seen as a repudiation of the Gary resolution.

Mrs. Caroline Dubow, Diggs' press secretary, agreed when questioned by the JTA that there was a "contrast" between the Black Caucus' statement of March 21 and the steering committee resolution of March 24. She said the Black Congressional Caucus "operates independently" of the National Black Political Convention and indicated that the latter's revised resolution was a compromise reached in the interests of unity.

Mrs. Dubow said it was adopted by a hand vote and that she didn't know whether Diggs voted for it. According to Mfuumi, the revised version won unanimous approval.

Diggs' office told the JTA that the steering committee convened in executive session

March 24 expressly to reach a position of unity on two "controversial" resolutions adopted at the Gary convention, one on busing and the other on Israel.

The meeting was presided over by Diggs, Hatcher and the third co-chairman, Imamu Baraka of Newark, N.J. (the poet Leroy Jones). It was attended by the state chairman and representatives of the National Black Political Convention.

### A Fair Resolution

The revised resolution declared support of the Organization of African Unity as the official representative body speaking for Africans on that continent. It resolved that the position of the OAU on Israel and a recent resolution adopted by the United Nations Human Rights Commission condemning Israel for the alleged mistreatment of Arabs in the occupied territories were "fair and valid."

The revised resolution endorsed "the OAU's position calling for condemnation of the Israeli government for its expansionist policy and forceful occupation of the sovereign territory of another state; for measures to be taken to alleviate the suffering and to improve the position of the Palestinian people; and for support of the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination."

The resolution also called for "concurrence in the UN Commission on Human Rights' position affecting the demographic structure and physical character of the occupied territories and the rights of their inhabitants."

The JTA learned that Walter E. Fauntroy, the delegate from Washington, D.C., proposed that the revised version be subject to further revision by various state delegates up to April 22.

The Baltimore Jewish Times

April 14, 1972

(p.3)

(Continued on next page)

#### **Black Agenda**

A formal document, to be known as the Black Agenda, is to be ratified by the steering committee in Greensboro, N.C., May 6 and released May 19. The Black Agenda, incorporating the Israel resolution, was described to the JTA as a statement defining the issues around which Blacks must rally "in 1972 and beyond."

Meanwhile, in Washington, Rep. Louis Stokes (D-O.), chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, has reiterated "strong support of the Nation of Israel" in inserting the text of the Caucus statement in the Congressional Record. Stating that the Caucus "reaffirms its position on the State of Israel," Stokes declared, "I urge my colleagues and my fellow citizens to join me during the Passover week in remembering Israel and wishing her eternal success and strength as an independent nation."

He told the House that "the friendship that exists between the Land of Israel and her Young African neighbors is mirrored in the long-term friendship between American Jews and Black Americans."

Referring to his visit to Israel in May, 1967, Stokes said that while there he learned that "Israel has been able to solve many of the problems with which our country is still grappling." The Israelis, he added, "have, for example, made significant inroads upon the overwhelming problem of poverty," and "I witnessed for myself the close relationship that exists between Israel and the African neighbors."

The Baltimore Jewish Times

April 14, 1972

(p.3)

## News From The AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

NEW YORK, Oct. 25 . . . A well-known rabbi, broadcasting on subjects of concern to the American Black Community, has described how black farmers in the South are benefiting by the example and assistance of Israel's farm cooperatives.

Rabbi A. James Rudin, assistant director of the Inter-religious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, said that the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, a black organization, "has sent many of its leaders to Israel to study the successful co-op movement in the Jewish State."

Rev. Charles Sherrod, head of the Southwest Georgia project, Rabbi Rudin said, "was impressed with the rural development plans in Israel as a means to stop the human exodus to the cities."

Rabbi Rudin's one-minute taped commentaries are heard weekly by radio stations specializing in black programming in a number of cities around the country. They deal with such subjects as Youth, Politics and Race, Education, Job-Less Housing, Personalities in the News, Quotes, Jewish-Christian relations, and others. (Text of statement follows)

"Nearly twenty thousand black families are affiliated with the Federation of Southern Cooperatives, working together towards economic security in the Deep South. The Federation is organized into handicraft, farming, credit union, marketing and summer co-ops. Many great problems remain because of black landlessness and agricultural mechanization. For technical assistance many co-operative leaders have turned

to Israel.

"Father A. J. McKnight is one leader who studied the co-op movement in Israel, and he returned most enthusiastic about applying Israel's experience to the blacks in the Deep South.

"For two summers American blacks have studied at the Afro-Asian Institute in Tel Aviv and at Israeli cooperative settlements. They learned valuable skills and techniques, but the American blacks also learned that the Israelis 'are not the racists of which they had heard.'"

"Rev. Charles Sherrod, head of the Southwest Georgia project, was impressed with the rural development plans in Israel as a means to stop the human exodus to the cities. Rev. Sherrod organized New Communities, Inc. to buy land and hold it in perpetual trust for cooperative development. The Israeli Lachish Plan, where four or five farm villages are grouped together and share the same schools, health clinics, stores, workshops and entertainment facilities, is a model for Southern cooperatives.

"After Rev. Sherrod and his associates acquire the land for their new communities, Israeli experts will help guide the project in its early stages. This is a concrete example of Jews and blacks sharing and building together."

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. It combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of people at home and abroad, and seeks improved human relations for all men everywhere.

The Cincinnati Herald

November 11, 1972

(p.6)

# The Baltimore Afro-American

November 3, 1973

(p.1)

## Will Black Troops Have To Fight Africans In Mid-East War?

By James S. Thayer

Will black Americans be forced to fight against the Arabs in the event of a U.S. Armed Forces intervention?

That question, posed in the form of a "black and white" issue, has been asked by the Afro-American in its recent editorial, "Will black troops have to fight against the Arabs in the event of a U.S. Armed Forces intervention?"

It is more than a mere academic question. For if the United States were to intervene in the Middle East, it would be faced with the problem of how to deal with the Arab forces.

It is more than a mere academic question. For if the United States were to intervene in the Middle East, it would be faced with the problem of how to deal with the Arab forces.

Some activists have for a long time urged that black troops be sent to fight against the Arabs in the event of a U.S. Armed Forces intervention.

They argue that black troops would be more effective in fighting against the Arabs because they would be more familiar with the Arab culture and language.

They also argue that black troops would be more motivated to fight against the Arabs because they would be fighting for the same people as they are.

They also argue that black troops would be more motivated to fight against the Arabs because they would be fighting for the same people as they are.

They also argue that black troops would be more motivated to fight against the Arabs because they would be fighting for the same people as they are.

Others, however, have argued that black troops should not be sent to fight against the Arabs because they would be fighting against the same people as they are.

They argue that black troops would be more effective in fighting against the Arabs because they would be more familiar with the Arab culture and language.

They also argue that black troops would be more motivated to fight against the Arabs because they would be fighting for the same people as they are.

They also argue that black troops would be more motivated to fight against the Arabs because they would be fighting for the same people as they are.

They also argue that black troops would be more motivated to fight against the Arabs because they would be fighting for the same people as they are.

Actually, only the original draft of the report mentioned the possibility of black troops being sent to fight against the Arabs.

It was later deleted from the report because it was considered too controversial.

It was later deleted from the report because it was considered too controversial.

It was later deleted from the report because it was considered too controversial.

It was later deleted from the report because it was considered too controversial.

and get chambers. They recall that the original draft of the report mentioned the possibility of black troops being sent to fight against the Arabs.

It was later deleted from the report because it was considered too controversial.

It was later deleted from the report because it was considered too controversial.

It was later deleted from the report because it was considered too controversial.

It was later deleted from the report because it was considered too controversial.

Other black groups, however, have argued that black troops should not be sent to fight against the Arabs because they would be fighting against the same people as they are.

They argue that black troops would be more effective in fighting against the Arabs because they would be more familiar with the Arab culture and language.

They also argue that black troops would be more motivated to fight against the Arabs because they would be fighting for the same people as they are.

They also argue that black troops would be more motivated to fight against the Arabs because they would be fighting for the same people as they are.

They also argue that black troops would be more motivated to fight against the Arabs because they would be fighting for the same people as they are.



## Blacks Rated On Jewish Hostility

New York.—A survey of leading black newspapers across the country indicates that the overwhelming majority were either favorable to Israel or ambivalent in the news reports and editorials they published on the Yom Kippur war, the American Jewish Congress reported today.

A sampling of the black press for a seven-week period beginning with the outbreak of the war on October 6 showed only one of 18 black newspapers studied to be opposed to Israel, the Congress said in a report delivered at its national Governing Council meeting in Stephen Wise Congress House, 15 East 84th Street.

Theodore Bilal, co-chairman of the Congress' policy-making body, presided at the meeting. In the study, five black newspapers were classified as "generally favorable" to Israel, five as "mixed" and four as publishing too little news or opinion about the issue to warrant a judgment.

Commenting on findings, Naomi Levine, executive director of the American Jewish Congress, declared:

"The results of this study challenge the frequently expressed view that the black community is at best indifferent to Israel and at worst hostile to the Jewish state."

"At the same time, however, the survey demonstrates that there remains much work to be done by Jewish organizations in

pointing out to the black community that Israel is a democratic movement of national liberation and that the United States has a compelling interest in her survival."

### Extent of Study

The survey closely examined 11 of the largest black newspapers in the country, published in New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Baltimore, Cleveland and Atlanta—the major centers of Negro population.

Four weeklies in smaller cities—Kansas City, Durham (N.C.), Minneapolis and Norfolk—were also covered in the study.

More than 80 other black newspapers were spot-checked for their news stories and editorials on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Listed as favorable to Israel were those newspapers (circulation figures in parentheses):

Atlanta Inquirer (11,000); Chicago Daily Defender (22,100); Los Angeles Sentinel (47,984); Minneapolis Spokesman (11,000); St. Louis Argus (15,000).

Classified as "neutral" or "mixed" in their coverage were:

Atlanta Daily World (22,500); Baltimore Afro-American (34,174); New York Amsterdam News (79,198); Norfolk Journal and Guide (21,000); Philadelphia Tribune (18,500).

(Continued on page 11)

## The Cincinnati Herald

February 2, 1974

(p.1)

(Cont. on p.11)

## Blacks Rated

(Continued from page 1)  
Showing no significant coverage of the Middle East

result were:  
Cleveland Call and Post (22,828); Detroit Michigan Chronicle (51,322); Durham Times (8,888); Kansas City Call (12,888).

One black newspaper was described as the study as anti-Israel.

Los Angeles Herald-Examiner (34,588).

Mohammed Speaks, published in Chicago by the Black Muslim movement, and the Oakland (Cal.) Black

Post were not included in the survey because they were regarded as ideological journals published by organizations rather than newspapers. Both were "strongly anti-Israel," as expected, according to Martin Rockbaum of the American Jewish Congress Commission on Law, Social Action and Urban Affairs, who conducted the study.

The American Jewish Congress survey examined news coverage, editorials and columns of opinion in assessing the newspapers' attitude toward Israel.

By and large, according to the study, news coverage of the Yom Kippur war tended to be straightforward, relying heavily on wire service copy or reviews of daily newspaper stories.

In the "favorable to Israel" newspapers, both editorials and columns supported the Israeli cause. In the "mixed" publications, editorials and columns were frequently an opposite sides of the same coin. In the one anti-Israel newspaper, news and feature articles were vehemently opposed to American foreign policy as well as to the Israeli cause, according to the study.

**Pro-Israel Papers**  
The Chicago Daily Defender, which appears five times weekly, published comprehensive news coverage of the Middle East war and the most favorable editorial comments, according to the study.

An editorial in the newspaper's October 25 issue said that Syria and Egypt could "not escape the responsibility for starting the war" and observed that the United Nations must "not bend its ears to the Arab dream of power at the expense of Israel's boundary, security and defense needs."

A syndicated column by Bayard Rustin, Negro rights leader, urging support for Israel and asserting that the fate of Israel and American blacks was "inseparable," was "published widely in the black press."

Similarly, a news story based on an advertisement in the New York Times signed by 74 Negro union leaders praising the "courage and determination of the people of Israel" and appealing to the U.S. government "to provide Israel with whatever support it requires to defend itself" appeared in scores of black newspapers across the country, the survey found.

The Los Angeles Sentinel reprinted an editorial from another black newspaper, the Oklahoma Eagle at Tulsa, entitled "Israel Needs Support" and declaring that President Nixon had "acted wisely in sending aid to Israel."

## Newspapers With

### "Mixed" Positions

The Amsterdam News, published in New York, appeared to match pro-Israel stories with anti-Israel dispatches, the study found. Thus, on November 20 the newspaper carried a story that Imamu Baraka (LeRoi Jones), chairman of the "Congress of African People," had taken a position backing the Arabs. In the same issue, the newspaper reported that Manhattan Borough President Percy Sutton had sent a telegram to the White House urging the President "to supply Israel with military and economic assistance."

On December 1, the same newspaper carried two articles on the war—one quoting the general counsel of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Arnold Forster, the other quoting the secretary general of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations, Dr. M. T. Mehdi.

A column entitled "Black and the Holocaust" by Robert S. Browne, an editorial board member of the Amsterdam News, urged that blacks in the U.S. armed forces not be required "to take up arms against the Arabs in support of Israel." In his next column, Mr. Browne explained that he had feared ordering black troops into combat against the Arabs would "encourage anti-Semitic expressions in the black community."

Another newspaper described as "mixed" in its attitude toward Israel was the Baltimore Afro-American, which carried extensive coverage of the Yom Kippur war. One issue featured a story quoting Senator Charles Mathias (Dem., Md.) on the need for the U.S. to supply arms to Israel and, in the same edition, statements by the leaders of Nigeria and Zaïre calling on the U.S. to "put teeth into the resolution against colonialism and the right of Israel to hold occupied Arab territory."

In its editorial policy, the Afro-American appeared to seek an even-handed position, the American Jewish Congress study said. In an October 23 editorial, the newspaper questioned why it was possible for the U.S. to finance military aid to Israel but not find money to solve domestic urban problems. In the same editorial, the newspaper observed that "Israel has every right in the means of survival and America is the major power friend on which Israel can count."

In addition to Mohammed Speaks and the Oakland Black Panther, which carried what the American Jewish Congress described as "their usual anti-Semitic and anti-Israel slant

der," the study reported that the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner was consistently anti-Israel and anti-Administration in its news coverage and editorial policy.

The study quoted the following headlines from the Los Angeles black weekly L.A. Phoenix: Soldiers and Air Force in Mid-East Aggression; Situation Supports Arab Freedom War; Crackdown on Israel; Sinai Lost; At Frank. News stories contained such statements as "It is imperative that Israel-U.S. imperialism extend their borders if they are to survive in the Middle East."

## The Cincinnati

### Herald

February 2, 1974

(p.11)

### ***Black Americans To Support Israel Is Organized***

A Black Americans To Support Israel Committee has been formed.

The announcement was made by veteran civil rights leader Bayard Rustin recently at a New York City press conference.

"The democratic values that have sustained our struggle in America are also the source of our admiration for Israel and her impressive social achievements," Mr. Rustin said.

"No nation is without imperfections.

But Israel's are far outweighed by the freedom of her democratic society.

"Only in Israel, among the nations of the Middle East, are political freedoms and civil liberties secure.

"Together with other Americans, we enthusiastically join in reaffirming the rights of Israel to exist as a sovereign state.

Labor leader A. Philip Randolph, NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins and Eleanor Holmes Norton, New York City Commissioner of Human Rights, backed Mr. Rustin in the formation of the committee.

The committee's statement of principles, endorsed by those and others including Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and Texas Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, declares:

"We black Americans have been guided throughout our long struggle for racial equality by certain fundamental principles.

"These include: a commitment to democracy; opposition to all forms of racial, religious and sexual discrimination; and the conviction that denial of equal rights to any minority threatens not only every other minority but democracy itself."

The committee statement concluded that Israel's pursuit of these ideals is real and deserves to be protected.

### **The American Israelite**

September 25, 1975

(p.1)

Sad Day At The UN

# **Israel vs. Black Africa**

By J. H. Graham, Special U.N. Observer For NNPA

In a country of over 20 million people, one wonders how many, outside of the major urban centers, followed the recent sensationalized American press treatment of the Israeli Israeli raid on Entebbe Airport in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda. One wonders, in fact, how many recognize Uganda as a nation.

I have just spent a week sitting through the total sessions held before the United Nations Security Council as a result of the unauthorized military penetration by Israel of

Ugandan territory. The meetings were called by the 40-member Organization of African Unity in such condemnation of Israel for invasion of a sovereign state - in violation of the UN Charter - and the loss of lives and destruction of property which followed.

The direct events setting this incident underway began on Sunday, June 27th, when Pro-Palestinian guerrillas hijacked an Air France airliner over Geneva. The plane was carrying 261 people and was on its way to Paris from Tel Aviv.

The airliner, after refueling in Libya, ended up in Kampala, Uganda, after the French Government notified Sir Amble, Uganda's Head of State that the aircraft had only 15 minutes of fuel left and asked permission for it to land. The date was Monday, June 28th.

The hijackers began their negotiations for the release of 51 Pro-Palestinians from jails in Israel, Kenya and West Germany, and set a deadline of 5:00 am on Thursday, June 29th for satisfaction of their demands. Serving as

(Continued on page 2)

## The Cincinnati Herald

August 28, 1976

(p.1)

(Cont. on p.2)

# The Cincinnati Herald

August 28, 1976

## Sad Day

(Continued from page 1)  
negotiations were the French Ambassador on behalf of his government and the Israeli government; the Somali Ambassador, Dena, of the Arab officials in Kampala; and Idi Amin himself as head of the government which permitted the aircraft to land on its territory.

The incident ended in the early morning hours of Sunday, July 24, when Israeli planes - under the pretext of coming in to exchange the prisoners requested - landed a military force and in a surprise attack killed Ugandan soldiers securing the airport and the Palestinians involved in the hijacking - and rescued the hostages in an operation lasting under an hour. Property damage included the destruction of Ugandan fighter planes on the ground and a portion of the airfield.

In between the two Sundays was a week which saw about half the hostages released - notably, however, not including Israeli citizens. Near the end of the expiration time set for the negotiations, Idi Amin succeeded in obtaining an extension of the deadline from Thursday, July 22 to Sunday, July 24.

It was a bold act for Amin because the added time provided the opportunity for the Israelis to plan the military strategy which resulted in the death of Ugandans, the destruction of

part of the Entebbe Airport facilities, and the loss of the few fighter planes possessed by the little country, Uganda, the most small African state a desperately poor, having a per capita income of less than \$100 a year. The state does not even possess a bomber, let alone a combat surface.

In spite of the rage and abuse which have been heaped upon Amin, the incident may represent the heart of a grave moral conflict for Israel. For, if Amin was not an accomplice in the hijacking - and despite the Israeli claim, no definite evidence was presented to substantiate such a charge - then the Ugandan head of State was in fact betrayed.

No subsequent clothing of the deed in heroic and glamorous garb is sufficient to dispense the possibility of this overwhelming, horrifying fact. What I witnessed at the UN therefore was tragedy - the tragedy of conflicting tales and lingering questions. That's on the one hand. Going far beyond even this aspect of the matter, however - in terms of sobering implications for the period ahead - are the attitudes of the Black African countries toward this matter - which, incidentally, went virtually unreported by the dominant American press.

For unconsciously - the Africans felt the unauthorized entry of Israel into the sovereign territory of Uganda to represent an ominous precedent threatening their

own safety. Clearly, they did not believe that such a venture would have been undertaken against any other specifically, but a Black African state, and just as clearly, despite their differences - as the Montreal Olympics have subsequently revealed - they mean to close ranks more and more solidly against any force or forces which threaten their survival.

For them - and this specific point was expressed over and over again - the spectre at Israel's shoulder is South Africa, with whom the Israelis have formed political alliance.

The ultimate confrontation at the UN therefore was not alone, or even primarily between Israel and Uganda. It was between Israel and Black Africa, between the Western powers and the newly emerging states which were their former colonies, and between the Have and Have not countries in the world.

The Israeli representative before the Security Council spoke as a Westerner for the West and what he advocated was the establishment of a Western force to contain and control those which threaten the prevailing powers.

A conflict with Brown Africa may perhaps be viewed in a historical context in which Arabs and Jews have alike been trapped and which therefore must be avoided toward a solution by responsible nations. Toward the latter end, the UN has repeatedly indicated that the

(Continued on page 14)

## Sad Day

(Continued from page 2)

rights of the Palestinian people are unshakable and must be recognized.

A conflict with Black Africa provides no such context. Such a conflict poses the people involved in one holocaust of history from its face with the people involved in another and still contemporary one which has not yet been acknowledged and redempted by the Western powers which perpetrated it. History will not really sustain a new context in which Israel joins those powers.

For the observer in the name of the UN Security Council hearings, it was a sad day which presage further bad times ahead. For American Blacks are as historically tied to Black Africa as American Jews are to Israel. Strain and tension in Africa, therefore, offers the sobering possibility of increased strain and tension between our peoples at home.

People who care a great deal might urge the importance of sober analysis and reassessment by all those who might be able to play some role in addressing and reforming the situation.

(p. 14)

(p. 2)

## Two Letters

## Tell A Story

## From Bayard Rustin

Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg,  
President, American Jewish  
Congress, 13 East 86th Street,  
New York, New York 10028

Dear Rabbi Hertzberg:  
I am writing to express a  
deep sense of concern and  
disturbance about the recent  
visit to Israel by Prime  
Minister Verner of South  
Africa and the announcement  
of plans to expand commercial  
and other relations  
between the two countries.

Not only I but every friend  
of Israel in the Black community  
was outraged by this  
move. Our support of Israel  
has been based not merely on  
pragmatic considerations nor  
even on what we may con-  
sider to be the best national  
interests of our country but  
rather on moral concerns, on  
our historic and deep sense of  
solidarity with the Jewish  
people and our appreciation of

the State of Israel as a  
progressive and democratic  
society.

One of us, we ask ourselves,  
that Israel is departing from  
its principles and character  
and repudiating its hostility to  
apartheid? We find that im-  
possible to believe. Never-  
theless, we need an open and  
true clarification of the facts.

I address you not only  
because the American Jewish  
Congress sponsors a very  
useful Black-Jewish In-  
tervention Center which could  
help to elucidate the matter,  
but because I personally feel a  
unique closeness to the  
Congress, a veterans partner of  
the Black community in the  
struggle for racial justice.

It was the president of the  
Congress, Dr. Jacobson Price,  
who symbolically represented  
and spoke for the entire  
American Jewish community  
when he stood shoulder-to-

shoulder with Martin Luther  
King, Jr. at the historic March  
on Washington 13 years ago.  
When the Congress chose a  
successor to Dr. Price, you  
turned to Rabbi Arthur J.  
Lelyveld, who was serving as  
a volunteer minister-  
counselor to young voter-  
registration aides in  
Mississippi when he was  
wounded by white  
segregationists. And in your  
own community of Englewood  
as well as on the national  
scene, you yourself have been  
a forceful opponent of  
segregation and an ardent  
defender of racial justice.

Because, we have been  
convinced in the struggle for  
human dignity and political  
democracy, I write to you for  
the kind of frank and honest  
response I know I can expect.

Sincerely,  
Bayard Rustin  
Director

## From Arthur Hertzberg

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Black  
Americans to Support Israel  
Committee, 200 Park Avenue  
South, New York, N.Y. 10028.

Dear Mr. Rustin:  
Thank you for your recent  
letter. I shall try to answer  
you in the same spirit of  
candidly candid with which  
you wrote.

I suppose there was not a  
Sabbath, sensitive Jew in the  
world whose heart did not sink  
at the news of the visit of  
South Africa's Prime Minister  
Verwoerd to Israel, a society  
dedicated to the salvage of  
human life and the pursuit of  
human values.

What happened? We asked  
ourselves. What was he doing  
there? Why was he needed?  
Perhaps I should preface

my response by noting that I  
have just returned from a  
summer-long visit to Israel.  
There I met with a wide range  
of political and institutional  
leaders, including top  
governmental figures. From  
Prime Minister Rabin on  
down, every responsible  
person made a point of con-  
demning apartheid publicly  
and privately.

Indeed, within days after his  
meeting with the South  
Africa Prime Minister, Mr.  
Rabin publicly expressed his  
feelings of revulsion at the  
politics and consequences of  
that form of racism which  
apartheid represents. During  
the same period, the  
Knesset, Israel's powerful  
trade union movement,

refused to play host to two  
South African labor leaders  
who had expressed interest in  
visiting Israel. Histadrut  
pointed out, quite simply, that  
it has always been in the  
vanguard of the anti-  
apartheid campaign within  
the International Con-  
federations of Free Trade  
Unions.

Nevertheless, the fact  
remains that Verwoerd did visit  
Israel, that Prime Minister  
Rabin did meet with him and  
that they did decide to expand  
trade relations. Why?

The answer may be found in  
Israel's virtual isolation in the  
world and its vulnerability to  
political attack, economic  
warfare and military  
Threats was a time, not so

The Cincinnati Herald

September 11, 1976

(p.4)

(Cont. on p.10)



# Arthur Hertzberg

(Continued from page 4)

breasting the most severe economic consequences if their political demands were not met. Under intense Arab pressure most of Black Africa broke diplomatic relations and curtailed commercial ties with Israel.

Thus did the Black African states, desperate for aid, succumb to blackmail and turn away from a good and helpful friend.

Israel has not rejected Black Africa, indeed, Israel is eager to resume its friendship with Black Africa, and many Israelis are still engaged in needed if unofficial technical and scientific programs in those states. But surrounded as it is by Arab forces which still seek its total destruction, Israel simply cannot afford to ignore any source of economic cooperation or turn her back on any state that is willing to enter into trade relations with her, however repugnant that state's policies. As Prime Minister Rabin put it: "In the conduct of a country's foreign policy, there must be dialogue between states even when the regime and the outlook and values of the partners to such dialogue differ from those of the State of Israel."

It is just such dialogue - with South Africa - that President Felix Houphouët-Boigny of the Ivory Coast and Prime Minister Chief Leoluca Jonkhoe of Lesotho have vigorously advocated in recent years.

In this connection, may I refer to the facts revealed in the attached study by the American Jewish Congress demonstrating the large and growing volume of trade between South Africa and 18 Black African states. Authoritative estimates indicate that South Africa's

annual imports from the rest of Africa are worth about \$340 million, the equivalent of 5 per cent of South Africa's total imports. And South Africa's annual exports to the rest of Africa amount to about \$600 million or about 11 per cent of South Africa's total exports.

To facilitate this growing trade, South African Airways is now making weekly refueling and passenger stops at Abidjan, Ivory Coast, in flights to and from Europe. Many other examples of close cooperation in the economic sphere between South Africa and the countries of Black Africa may be cited as further evidence that, for the sake of economic survival, even profound political differences are often shunted aside. So it is with Black Africa. So it is with Israel.

Workable arrangements of this kind are obviously hateful to those who are committed to the values of racial equality and human dignity. But if it is wrong for Israel to have any relations with South Africa, why is it not also wrong for Black African states to have such relations? And if it is right for Black Africans, why is it not also right for Israel? Stronger views than Israel continue to have dealings with countries with whom they disagree profoundly. The

repressive ideology and cruel behavior of many of these nations are little less heinous than South Africa's. Let us not ask of Israel what we do not ask of the countries of Black Africa and the rest of the world. There can be no double standard in judging the behavior of nations, there cannot be one rule for the great and powerful and another for the small and weak.

In this imperfect world, you and I and men and women of good will must persist in the struggle to achieve a world where a liberal, humane democracy like Israel need not be forced into a relationship with a racist state and where, indeed, Israelis and Black Africans and all who seek peace among nations and among men will be able to live and work

together in peace and mutual respect. That is what is meant by that profound injunction of the ancient rabbis:

"It is not for you to complete the task, but neither are you at liberty to turn aside from it."

Sincerely,

Arthur Hertzberg

The Cincinnati Herald

September 11, 1976

(p.10)

# ACROSS MY DESK

By Marjorie Parkman

Over the years the CINCINNATI HERALD HAS PRINTED PRO-Israel articles. In fact some of our black readers and friends have insisted that 95 percent of the articles dealing with Israel have been pro. For this reason it came as something of a surprise to receive some strongly worded letters to the editor protesting a recent National Newspaper Publishers Association by-line article which was indeed decidedly anti-Israel. We would like to make only one comment regarding one of the two letters we will print in this column. The writer points out that other black newspapers have attacked Uganda President Idi Amin and we suppose to somehow believe that this newspaper should have followed suit. We have noted for years that strong black leadership is attacked by the larger press and the black media follow this line. This has never been the policy of this newspaper as we know that black leaders are not led by the establishment are victims of an orchestrated attack. While Amin may be a bad dude we have seen many similar articles designed to ridicule him; articles that were not worth the paper they were written on. The fact is at this point the people of Uganda have accepted him as their leader. They are satisfied. Just because the Western press is not satisfied is no reason for us to take up the cudgel of criticism until more responsible news sources indicate to us that such criticism is needed. The fact that Jewell Beady Gresham wrote such a column was of interest to our readers. After all where else can they expect to find a different view of Uganda's Idi Amin? And our last comment is relative to the A.J.C. writer failing to point out ".....so many errors of fact and interpretation that it is difficult to know where to begin in writing a response."

The two letters follow:  
To the Editor  
The Cincinnati Herald  
600 Lincoln Ave.  
Cincinnati, OH 45202

To the Editor:  
In your latest issue (Aug. 18, 1976) is one of the most biased articles ever to appear in your newspaper. Entitled "Israel vs. Black Africa" the article attempts to place Idi Amin, Uganda's strongman, in the best possible light and makes Israel's heroic rescue of the hijacked hostages appear as an "unauthorized military penetration ... of Ugandan territory." This article distorts the facts of the raid on Entebbe Airport in order to defend a man that even Kagan has denounced. Africa's cause would be better served by stressing the great strides of several countries in social progress - such as Zambia, Kenya, Tanzania, and Zaire. In fact if any category of social progress should Uganda's Amin be praised. In no case should he be defended for his collaboration with

Palestinian terrorists.  
Sincerely,  
Brian R. Hinzman

Editor  
Cincinnati Herald  
600 Lincoln Avenue  
Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

To the Editor:  
Jewell Beady Gresham's column in the August 18th issue of the Cincinnati Herald, in which she defended Idi Amin's actions during the hijacking and rescue of 103 Israeli hostages held in Uganda's Entebbe Airport, contains so many errors of fact and interpretation that it is difficult to know where to begin in writing a response. Perhaps the best service to readers of the Cincinnati Herald would be to let them know what other black newspapers said. For example, an editorial in the Cleveland Call & Post said: Dictator-President Idi Amin of Uganda had to know that he was playing with fire when he permitted his country to be a sanctuary for the hijackers of a French plane and its passengers.

The hijacking of a plane and holding innocent people as hostages, in a deliberate plan to free prisoners, is atrocious to any civilized human being. Africans nations can ill afford to play double with the Arab terrorists who can offer them nothing but trouble. ... Amin's threat to declare war on Kenya, because Israeli planes of mercy were permitted to land there on their return trip, shows how Israel

this despotic ruler is of any human virtue.

The last thing Black African nations need is war against each other.

In an editorial entitled "Amin the Butcher," the Cincinnati Enquirer stated: Amin is an offense to Black Africa. He is heartless, ignorant and brutal. He knows all the qualities of leadership and humanity which Black people have sought in their leaders across the years. He has sought constantly to replace bold and fearless actions designed to elevate his people out of their misery, with worthless rhetoric. His heartless behavior has an echo in the hearts of all who would make a just protest.

In the Philadelphia Tribune (August 21) Ugandan columnist Norman Kannyani gave his opinion:

Uganda is a country for Ugandans, other than what Idi Amin takes it to be. Amin thinks it is his personal property and that is why he has turned it into an international battlefield.

Had Amin not involved himself with the hijackers all that bloodshed would not have occurred. The killing of the British-Jewish lady, Mrs. Dore Black, is an indication among other examples that Amin kills absolutely.

We Ugandans want compensation from Amin for all the lives and property that have passed through his hands. We hope we can do what Israel did to save what is left of Uganda.

(Continued on page 11)

## Across My Desk

(Continued from page 4)

Ms. Gresham is "horrified" at the thought that Israel "betrayed" Idi Amin. Her colleagues in the Black press are appropriately more horrified at the actions of Amin as Uganda's head of state.

Ms. Gresham chooses to extrapolate the confrontation between Uganda and Israel into a confrontation between Israel and all of Black Africa, and further, "between the Have and Have Not countries in the world." But Israel is actually not a "Have" nation, nor is there any reason for Israel and Black Africa to be opposed to each other. Indeed, Israel's technical assistance programs in Black Africa are universally admired and respected. When under the intense pressure of Arab oil-producing states, most Black Africans states broke diplomatic relations with Israel. It was a case of cutting off our nose to spite our face. Only recently members of Zambia's Parliament have called for the return of Israeli agricultural experts who were expelled when Zambia broke

relations with Israel: in 1972 Nigeria has announced that it will no longer support anti-Zionism resolutions at the United Nations.

Ms. Gresham expressed fear that because American Blacks "are as historically tied to Black Africa as American Jews to Israel," strain and tension in Africa offers the sobering possibility of increased strain and tension between our peoples at home.

Men and women of good will, Blacks as well as Jews, know better than that. There are many parallel hopes and dreams to be shared by American Blacks and Jews in their desire to see Africa and Israel flourish. And there are powerful ties that bind the two communities. The actions of the despot, Idi Amin, cannot and will not break them.

Sincerely,  
Richard Cohen

The Cincinnati  
Herald

September 18, 1976

(p.4) (Continued

on p.11)

The Baltimore Afro-American

4

SEPTEMBER 14-18, 1976

## AJC's shocking excuse

It is shocking to have the American Jewish Congress suggest to black Americans that Israel's trade with racist South Africa is no worse or no better than that between some black African countries and the white supremacists in South Africa.

Israel is peddling deadly military materials and assistances to South Africa along with the growing commercial trade.

Not one black African country that we know of is selling South Africa military hardware that can be used in the bloody massacre taking place there now as the minority ruling group guns down men,

women and children who demand nothing more than freedom.

It may well be that Jews in this country cannot prevent Israel's bloody military dealings with South Africa any more than black Americans can control economic trading between other African nations and the Nazi-type race supremacists.

But the deep, historic ties of kinship between blacks and Jews in America deserve better than the kind of painful strains the AJC could create with its head-in-the-sand excuse for Israel's completely unacceptable military cooperation with South Africa.

## Middle East progress

For years the AFRO has foreseen a return of at least most of the Arab territory occupied by Israel as one of the necessary, key steps toward peace in the troubled Middle East.

Never mind the brickbats which have come our way from some American Jews, important progress is being made by Egypt and Israel toward a peace which eventually will encompass the entire region — and which has return of most occupied territories as a cornerstone of the arrangement.

Ever since President Anwar Sadat made his unprecedented peace journey to Israel he and Prime Minister Menahem Begin of Israel have been negotiating seriously in an effort to achieve a peaceful settlement.

The issues of occupied territories and a home state for the Palestinians are among the major hurdles.

Thus far, only Egypt among the Arab nations has moved dramatically toward reaching a peace settlement.

It also must not be overlooked that Sadat cannot make peace for the other nations and a settlement including all the Middle

East is the preferred goal.

However, the AFRO would not be disturbed about a settlement involving only Egypt and Israel, as starters, as long as the welfare of other nations and peoples and their interests are not compromised.

A settlement by Egypt and Israel might not guarantee long-term peace but it would be a worthwhile step in that direction.

Except for Syria, none of the other loud protesters do much frontline fighting when the chips are down. Syria will think twice about going to war — just Israel without Egypt as a frontline ally.

It is understandable that Sadat, Begin, President Carter and the other international leaders continue to insist publicly that they are supporting a "comprehensive" peace, rather than a bilateral one.

But the value of a bilateral one is so important to the future of a comprehensive peace that it should not be shortchanged in the public arena — nor should Sadat and Begin delay reaching a bilateral peace agreement, if that is all which is possible now, while waiting for a broader deal.

### The Baltimore Afro-American

January 7, 1978

(p.4)

# The Afro-American

PAGE 4 WEEK ENDING AUGUST 28-SEPTEMBER 1, 1979

## Black-Jewish relations

Jewish-black relations, which have been in a state of anomie for some time, took a turn for the worse with the incidents surrounding the dismissal of Ambassador Andrew Young from the United Nations. There are some who attribute — and we think rightly so — the exit of Young to Jewish pressure. And rumors have it that it was the Israelis who "bought" the meeting of Andy with the PLO representatives.

Be that as it may, the truth is the Jews have been acting like spoiled children in their responses to all these events. Long used to having their own way in influencing American foreign policy in the Middle East, they are both shocked and disgruntled that the U.S. seems to be listening to Arab pleas in its attempt to arrive at a just and workable policy.

Furthermore, they are especially upset that blacks in general and Andy Young in particular, seem to be receptive to the Palestinians — long-time enemies of the Israeli state. In a quite paternalistic attitude, Jews seem over-ready to remind us that they have been our allies in times past and financiers of many civil rights efforts.

Even the Israeli ambassador to the U.N., Yehuda Blum, was reported to have been very condescending and paternalistic at his meeting with SCLC gathered black leaders last week. He claimed blacks didn't even know the true meanings of the terms the PLO representatives were using.

It is as if Jewish leaders are saying that we do not have the intelligence to make up our own minds on the issue, or should feel obligated to support their position.

On both counts, of course, they are wrong.

One of the other problems, it appears, is that Jews themselves in this country, tend to over-react and interpret a political stance about the Middle East as a personalistic crusade against American Jews here at home. The furor which the Jews themselves are raising over black concern for the Palestinians may, in the long run, be the very cause of increased anti-Jewish feelings on a larger scale here in this country.

Ironically, therefore, Jewish spokesmen may be prompting the reactions they fear.

Meanwhile, black Americans, who certainly are sympathetic to the needs of all minorities (the

racial, ethnic, religious, or sexual) look almost in vain for the voices of progressive Jews who are not Zionists — that is, Americans of Jewish descent who do not identify with the territorial rapaciousness of Israel.

As far as we are concerned, however, the policy of Afro-Americans has not changed. As the Congressional Black Caucus has interpreted it, we "have no permanent alliance, only permanent interests." Our foremost interest is the political and economic rights of minorities, particularly blacks, who remain the foremost victims of foul play. At the same time, we are concerned about justice for all humanity. There should be no selfishness with the application of justice.

In fact, it is that concern which prompts us, even now, to regard the plight of the Palestinians — a minority group made homeless by Israel's Jewish-Mideast war — mongering and expansionism. That, the Palestinians are darker-skinned peoples does not escape our notice, either, for we know too well the meaning of this hard fact in a white-controlled world.

When the Jews were being persecuted in Germany, as a minority, blacks in this country supported them. When the Jews were marching side-by-side with us in the civil rights movement, we also appreciated their help, and supported their involvement.

But when Jews (or anyone else, for that matter) opposed racial quotas, we separated from them on that issue. And when they took up the cause of Allan Bakke, we opposed them on that decision. Now that they wish to deprive the Palestinians of recognition and dialogue and self-determination and a homeland, we again part company.

In addition, while few are talking about it, we cannot forget that Israeli investments and involvement in South Africa are partially responsible for the perpetuation of racism and apartheid in that country.

We know that there are white Jews in this country who see the means of justice as we do. With them, we hope for a moderated and all-inclusive American foreign policy which aims for the liberation and self-determination of all people everywhere.

The Baltimore Afro-American

THE ALSO-AMERICAN

WEEK ENDING AUGUST 16-SEPTEMBER 1, 1979

**YOU KNOW BECAUSE YOU READ THE AFRO**

## Unfortunate: The making of black-Jewish 'rift'

It is to be regretted deeply that some commissioners and some stock holders are trying to make a *James vs. Shuler* "set" out of the respected reputation of Andrew Young as the general representative of the United States to the United Nations.

Their position holds that a U.S. ban on arms shipments to the United States against Ambassador Young's dealing with the official director of the Palestinian Liberation Movement in the United States. Young would not have been forced out, because it was never to happen that the anti-peace plan, contrary to present U.S. policy.

Those who take this line do not know, or understand, the value of each nation's foreign intelligence apparatus. Most nations agree that they do not support spies in other countries — Israel is well so far. Nevertheless, all nations, by some means Mr. Young tells us, "the pygmies", always know what other countries are planning or doing. Espionage is a way of life for nations or nations-to-be. A nation

The Bradley team, which is headquartered in the U.S. State Department, said its mission is to "assist and support" the United States' efforts to help stabilize the situation in the Balkans.



average service of all the countries  
of the world — or it should.

No wonder Skills reportedly was surprised to find that C. Ensom, who both the Soviet Union and the United States could very easily, displaying the same moral apathy that he had seen in the

**G. JAMES  
FLEMING**



working for both governments

Business do not remain strong as powerful long after their respective network's initial falling apart.

The Senate would have passed  
such an incident as Mr. Young

Young was black, as long as he was the American commander who had no other commitments with the

City is the Israeli nation's first and the Jewish state's largest newspaper.

This article of Israel, in its own national self-interest, is no ground for a "rift" between American blacks and American Jews; it is ground for unity on all Jews. It is well to note that Americanism Young has not joined in such anti-Semitic.

It must not be forgotten that the Youngs got into hot water for more than its dealings with Mr. Tord, its PLO adviser. Its cancelled \$100 million major UNW, from the State Department's point of view, is its reporting the facts - its - from carrying promptly to the Department.

Secondly, when the US - PLA meeting broke, Mr. Tse "threw the water" and stated that it was a "cold" gathering. In other words, he violently repudiated the meeting.

...the ...  
...the ...  
...the ...  
...the ...  
...the ...

Andreas Wolf, of the Vienna university, had earlier made some



**Estadística Libre Total**

Well reported his arrival promptly in the State Department. Even then, he was "misunderstood."

**The Best Way to Communicate**

is that an ambassador must follow the policy of the sovereign state which he represents, and the policy of the sovereign who rules over the state. It is the same as in the case of Cabinet secretaries. They, too, are ambassadors.

In a sense when the President called all his Cabinet heads to him in their resignations, and when he accepted several, it should not be a surprise that he also accepted the resignation proffered by Ambassador Young.

All the questions have not yet been answered in reference to the Andrew Young case and fall as the nation's highest-ranking appointee.

One thing seems certain however: The UN ambassador is not the victim of some Jewish trick or campaign against black people, nor is he the victim of some Jewish conspiracy or campaign of American Jews against American blacks. He should be as long-standing a part of the UN as the campaign by American

We must beware of those who  
specify blame Jews for all the ills  
of the world — even those who wear  
shirts: "Jews, a Jew, on Sundays."



## ... THE AFRO

Efforts to ease the tension between blacks and Jews will not be served by the editorial in last week's issue of the *Afro-American*.

The lengthy editorial attributes Andrew Young's dismissal to "Jewish pressure," notes that "Jews have been acting like spoiled children in their response to all these events," and asserts that Jews have "long (been) used to having their own way in influencing American foreign policy in the Mideast."

Far more disturbing, though, is the *Afro's* search "for the voices of progressive Jews who are not Zionists — that is, Americans of Jewish descent who do not identify with the territorial expansionism of Israel." And the description of the Palestinians as "a minority group made homeless by Israel's hostile Mideast war-mongering and expansionism."

It is one thing for blacks and Jews to disagree on issues, but it's quite another thing to see historical facts twisted and distorted. The historic truth is that the Palestinian question is the *result* of the Mideast conflict — not the source. There would never have been a Palestinian question if the Arab governments had been ready to live at peace with Israel, if they had not gone to war to block the UN partition resolution in 1948, and if they had not repeatedly waged war to destroy the Jewish state.

It was Bayard Rustin, the prominent black civil rights leader, who noted this week that the PLO espouses the opposite of the principles of the civil rights movement. "In word but more importantly in deed, it espouses violence, hatred and racism. It repeatedly scorns reconciliation. While Dr. King frequently spoke of nonviolence as 'the sword that heals,' the PLO exalts the sword that kills."

We urge our colleagues at the *Afro-American* to re-consider their angry words and to join us in reaffirming the principles of justice, human rights and dignity.

The Baltimore Jewish Times

September 7, 1979

(p.6)

# Opinion

The Baltimore Jewish Times

September 7, 1979

## BLACK LEADER SPEAKS OUT AGAINST THE PLO

BY RAYARD RUSTIN

Amid the heated controversy following Andrew Young's resignation as the United States delegate to the United Nations, some black people have suddenly embraced the Palestine Liberation Organization.

As I see it, some black leaders have turned to the PLO in an effort to act as conciliators between Israel and the Palestinians.

Other blacks, I believe, met the PLO representatives in New York to demonstrate their independence from official United States policy.

And still others viewed such meetings as a way of striking back against Israel and the American Jewish community for their supposed involvement in engineering Mr. Young's ouster.

But regardless of motivation, I think black people must clearly understand the moral — yes, moral — issue involved here.

For in seriously considering links with a group like the PLO, the black community is moving beyond the realm of mundane "politics as usual."

We are moving into an area where we face three enormous risks.

First, we risk causing serious divisions within our own ranks; second, we risk the forfeiture of our own moral prestige, which is based on a long and noble tradition of nonviolence; and third, we risk becoming the unwitting accomplices of an organization committed to the bloody destruction of Israel — indeed of the Jewish people.

Some people have pointed to a few superficial parallels between the PLO and American civil rights movement. Naturally, this talk about the PLO as a "civil rights" group or a minority movement within Israel has generated sympathy for the Palestinians among black people. But this identification and even solidarity with the PLO is based on a terrible perversion of the truth, not only the truth about the PLO but the truth about our own movement as well.

Looking back on the history of the PLO, one thing has become abundantly clear. The PLO, from the day of its creation in 1964, has never once uttered a word in support of any form of nonviolent resistance, peaceful relations between Israelis and Palestinians, or a political solution to the complex problems in the Middle East.

By contrast, black leaders in America, especially central figures like Dr. Martin Luther King,

*Rayard Rustin is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, an educational, civil rights and labor organization. This piece is reprinted from the New York Times.*

Jr. and A. Philip Randolph, never once in the long history of the civil rights struggle countenanced violence or terrorism.

American civil rights leaders, of course, chose nonviolence for many political and tactical reasons, but Dr. King once identified the key source of the movement's strategy when he noted that the black American rejected physical force "because he believed that through physical force he could lose his soul." In short, the choice of nonviolence was based on deeply-held moral principles. It was based on a desire to build community, to unleash the creative force of love, and to protect and enhance the God-given human dignity of all people, be they friend or foe.

The PLO, however, espouses the opposite of all these principles.

In word but more importantly in deed it espouses violence, hatred and racism. It repeatedly warns reconciliation. While Dr. King frequently spoke of nonviolence as "the sword that heals," the PLO exalts the sword that kills.

My description of the PLO here is no exaggeration. Its tactics, values and goals are candidly set forth in its national Covenant and other official documents. Its legacy of terrorism is written in innocent blood across Israel and Western Europe, and even across the Arab lands of Jordan and Lebanon.

Between 1967 and 1977, for example, the PLO was directly responsible for killing over 1,100 unarmed men, women and children; its terrorist activities maimed nearly 2,500 people; and it held over 2,700 hostages. Moreover, this organization has trained and armed other terrorist groups such as the Baader-Meinhof gang in West Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy.

Considering this record, I fear that individuals who see similarities between our struggle and the terror campaign of the PLO are ignoring or twisting the facts.

By harshly criticizing the PLO, I do not mean to suggest that black leaders have no business concerning themselves with Middle Eastern problems. Nor am I arguing that blacks should shun the PLO so as to ingratiate themselves with American Jews. Rather, I am saying that if black Americans are to play any constructive or conciliatory role in shaping American policy in the Middle East, we must do so in a manner totally consistent with the moral and spiritual tradition of nonviolence.

We must therefore reject hastily and expeditiously moved, we must reject any formal or organizational relationship with the PLO.

Any links with the PLO, no matter how limited, would give

legitimacy and tacit approval to the rule of the gun.

Dr. King, in his letter from the Birmingham jail, included a story to illustrate the rewards of perseverance in the nonviolent tradition. He wrote about a 15-year-old black woman who walked a long distance every day during the bus boycott. Frequently she was jeered by hostile whites; she was tired and physically weak, but she

refused to use the buses. Someone asked her why she continued to support the nonviolent protest. Her response, I believe, will always be precious: "My feet is tired," she said, "but my soul is at rest."

By shunning and condemning the terrorism of the PLO, we too can be assured that our souls will be at rest, as we preserve our tradition of nonviolence.

(p.32)

(p.33)

# News

## EXCLUSIVE INTERVIEW WITH ANDREW YOUNG

The soon-departing UN Ambassador speaks out on the PLO, Israel, blacks and Jews, why he resigned, and his one regret.

BY TRUDE B. FELDMAN

JEWISH TIMES White House Correspondent

**N**ew York — "What I was trying to do was postpone the vote on the Palestinian resolution. We would have had to veto it and that would have hurt the United States."

"We did successfully postpone the vote, but it took a lot of doing and it cost me my job."

So stated Andrew Young, outgoing U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, in an exclusive interview which ranged from his reasons for resigning to his controversial views of the PLO's emergence.

He said he had no regret for his stab at quiet diplomacy — the meeting with PLO observer Terzi, in the home of the Kuwaiti ambassador, without prior consent of the State Department.

Young added, however, that if he hadn't succeeded in postponing a vote on the resolution, it would have hurt Israel politically and could have precipitated economic warfare against the United States.

He said that during the July session of the Security Council, in a debate on Palestinian statehood, the British ambassador, that month's council chairman, told him he had been holding discussions with the PLO on the substitution of the term "self-determination."

"At that time," Young continued, "I took the position with him and with the Arab groups that we had nothing to negotiate."

The United States, he said, could not negotiate — not because it did not want to, but because President Carter was in the midst of a shake-up in his Administration, which made it desirable that the controversial Palestinian issue on the Security Council agenda be postponed.

In meeting with the PLO observer to effect this postponement, Young was following a step inconsistent with U.S. policy. President Carter had just reaffirmed to Israel the U.S. would have no negotiations or contact with the PLO until it recognizes Israel.

"I did not consider my meeting with the PLO observer a violation of that agreement," Young told me. "I was not negotiating, and nothing I did constituted a recognition in essence, it was merely a procedural meeting in my capacity as president of the Security Council."

"But at the same time, I did not

tell President Carter or Secretary of State Vance because I did not want to implicate them."

Young indicated that it was Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan who probably had told the news media of his (Young's) meeting. Young views his actions with no regret and considers that what he did was of such magnitude that he concludes "if this can save any lives, I don't think I made any sacrifice."

Young denied there was any White House maneuver to secretly use him for the rendez-vous. "I really don't think it was a set-up," he told me. "The White House had no idea what I was doing. In fact, the President has been harmed. The Jewish people are angry with him because they think he was involved. The Black community is upset because it feels the White House did me in, that the president should have refused to accept my resignation, so the White House didn't profit by it."

His resignation, nonetheless, created a commotion in the Black community as well as among American Jewry — but for different reasons. While Jewish groups on the whole did not seek his displacement, many Black leaders thought that Jews were, to a large degree, responsible for it. Israel and American Jewry both denied exerting any pressure on President Carter to fire Young. They said their prime concern was not Andrew Young, but the fear of an administration tilt toward recognition of the PLO.

Referring to the traditional Black-liberal Jewish political alliance, Young told me: "I certainly didn't want to be the cause for splitting a coalition that has been a part of everything progressive in American life. So I take it as my responsibility to continue working to put together that coalition again."

In spite of the fact that Black and Jewish groups are in conflict, Young insists that good could come from his resignation, which touched off the dispute. He said he senses no feeling of hostility directed at him personally by world Jewry, despite the furor over his talks with the PLO.

### BLACKS STILL SUPPORT ISRAEL

Asked how he explains the new affinity of Blacks for a people with

The Baltimore Jewish

Times

September 14, 1979

(p.10)

(Cont. on p.11)

- "The White House had no idea what I was doing. In fact, the President has been harmed."
- "I have prayed for the likes of a Rabbi Heschel who could now help me understand today's situation regarding Israel."



Alban: Before the shift in American policy, Andrew Young met with Israel's ambassador to the United Nations, Chaim Herzog.

- "Whenever an independent leadership emerged among the Arabs of the West Bank, Israel drove them out . . ."
- "Israel has a right to live and exist and survive in peace with her neighbors, but the Palestinians also have that same right."

a long anti-Black history. Young said: "Because Blacks basically have identified with the underdog. As long as Israel was in an underdog position, and the threats were from the Arab world to drive Israel into the sea, Blacks supported Israel. And they would continue to support Israel today if she were in any way threatened."

He went on to say there was never an endorsement by any Black leader of Palestinian terrorism nor an attempt to justify it — only that there was an "affirmation of the fact that Palestinians also have human rights, and it is in everyone's interest to find a mechanism to give expressions to Palestinian human rights while protecting Israel's security."

In supporting contact with the PLO, Young emphasized that, "at some point, one has to turn around and build bridges of understanding."

Another reason for contact with the PLO is an economic one, he noted. "The Arab countries who are in sympathy with the PLO have such great economic power now that they are able to upset not only the energy resources of the West, but its entire money market," he said. "Even Iraqis, Algerians and Libyans have accumulated enough of a dollar surplus to wreak havoc with western economies. If they ever start doing that, we have no leverage with other Arab nations. And of that group, the PLO is the most reasonable."

### **ECONOMIC PRESSURE**

Young pointed out that "the Arab states have approximately \$140 billion in liquid assets, and if they were to start engaging in economic warfare with the U.S. it would constitute a 'possible major threat' to our entire economy."

He cited a recent example of the wielding of such economic power by the Nigerians, who had nationalized the British Petroleum Company's holdings there and "simply dumped a billion dollars in pounds on the open market, which immediately forced Great Britain to change its policy on Rhodesian independence."

His concern for the possible economical and political con-

sequences of a U.S. veto of the PLO resolution, while he served as chairman of the security council, was so great that it had prompted him to meet the PLO observer to the UN. "I felt the veto would bring about an escalation of economic warfare," he said, "so I thought it was important to avoid it at all costs."

Young said he was encouraged to learn that one draft of the resolution in question was written by PLO leader Yassir Arafat himself and that it recognized resolutions 242 and 338. This, Young argued, implied a willingness, at long last, on the part of the PLO to assume a level of moderation.

Asked whether there isn't a moral contradiction in his support of both Israel and the PLO — whose charter calls for that country's destruction Young replied: "I don't believe there is a choice. The fact is that Israel is not going to go away. That's a mistake the Palestinians have made for 30 years, thinking they could drive Israel into the sea. It can never do that. But neither are the Palestinians going to go away. And Israel cannot drive them into the sea or bomb them out of existence in the Mideast. Israel has a right to live and exist and survive in peace with her neighbors, but the Palestinians also have that same right."

Young added that he sees no dichotomy between the PLO and the Palestinian people. He believes the PLO has a stronghold on the West Bank. "The only possibility for peace and security for Israel is some kind of peace and security for the Palestinians. The danger to Israel is not military, not the short-term terrorism of a few fanatics, but it is the long-range economic warfare that I fear is coming if a comprehensive agreement between Israel and the Arabs is not reached. The PLO communication with Israel and the U.S. should be considered a vital link to the entire future of the West."

### **BLACKS AND JEWS: 'ONLY GOOD CAN COME OF IT'**

"There is an awareness that Blacks and Jews have differences but there is also a willingness to sit down together and deal with

The Baltimore Jewish Times

September 14, 1979

(p.11)

(Cont. on p.12)

# News

(p.12)

## YOUNG

Continued from page 14

those differences," Young said. "As a matter of fact, since my resignation there have been more meetings between the two groups than there have probably been in the last ten years. These dialogues have been positive and productive."

He said that, even today, if anyone else would attack the Jews, the Blacks would run to their rescue, and I think if there was a threat to Israel's security, Blacks would support Israel.

"We've done that in the past," he added, "and every time there are human rights violations against Jews in the Soviet Union, Blacks have protested. Look at the voting record of the Black Caucus in Congress — it is overwhelmingly pro Israel."

He added that the outcome of any present confrontation will be a positive relationship between the two communities, and that "only good can come of it. One reason I resigned so quickly," he went on, "was to try to prevent any fight between Blacks and Jews over whether I should resign. But, had I not resigned, it could have been a lot worse. Had I taken any other course, it may have led to a race riot or some groups might have used it for additional inciteful headlines and acts of violence."

Young observed that an estrangement had been brewing between Blacks and Jews over the past ten years and that the issue of his talking with the PLO had brought to the surface domestic differences between the two groups. He blamed, in part, sensational headlines for exacerbating the dispute and cited in evidence two publications whose headlines said "Jews Demand Young's Ouster" and "Israeli Agents Turn Young In."

He recalled, with nostalgia, his friendship with the late Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel, celebrated Professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, who had marched side by side with Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Selma, Alabama carrying a Torah.

"I loved Rabbi Heschel," Young told me. "He was like an Old Testament Prophet, and I have prayed for the likes of a Rabbi Heschel who could now help me understand today's situation regarding Israel."

"You see, I am very sympathetic to Israel. Even when I was a congressman, I voted 100 per cent for aid to Israel. And I don't think there ought to be an immediate return of the disputed territories."

On the other hand, Young believes that he has a right to criticize Israel when he thinks it is wrong, just as he has criticized the U.S. on its Vietnam policies when he disagreed with them. "I don't ask anyone to agree with me all the time," but I certainly expect any group or person to respect my freedom of speech — which is part of our Judeo-Christian tradition."

### ON PLO: 'ISRAEL CREATED THE PLO'

On the issue of the PLO, Young observed: "Israel created the PLO."

Expanding on this observation, he said: "Whenever an independent leadership emerged among the Arabs of the West Bank, Israel drove them out..."

Young added that the resulting political vacuum was filled by the PLO which became the dominant influence in Palestinian affairs.

At the same time, Young told me that he himself condemns the PLO for its aggressive violence against Israel, as would his mentor, the late Martin Luther King. Young explained his theory on the PLO in simplistic cause-and-effect terms:

"When Israel attacks a PLO base or a Palestinian refugee camp in Lebanon — and when, in that process, two people in a family of seven are killed, the attacker hasn't killed two terrorists, but has created five others."

"Every time one member of a Palestinian family is killed, the perpetrators of that deed succeed in making blood enemies of every one else in that family."

"That's what happened to the Shah of Iran. He was in difficulty because there was always someone in almost every family who was a victim of some kind of oppression by the Shah. In the Moslem world, when you do harm or endanger one member of a family, you make enemies of all other members."

Turning to the philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr., Young said that the leading protagonist of non-violence made distinctions between the types of violence. "He never quarreled against defensive violence, but he did oppose aggressive and retaliatory violence. There is no question that Dr. King would condemn the PLO," Young stated. "I, too, condemn the PLO for its bombing and killing. And all Black leaders who have met with the PLO share our feelings and urge the PLO to use non violent political means to secure its rights."

"But, at the moment, the PLO is not killing any more than Israel is killing in Lebanon. When Israel conducts raids against the PLO and civilian camps in Lebanon and when Israel builds settlements in occupied Arab lands, I count the settlements as an act of aggression in the occupied territory."

"Remember, Israel is a signatory to U.N. Resolution 242 which opposes the permanent occupation of territory gained by force. Now we want on the verge of getting the PLO to agree to Resolution 242 and also to agree to change its charter about the destruction of Israel. And I think

The Baltimore Jewish Times

September 14, 1979

(Cont. on p.14)

# News

## YOUNG

continued from page 12

that's very possible."

He blamed Israel's "violent retaliation" against the PLO stronghold and refugee camps for the growing public sympathy for the organization.

### YOUNG'S ONE REGRET

Asked if he had any regrets in leaving his post, Young said he wished to clarify his statement equating Anatoly Shcharansky, the Soviet Jewish "prisoner of conscience" with alleged political prisoners in the United States.

"That's my one regret," Young told me. "It was never fully reported, and gave the impression that I did not support Mrs. Shcharansky in her courageous struggle for freedom of her husband. It was just the opposite. I had been trying to help her, even during my days as a congressman. I knew her well and I knew of her husband's plight."

"I had been talking to a French Leftist newspaper, trying to say that it wasn't just American politics condemning the Soviet Union for imprisoning her husband, that basically our position was based on our own experience through the Civil Rights Movement, through the labor movement, where we have had our own political prisoners and where they are now our heroes."

"In a decade," Young continued,

"I think the Shcharanskys and the Ginsburgs will be the heroes of a Soviet human rights movement that will not only be for Jews, but for the entire Soviet population."

As for his alleged statement that the Ayatollah Khomeini (Iranian dictator) is a saint, Young insisted that his comments were taken out of context. "I never said he was a saint," Young asserted. "When the press asked me about him, I said I wouldn't comment 'Because you fellows are condemning him today — like you condemn me — but then, perhaps in a few months you're liable to decide he is a saint.'"

Then, a headline in the New York Times stated: "Young Calls Ayatollah Saint." I did not say that.

"What I do believe, though, is that here is a man with no weapons who overcame one of the most powerful armies in the world — the Shah's army, simply by masses of human bodies in the street."

"I think that's a cultural and religious phenomenon that is very significant. There is not an army in the Mideast, except maybe Israel's, that is as strong as Iran's. I do think it is important for us to understand the power of religion and culture in that region. But the fact is we do not understand."

Nonetheless, Young says he has "no quarrel" with the press, but "our purposes are different. Theirs is to sell newspapers while my purpose is to communicate the truth as I understand it." ●

The Baltimore Jewish Times

September 14, 1979

(p.14)



## As We Were Saying

### Black-Jewish Rift Hurts Peace Efforts

By Robert E. Segal



If you ask White House Press Secretary Jody Powell for his appraisal of the deep, current fracture of Black-Jewish relationships, he gives the politically soothing reply: "This controversy doesn't amount to a hill of beans."

If you ask such widely known Black leaders as Professor Kenneth Clark, Georgia State Senator Julian Bond, Congressmen Parris Mitchell and Walter Fauntroy, and Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, they will tell you that America's Black community has declared its independence from old Jewish allies. Some of these key figures and others will underscore long-smouldering resentment at what

they term Jewish "condescension and arrogance."

For good measure, they will throw in the loaded value judgment that, after all, the only time Jews marched with Blacks to Selma and fought alongside Blacks for the passage of civil rights legislation, and engaged in joint planning to decrease poverty, the Jewish motivation was exclusively self-interest.

What happens then when you

Continued on Page 4

## The American Israelite

September 27, 1979

(p.1)

(Cont. on p.4)

## THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE

September 27, 1979

**Robert E. Segal**

(Continued from Page 11)

(p.4)

put the question to leaders of Jewish organizations:

One says the new Black Declaration of Independence is intemperate and inflammatory. Quite a few subscribe to this statement: "We cannot work with those who, in failing to differentiate between Palestinian Arabs and the Palestine Liberation Organization, give support to terrorism by legitimizing the PLO. We cannot work with those who would succumb to crisis."

"We will continue to cooperate with those in the Black community who fight for peace and justice in the Middle East."

Hence we now have before us not just one, but two new ethnic Declarations of Independence. And in the wake of Andy Young's tearful and dramatic departure, while PLO chieftains revel in the millions of dollars worth of propaganda the half truths and lies attending the Black-Jewish upheaval have dumped into their oil-rich treasury, great issues of international consequence go unresolved and contradictions puzzle and sting those who want not only peace but mutual respect among Blacks and Jews.

One turns first to the overarching issues: (1) Is there a hurtful change in Washington Middle East policy, especially regarding the PLO? (2) Have the Camp David agreements been irreparably damaged?

These questions are far more important than speculation as to whether Andy Young did himself in or was done in by Israel or by President Carter, whose failure to issue a clear, comprehensive, factual statement when Mr. Young resigned was lamentable and costly.

Certainly, these questions, even in Jody Powell's eyes, amount to much more than a hit of beans. Nor can further clarification and reassurance by President Carter be delayed without inflicting serious injury on his administration.

Yes, he has scored by declaring publicly: "No Arab leader with whom I have met in private professed a desire for an independent Palestinian state." But if it is true, as he says, that non-intercourse with the PLO continues as rock-bed American policy unless that terrorist gang disavows its determination to annihilate Israel, why is not Andy Young's successor - Donald F. McHenry - set straight when he says he, too, holds it foolish for the United States to refuse to talk with the PLO?

Finally, the contradictions cluttering the landscape are frightening. (1) Non-violence was the heart of Southern Christian Leadership Conference when Martin Luther King, with Mr. Young's help, founded it; now it dictates with and lifts toward PLO bomb-throwers and hijackers. (2) Mr. Young asks us to note that the PLO "seems to have the support of a good part of the Arab world," apparently forgetting that Hitler had the support of most Germans. (3) Some Black leaders make much of Israel's trade with South Africa (two-fifths of one percent of all such trade), conveniently glossing over heavy trading by many African nations with South Africa. (4) Andrew Young sees sainthood ahead for Iran's Ayatollah Khomeini, strangely oblivious to that dictator's militant determination to deny self-determination for Iran's Kurdish enclave.

In his UNaledictory, Ambassador Young spoke ominously of Israel's future: "Israel is spend-

(Continued on Page 21)

**Robert E. Segal**

(Continued from Page 21)

ing its moral capital."

He would profit by the recent public statement of another Black leader, Bayard Rustin: "When Blacks move toward the PLO, they...risk the forfeiture of our own moral prestige."

(p.21)



**Prize winning cartoon**

This cartoon by AFRO Staff Artist Thomas Stockett, which appeared in our October 27, 1979, edition, won second place award in the annual editorial cartoon competition of National Newspapers Publishers Association.

The Baltimore Afro-American

July 5, 1980

(p.4)

# The Afro-American

PAGE 1

JUNE 27, 1981

## Israeli bombing raid an embarrassment

The full consequences of Israel's bombing raid that destroyed an Iraqi nuclear reactor have not yet been seen. The United Nations condemnation was't the final action.

Israel took the kind of gamble that is causing the United States, the only democratic nation's most supportive ally, concern about where future secret missions by Israel could lead.

Beyond the legal aspects of the situation, such actions could lead directly or indirectly to confrontations neither this country nor others are ready to face.

One definite result of the raid is that efforts by the United States to ease the face-off between Israel and Syria over the stationing of Syrian missiles in Lebanon was damaged.

In a larger sense, Israel also put pressure on France, which was helping Iraq build its nuclear reactor, by discrediting the honor of that nation as it bombed the facilities without the kind of proof one would need to make a solid case of the claim that Iraq was about to build nuclear weapons.

On that score, France has called Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin a liar. France has produced an agreement it had with Iraq that ruled out production of nuclear weapons by Iraq in the foreseeable future.

The International Atomic Energy Agency, which monitors such things and was inspecting the Iraqi facility, also calls Begin a liar. It spells out in

convincing terms the reasons why it would have been impossible for Iraq to build a secret nuclear weapon.

Begin's arguments to the contrary have been so weak and unconvincing that the United States, which bent over backward to support Israel, had to publicly announce that it could find no evidence to back the claim that Iraq was about to come up with a nuclear weapon.

In Israel, and elsewhere, Begin's raid was called a political ploy to help him win reelection later this month. Whether it was done with that goal in mind, the raid did cause Begin's election stock to climb.

Both Begin's own office and his foreign ministry have had to admit Begin was wrong in claiming that a Baghdad newspaper, Al Thawra, had quoted President Saddam Hussein of Iraq as having said in October that Iraq had no need to fear anything from the nuclear reactor because it was intended for use against Israel.

Israeli opposition leader Shimon Peres was prompted to look at Begin's loose treatment of the facts and label it "nuclear chatter."

Israel has the right to protect its security. It does not have the right to take unnecessary gambles that could well involve the security of its friends. In the treacherous and explosive Mideast, there is a responsibility that goes with being the area's superior power.

The Baltimore Afro-American



The Baltimore Afro-American

June 27, 1981

(p.4)

## Behind the Scenes

by Ethel Payne

Recently, I was listening to another segment of ABC's "Nightline." I like it because it gives an incisive, final wrap-up on the news. I admire Ted Koppel's style of delivery. He has a sharp, imperious manner for those he is interviewing without being offensive. The result is that he succeeds most of the time in getting answers free of excess verbiage that give the viewer what he or she wants to know about the issue.

I met Koppel in 1976 as one of the company of reporters traveling with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on his first visit to Africa. I was impressed by the dagger scribe with his boyish looks and friendly smile. He already had the sensibility of a super professional in the business, a cut above some of the more Jewish characters on the trip who treated



the tour as one big safari in the land of spear-carrying natives. It was Koppel who described Julius Nyerere of Tanzania as one of the most notable heads of state he had ever met and who was more than a match for Henry Kissinger.

Last week, I was disappointed with the Tuesday edition of the show. It dealt with the Israeli revenge incursion into Lebanon and the routing of the PLO forces, but at the cost of the lives of thousands of civilians, including women and children. Koppel in New York and his reporter in Beirut both dealt at length on the brilliant performance by the invading forces, describing it as a "triumph for American and Israel." The explanation was that the weapons and material supplied by the U.S. to the Israelis were of such superior quality that the enemy was vanquished with surgical precision.

I did not realize it, but it appears now based on the Nightline report that we are at war in Lebanon, even though neither the Congress of the United States nor the President has issued an official declaration that we are engaged in the conflict. Where war is it anyway? The Administration strikes a neutral posture, "disputing" the fighting and granting for a cease fire, but the casualties were killed by American-made instruments of destruction. Where is the triumph in killing and maiming unnecessarily?

Not long ago, I did a radio commentary in which I felt that the Israeli response to the attempted assassination of one of its diplomats in London had stretched the biblical maxim of an "eye for an eye" far out of proportion to the nature of the crime. I agreed with Richard Cohen of the Washington Post that it had not been established that the would-be killer was either a member of the PLO or had been commissioned by it to carry out the hit.

To date, we do not know if he has been apprehended by the British authorities or if he has been identified. It can only be assumed that the cowardly act was inspired by the PLO. Yet, the Israeli wrath unleashed the most heinous rule of weaponry since the war with Egypt nearly two decades ago.

The Baltimore Afro-American

July 3, 1982

(p.5)

(Continued on next page)





## Jackson raps Democrats

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Civil rights leader Jesse Jackson has denounced the Democratic Party for not denouncing Israel's invasion of Lebanon, and said the party's positions are "perverted by a reaction... to the Jewish element within the party."

In an interview with the Cable News Network's "Newsmaker Sunday" program, the head of Chicago-based Operation PUSH recently criticized the "goals and principles" adopted at the Democratic mini-convention in Philadelphia last month.

"I was most distressed with the incoherence and inconsistency in the foreign policy," Jackson said. "And that whole agenda was perverted by

a reaction, literally and intimidation as it were, to the Jewish element within the party. That is to say it amounted, to me, a kind of glorified form of bribery, financial bankrolling and moral bankruptcy."

"They really couldn't speak to the foreign policy because they would have had to have spoken head on to the illegal, immoral invasion of Lebanon. I did not even hear a vision, that is to say, Israeli security, we affirm; Palestinian justice, we affirm; normal ties with the Arab world, we affirm. I saw skirting that issue."

Jackson also said many blacks are "totally uninspired" about the leading contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination, which include Sen.

Edward Kennedy and former Vice President Walter Mondale.

"People left there in my judgement rather unenthusiastic," he said.

But Jackson criticized President Reagan's policies toward issues that affect blacks.

"The public, overt embrace of South Africa... is at least as offensive to us as the U.S. signing a trade agreement with the PLO would be to the Jewish community," Jackson said.

"Or the illegal and apparent racial motive in the detainment policy of 2,300 Haitian people at a cost of \$22,000 per year per Haitian. Surely we would not have 2,000 Russians or Polish people or Jews in those concentration camps."

The Baltimore Afro-American

July 17, 1982

(p.8)

74 per cent.



## AN INDEPENDENT VIEW FROM CAPITOL HILL

By Hon. Gas Savage  
Member of Congress

Hon. Gas Savage  
Member of Congress  
U.S. Completely in  
Massacre in Lebanon

In response to the massacre of more than 1,000 defenseless Palestinians in the refugee camps at Sabra and Chatila, on the outskirts of Beirut, President Reagan ordered U.S. troops to return to Beirut, with French and Italian peacekeeping soldiers, to encourage the Israeli army to withdraw.

According to generally accepted reports, Israelis invaded the West section of this capital city of Lebanon, contrary to its agreement which secured the withdrawal of PLO forces, and with Cabinet approval permitted Israeli equipped and trained "Lebanese militiamen" to travel the some 35 miles from the Lebanese-Israeli border and enter the camps with knowledge of their intent for a murderous rampage which lasted more than 36 hours.

According to a Los Angeles Times report, Israeli soldiers "ringed the camp with armor and sealed off all escape routes. . . . The uniformed (Lebanese) militiamen wore Israeli helmets, were armed with Israeli guns and were taking orders from the Israelis. . . . Entire 'miles

were slain. . . Mothers died clutching their babies. . . All men appeared to be shot in the back. . . . Israeli soldiers stationed less than 100 yards away did not respond to the sound of constant gunfire or the sight of truck loads of bodies being taken away from the camp."

The assassinated Lebanese President-elect Bashir Gemayel and Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon had previously indicated their intent to "eliminate" the remaining PLO supporters.

An on-the scene UP1 reporter moaned, "Some look no older than 6 or 7. . . . They were murdered."

Everyone who was in the camp when the killers moved through were simply moved down. . . . In civilian clothes. . . . They were victims of pure hatred."

This is one time I substantially agree with the Reagan Administration's reaction. However, it should have been taken as part of the United Nations force in order to reduce its risks, to increase its stability, and in respect for existing East-West world differences.

Indeed, our government should have discontinued military assistance to Israel upon Israel's invasion of

(Continued on page 5)

The Cincinnati Herald

October 2, 1982

(p.4)

(Cont. on p.5)

## Independent

(Continued from page 4)  
Lebanon three months ago. We should not aid or condone aggression.

The most sophisticated fighter-bombers, the latest missiles, and the most destructive weapons used by Israel to kill and maim thousands of defenseless old men, women and children in Lebanon are provided by our government with our tax dollars - \$25 billion this fiscal year alone. These funds could have been much better spent at home, to promote constructive employment, for our jobs, educate our youth, and security for our elderly and needy.

I have consistently spoken out and voted with the distinct minority in Congress which has sought such a change generally in our federal priorities. In fact, I am proud to be, one of the few co-sponsors of a resolution proposed in Congress last June calling for Israeli military to withdraw them from Lebanon, although my colleagues have not had the courage or conscience to even consider it.

Moreover, it is to the shame of the so-called organized peace movement in America that it has not vehemently ex-

pressed its support for such demands upon Israel and our government in the face of atrocities we all have seen on our living room television screens almost nightly for 15 long weeks. It is further evidence of the moral bankruptcy of America's racist white liberal and organized labor movements previously expressed in their opposition, neutrality or efforts to weaken Black goals in the Bakke case, school busing for integration and extension of a strengthened Voting Rights Act.

Justice and equality demand that we back the Palestinians' insistence upon the same right to a homeland with secure borders, within the former Palestinian/Jewish area that we support for the Israeli. America must recognize the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people, the PLO, just as we do the Begin government of Israel - and no longer give to the 3 million Israelis more economic aid than we do to the over 300 million starving Black people of the 47 sub-Saharan nations of Africa combined.

We must become more even-handed and fair-minded in our Middle East policy.

The Cincinnati Herald

October 2, 1982

(p.5)

# The Vibrancy Of Israel's Democracy

by Bayard Rustin

The viciousness and inhumanity of the massacre of Palestinian refugees in West Beirut has resulted in a worldwide outcry. Yet nowhere has that protest been stronger or the public demonstrations larger than in Israel, where the people have been outspoken and unequivocal in their condemnation of the murder of hundreds of Palestinians by Lebanese Christian militiamen.

Israel writers and artists, trade unionists and religious leaders, as well as prominent spokesmen across the entire Israeli political spectrum, have joined in the denunciation of the heinous crime in Beirut. Members of Prime Minister Begin's cabinet have resigned to protest his reluctance to launch an independent inquiry. A massive chorus of voices has called for the resignation of Defense Minister Ariel Sharon. Many Israelis have called upon Prime Minister Begin himself to resign.

On Saturday, Sept. 5, some 400,000 demonstrators gathered in a huge protest in Tel Aviv demanding an open investigation to determine the extent of the Israeli leader's responsibility in the Beirut massacre. As someone who spent half a year coordinating and laying the

groundwork for the 1963 March on Washington, I am convinced that the 250,000 demonstrators in West Beirut can only marvel at the magnitude of this spontaneous expression of Israeli's conscience, in which over 10 percent of her people participated.

The public expression of Israeli outrage over their government's mishandling of its voluntarily assumed responsibilities in West Beirut is a testament to the vibrancy and vitality of Israeli democracy, and its fundamental commitment to humane values.

At first, Prime Minister Begin resisted calls for an independent inquiry into the extent of Israeli complicity in the Beirut massacre. But that enormous democratic outcry pressured the Prime Minister and his cabinet into a startling reversal of policy.

There now will be an independent judicial commission of inquiry into the massacre in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. This inquiry should and must resolve all questions concerning the guilt or innocence of Israeli's government and military leaders. On the basis of the facts uncovered in that inquiry, the Israeli people and their elected representatives will be able, through the democratic process, to determine

the fate of those found culpable. In the words of Labor Party Chairman Shimon Peres, "The question arises whether these statements who made the terrible mistakes can remain in office."

That indeed is the heart of the question that all Israelis will have to confront in the weeks ahead. Yet the very fact that Israelis have the freedom to answer this question is a testament to the strength of their democracy. Just as in our own country, the impeachment process led to the resignation of President Nixon for his involvement in the Watergate coverage and just as the judicial process led to the punishment of those guilty for the My Lai massacre in Vietnam, so in Israel the democratic process will be the ultimate arbiter.

Out of the shock of Shatila and Sabra have come the first stirrings of a way out of the Middle East's latest tragedy. And as we justifiably join the chorus of condemnations of the Beirut massacre we can only hope that the new Lebanese President, Amin Gemayel will follow Israel's example and launch his own independent inquiry to punish those directly responsible for the outrage. Such a move would augur well for the new

Lebanese President, who faces the difficult task of constructing a stable and democratic society.

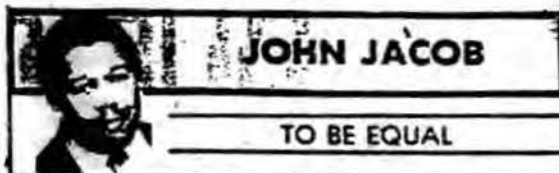
The events of recent days serve to restore our faith in the judgment of the Israeli people. They have made absolutely clear that not external pressures but the internal expression of Israeli morality and conscience, led to the establishment of the independent judicial commission of inquiry. This recent turn of events can comfort us, but it should not surprise us. For it is another affirmation of the wisdom of the people—the fundamental tenet of democracy.

Americans should recall the long and tedious process that led to the Nixon impeachment hearings. We should recall that calls for his resignation were ineffective until that process was well advanced. We can hope that the Israeli judicial inquiry will be prompt and speedy. But the recent expressions of conscience should make us confident that Israel's people will act wisely and democratically—to set their own house in order. We should recognize that in launching their commission of inquiry the Israelis are on the right course. Calls by outsiders which prejudice the outcome may well prove counterproductive.

The Cincinnati Herald

October 16, 1982

(p.5)



## Israel Welcomes Ethiopian Jews

I recently visited Israel and came away very impressed with many things I saw: most especially, the efforts to integrate some 15,000 Ethiopian refugees. Ethiopia has had a small Jewish community for over 2,000 years. Cut off from their fellow-Jews around the world, they lived in villages in the Gondar and Tigre regions practicing their religion, often facing discrimination and forbidden to leave the country.

The terrible famine that has devastated the region led many to flee their villages and cross the border into the Sudan, from which a top-secret operation brought them to Israel to join the small Ethiopian community that has been established there for some 15 years.

They came hungry and malnourished. Many were ill with diseases brought on by hunger and by their tragic trek through the desert, a trip in which many died.

The Israelis welcomed them with open arms. Immediate medical aid, food and clothing were provided. They were placed in absorption centers all over the country. I visited three of those centers on my trip, each quite different from the others, but all important indicators of what can and should be done to help people begin new lives.

At these centers the newcomers get intensive language courses in Hebrew, along with training in the basics of life in their new land. Some, from remote villages, need help in learning how to navigate the basics of modern societies — phones, elevators, and the like.

In addition, there is intensive training in job skills, with emphasis on craft jobs in short supply that pay high wages. The talented are offered entry into prep schools and colleges. Some are getting training in computers.

Ultimately — at the end of about a year — families will be assisted to relocate into permanent homes. The Israelis want the newcomers to be fully

integrated into the society, and want to resettle them in groups large enough to maintain their own cultural traditions yet small enough to keep from becoming a ghetto.

Will Israeli society integrate black Jews or will it reject them? From what I saw, there can be little doubt that they will be fully integrated into the larger society.

For example, one of the absorption centers was located in an upper class neighborhood in a seaside resort community. The neighbors have welcomed the Ethiopians into their homes and volunteer their help at the center.

Contrast that with the outcry you get in an American suburb when it is proposed to start a halfway house or a social service center in its midst!

Being among the Ethiopian Jews was an inspiring experience. They are a gentle, friendly people whose determination to succeed in their new land is evident. Center administrators told stories of how the Ethiopians insisted on double-shift language instruction classes, and of how they sought outside jobs to supplement their government stipends to save for the future.

One hopes that future will be bright. It is hard to go to another country and start a new life. It is doubly hard to go from a traditional, village-centered society to a modern, industrial one.

But from what I saw, I am convinced they will make it. They are motivated to become independent members of a nation they had prayed to be part of. And they are among people who welcome them and seek to help.

There's a lesson here for Americans that says that a positive, caring policy can help people to make it. What I saw in Israel suggests that the goal of an open, pluralistic, integrated society is within reach. And that encourages those of us in America who still see it as a distant dream.

## The Baltimore Afro-American

October 12, 1985

(p.5)



# Martin Luther King, Jr. Day Is Declared In Israel

In recognition of the first celebration of the new American federal holiday honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Israel's President Chaim Herzog has declared January 30, 1986 to be Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Day in Israel. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. has long been admired in Israel for his

courageous leadership of the civil rights movement in the United States, his frequently demonstrated friendship for the Jewish people, Zionism, and the State of Israel, and his eloquent rejection of anti-semitism in all its forms. His tragic assassination in 1968 caused

(Continued on page 5)

## In Israel (Continued from page 7)

deep anguish among all Israelis. Only ten days before his untimely death, Dr. King declared:

"I see Israel, and never mind saying it, as one of the great outposts of democracy in the world, and a marvelous example of what can be done, how desert land almost can be transformed into an oasis of brotherhood and democracy. Peace for Israel means security and that security must be a reality."

In tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a special memorial forest bearing his name was planted in 1976 in the Galilee, near Nazareth. It now consists of over 10,000 trees and is growing constantly as both Americans and Israelis plant additional trees in his memory.

On Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, Israel's highest political body, the Knesset, will hold in his honor a special afternoon session, which will be opened by the Speaker of the Knesset and will be followed by a reception in the Knesset's Chagall Hall. Participating will be the President of the State, members of the Government of Israel and the Knesset, key Israeli public figures, American diplomats, representatives from the general diplomatic community, and representatives of every American organization with offices in Israel.

Schools and universities in Israel are

expected to commemorate the day with special programs which will pay tribute to Dr. Martin Luther King's life and works.

Other activities are also being planned, including:

- naming a street for Dr. King in Jerusalem;
- a ceremony at the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Forest.

All events will be open to the Israeli and international media.

In advance of Israel's own celebrations of Dr. King's birthday, The Embassy of Israel - together with the Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday Commission, the Jewish National Fund, the International Association of Official Human Rights Agencies, and the America-Israel Friendship League - will host a special commemoration in Washington on January 15, 1986. Leading figures from the Black, Jewish, and general communities will be invited to participate. This will be the second consecutive year in which such an embassy event will be held. In the first one held last January, several hundred prominent Americans joined with Israeli citizens to honor Dr. King.

In honoring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. - a great American and great humanitarian leader in the struggle for human dignity - Israel will be joining the United States in keeping his message alive.

The Cincinnati Herald

January 18, 1986



## MANNING MARABLE

FROM THE GRASS ROOTS

### 'Israel and Africa'

Several months ago, Jesse Jackson's public dialogue with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev made international headlines. The most highly publicized aspect of Jackson's statements were his comments concerning the status of Jews in the Soviet Union.

American Jewish leaders were pleased with Jackson's performance. Theodore R. Matus, President of the American Jewish Congress (AJC), congratulated Jackson's "eloquence" and his persistence in pressing the issue, despite Mr. Gorbachev's effort to sidetrack it. We deplore Mr. Gorbachev's callous and dangerous attempt to ignore a fundamental question of human rights.

This represented an interesting turnaround for the AJC. Less than two years ago, in the middle of the 1984 Democratic primaries, AJC executive director Henry Segman had warned Democratic Party officials that coordinated support for Jackson was a part-boring that can only lead to disaster.

Nevertheless, Jackson's Geneva Exhortation should not be forgotten. What is now necessary is to engage a broader dialogue on international questions, particularly those of significance to Afro-Americans.

One secular area which merits immediate discussion is the complex and ambivalent relationship between Israel and Africa. The anti-apartheid struggle is an issue where there should be little disagreement.

Indeed, when Rabbi Alexander M. Schneider, President of the American Hebrew Congregation, congratulated Jackson's remarks to Gorbachev, he added: "What he said further underscores the common agenda of our respective communities, for just as a black leader speaks up for Soviet Jews,

so have Jewish leaders denounced the moral obscenity of apartheid."

However, black American leaders also have the moral and political obligation to speak up for the concerns of all African people to complete a domestic lobby for their interests. An agenda for a meaningful dialogue could begin with an overdue reassessment of the plight of 10,000 Ethiopian Jews in Israel fourteen months ago.

According to Jesse Hunter, Jewish press officer and editor of Israeli Foreign Affairs, most of those Ethiopians "rescued" were young, "mainly the old and weak had been left back in Ethiopia." Shortly before the airlift operation began, Jesse Jackson "was set up for a grizzly attack."

The mayor of Jerusalem made a public request that Jackson "intercede with the Ethiopian and Sudanese governments" for the release of Ethiopian Jews. Jackson agreed. His only condition was that "the Ethiopians neither be used in the Israeli army nor settled in territory illegally occupied by Israel."

The New Republic denounced Jackson's terms as "bambines," and the airlift proceeded.

The total cost of the Ethiopian airlift, \$200 million, could have fed thousands of starving Africans. There were also serious discrepancies in the media publicity surrounding the event. The American Israel Public Affairs Committee, for instance, claimed that "under the Marxist regime in Ethiopia, Jewish schools were abolished and the teaching of Jewish traditions outlawed."

But according to Israel, the lengthy government ban by statute "affected a radical reversal of the centuries long persecution" of Ethiopian Jews. Israel's connections with the puppet

### The Baltimore Afro-American

February 1, 1986

(p.5)

(Continued on next page)

regime in Namibia are more disturbing. Last April, Namibian officials met with Israelis to discuss agricultural and community development projects. Hunter suggests that Israel's aid package to Namibia might include "the development of internationally condemned 'model' or 'strategic' villages - concentration camps, to use a word of South African coinage."

Israel's ties with apartheid are of course well known. Less publicized are the Israeli links to the bantustans, the phony enclaves set up by South Africa as all-black ministates. As Israeli Foreign Affairs notes, the pseudo-state of "Ciskei" signed an arms agreement with Israel in 1982.

The Israeli company "Tammus" earned \$300,000 annually to give security advisers to Ciskei's "president." A Ciskei textile mill is owned by several Israelis; "Agrider," an Israeli parastatal, has initiated agricultural projects in Ciskei.

Israel is involved in building up other bantustans as well. Ruth Dayan, the first wife of former Israeli defense minister Moshe Dayan, owns a software firm in Bophuthatswana. Israel has set up a television network in this bantustan; and Israeli "security mercenaries" also guard the casino tables at Sun City, the international gambling resort.

The bantustans are an integral part of apartheid's strategy to destroy the black freedom struggle. Objectively, any economic investment and military development of these pseudo-states retards the liberation campaign. Ciskei's police force, for instance, has been used to break up black funerals and demonstrations inside South Africa.

Dialogue is preferable to rhetorical confrontations, and the next step in any meaningful discourse with Israel's supporters in the U.S. is to address these and other concerns. Jackson has illustrated repeatedly that black Americans are sympathetic to all international human rights issues; now American Jewish leaders who defend Israel should reexamine and critique Israeli political behavior and economic interests in Africa.

### The Baltimore Afro-American

February 1, 1986

(p.5)

# Farrakhan's Israel Connection

Minister Louis Farrakhan of the Nation of Islam has for years been cultivating a power base among the Black Hebrews, a sect of Black Hebrews in Israel whose members claim they are the genuine Jews and therefore the rightful claimants to the state of Israel.

The organization has announced its plans to attack government institutions such as the Knesset during the next Mideast war, and to ultimately expel all Jews from Israel.

Farrakhan's involvement with the group began in 1976 and grew closer when in 1977 he visited the Black Hebrew's Negro desert town of Dimona where the group is believed to have stockpiled small arms supplied by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Calling themselves the Original Black Israelite Nation, Black Hebrews are American Blacks from the ghettos of Chicago, Detroit and Washington, many of them former gang members. They believe the existing white and Sephardic Jews are impostors with no right to exist in the Jewish State.

A small party of Black Hebrews led by Chicagoan Ben-Ami Carter first arrived in Dimona and Ariel in 1969 and were granted apartments by the Ministry of Absorption. Others joined them in subsequent years and their number is now estimated at 1,000 to 1,500. Only after their arrival did the group make known its hostile philosophy. The next trouble all its members in martial arts.

Meanwhile in the United States, Black Hebrew cult members in Chicago and Detroit have been charged by federal authorities with operating a multi-million dollar, fraudulent check cashing ring in tandem with a network of Jewish ghetto school boys. Some of the

money has reportedly found its way to cult members in Israel.

The conflict Black Hebrews encountered both in the United States and Israel made them prime candidates for an alliance with the new Nation of Islam. Farrakhan recalls that, in fact, "many of the Black Hebrews... were former followers of the Honorable Elijah Muhammad. When the breaking of the nation appeared... following Muhammad's death in 1972, several people seemed to need that kind of movement for their own stability."

Farrakhan's people stayed in close touch with the Black Hebrews. In fact, Farrakhan's minister of defense and security, Khalid Abdul Muhammad, traveled to Israel in 1976 and 1977 to visit their Dimona strong hold.

Farrakhan did not meet Black Hebrew leader Ben-Ami Carter until 1977, but when he did, they immediately struck up a friendship. The minister himself ultimately journeyed to Israel. "In 1978, I visited Israel with Ben-Ami," recalled Farrakhan, "during an exclusive two-hour interview. Entering Israel on a standard American passport, Farrakhan was asked, 'If any questions by Israeli customs officials. Although, Israeli customs agents routinely stamp passports to prevent a tourist's ability to subsequently visit Arab countries, Farrakhan's passport proper was actually stamped. The Israeli Israeli traveling nonetheless did not subsequently identify with the ability to travel freely throughout the Arab world.

Once in Israel, Farrakhan visited the Mosques of Omar in Jerusalem, and then went directly to the Black Hebrew community. "I stayed in Dimona about three or four days - probably less than a week - recalls Farrakhan. Although the Black Hebrews

The Baltimore Jewish Times

February 21, 1986

(p.30)

(Cont. on p.31)

1986

Ferrabone's \$5 million loan from Col. Kludum. Asst.'s trial is scheduled to begin on March 1 in Washington, and Myers is in the capital now preparing for the defense.

For their part, the Black Redcoats regularly provide a voice from beyond that can be coaxed up for anti-Clinton and anti-perish agitation.

and support for Parliament. An able to Minister, P. Robbins asserted that Black Hebrews participated in nearly every annual B'nai B'rith convention. For example, a Black Hebrew "Ambassador" participated in an international anti-sewer and anti-fluorid convention staged by the Nation in February 1988. Other guests included Arthur Butts,

the Northampton University professor of "black studies" of that time, his education was the product, hence of the twentieth century. The effects of this same evolution was the noticeable call from Measear Khaddafi for American blacks to create a "new" way to revolutionize America. As related to Perishan adds that the Black Muslims have written letters on "Perishan's behalf" for example

whether Jewish community leaders accused the Black Muslim leader of anti-Semitism (the "Black Muslim" was the subject of the Black Muslim's lawsuit). The Black Muslim's lawyer, Edgar L. Eversley, said he was in a "difficult position" — especially for a Jew — because he was not sure enough to follow the advice of the Defense and, similarly, Black Muslim attorneys. In such an eventuality, he said, he was compelled to ask the court to appoint a neutral mediator to help him decide whether to sue the Black Muslim.

On the day of the hearing, the judge told the 10 lawyers that he had read the lawsuit and found it to be "a good example of a Jew and a Black Muslim in America not in touch."

Dealing with labor mediation, the judge said he was "not sure" whether he was "supposed" to take the case. He said he was "not sure" whether he was "supposed" to take the case. He said he was "not sure" whether he was "supposed" to take the case.

Reported to the New

Signs the authorities to maintain a security alert regarding activities of the cult, as one Israeli intelligence brief has stressed.

However, when Israeli authorities learned from the newspaper of Pundak's return, they learned that his reaction was not the calm, one-for-one system sources declared. This time a "dead light" on everything. "Nobody's Not Lost," said Pundak. Black and white, Pundak said, he saw a two-hour spectacle in the streets of Jerusalem, and he was not alone. He was with Moshe, of Tel Aviv, and with Yehuda, of Beer Sheva. "The authorities stopped an immigration boat for a month for the FBI at the end of the month," said Pundak. "The FBI, the Post, Sunday Magazine, from which this story was covered."

(P.31)

## Letters to the AFRO

### Misleading, misinformed Mr. Marable

Dear AFRO:

Manning Marable should be commended for his February 1, 1986 column, "Israel and Africa."

He should be commended for his ability to pack more lies, distortions, misstatements, twisted logic and just plain offensive remarks into such a brief and tightly worded column.

If that were not enough, he has the cheek to suggest that this is "no agenda for a meaningful dialogue." How can one begin to respond?

The rescue of Ethiopian Jews, known as "Operation Moses," surely is one of the great humanitarian gestures of our time. Here was a people despised and persecuted for generations because of their religion and facing imminent extinction under an oppressive Marxist regime.

They had only their age-old dream of one day reaching the Promised Land to console them, which now seemed even more remote than ever. But thousands of Ethiopian Jews managed to walk for hundreds of miles under cover of darkness to cross the border into the Sudan.

From there they were secretly airlifted to Israel — surely because if any other Arab nation should learn that the Sudanese were even quietly assisting this pitiful group of beleaguered black Jews they would immediately invite the scorn of their Arab brethren.

Represented by contributions from American Jews (and profiles), the state of Israel was able to bring ten thousand Ethiopian Jews to the Promised Land and begin the long process of training, educating and absorbing them into the Jewish state.

"Operation Moses" made clear for all to see just how perverted the notion of equating Zionism with racism really was. But more importantly it gave this ancient Jewish community a new life in their own nation.

Mr. Marable reminds us that there was a famine in Ethiopia and tells us that the money raised for this airlift "could have fed thousands of starving Africans." Of course it could. So could money raised for a thousand other causes.

Does he not know or does he simply choose not to tell his readers that the many individuals and organizations that supported "Operation Moses" also raised millions of dollars for famine relief?

In the same breath he praises the Mengistu government's supposed "revelation of the centuries-long persecution." Shouldn't Mr. Marable also remind his readers that this is the same government that prevented the distribution of tons of food and medicine at the height of the famine, preferring to let thousands die rather than allow any relief to reach territories contested by rebel forces?

Having bravely condemned American Jews for helping their fellow Jews in Ethiopia (and imagine what he might have said had they ignored those pleas for help), Mr. Marable turns his "agenda for dialogue" to one of his favorite subjects, Israel and South Africa.

What is one to make of all the sinister and damning charges of this "special collaboration" that he lays before us? Of Israeli arms agreements with one of the bastions of apartheid? Of Israeli mercenaries guarding the casinos at Sun City? And the list goes on. How could

any right-thinking person not be outraged at hearing about such lies?

There is only one problem: None of the charges are true. Look again and you will discover that the sole source for all of Mr. Marable's "facts" is that "authoritative" journal, *Israeli Foreign Affairs*. It sounds like an objective and scholarly journal. (It even looks like one too.)

But in truth *Israeli Foreign Affairs* is published in California by a sole anti-Israel propagandist who draws material from primarily two sources — Soviet Union publications and Arabic press accounts.

Now I don't know about Mr. Marable, but I would be more than a little skeptical about relying on Tessa Pravda and the likes of Colonel Kaddafi's "Information Committee" handouts for my news of the world.

I guess, though, if it's what you want to hear, there's no point in being encumbered by the truth. Still, your readers deserve some warning.

Manning Marable has simply written another anti-Israel and anti-Jewish polemic, drawing inspiration from his own bias and prejudice rather than from any objective analysis.

In so doing he hardly stands alone: many have preceded him and many more will follow. Yet, having had his say, he concludes with this bit of advice: "Dialogue is preferable to rhetorical confrontation."

My very same thoughts.

RABBI ANDREW BAKER  
Washington Area Director  
The American Jewish Committee

The Baltimore Afro-American

February 22, 1986

(p.4)



Page 12 • THE CINCINNATI HERALD • Saturday, July 18, 1968

## Jewish Group Gives Update On Stokely Carmichael

David Eyssler, is a member of the Research and Evaluation Department of the Anti-Defamation League's Civil Rights Division.

During the campus arrest of the 1968 Stokely Carmichael was a prominent figure as a leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). He was a hero to many in the early days of the civil rights movement. But then he began to attract widespread attention with his violent and extreme statements. Today, Carmichael is a black revolutionary who has taken the name of Kwame Nkrumah. He is once again appearing on American campuses — his message one of anti-Zionism and racism.

For instance, speaking at Columbia University in New York last March, Touré told his audience of 200 students:

"The best Zionist is a dead Zionist. There is no such thing as the Jewish people. Zionism must be struggled against without mercy and without pity. ... Zionists ain't gonna get Israel. Palestinian are gonna get Israel."

Touré travels to the United States once a year from Guinea, West Africa, where he now lives, to do organizing work for his Washington-based African People's Revolutionary Party. His periodic forays into the nation's college campuses have led to expressions of anti-Semitism against Jewish students and tensions between blacks and Jews.

Uphursts have occurred at some of the numerous campus appearances Touré has made during the past year, including speeches at the University of Maryland and the State University of New York at Binghamton. Following his Maryland speech, Jewish students were threatened and their dormitories and student organization offices defaced with swastikas.

After Touré was splashed at Columbia University, a Jewish student told the Spectator, the university newspaper: "It sort of hits you in the stomach when someone ... in your class spreads your own destruction."

While speaking at the Black Student Union at the University of Maryland, Touré said, "If your people are exploited and you don't help, we have every right to hit you."

Jewish students who asked questions were Jewish, threatened if they refused to leave the room and harassed after the meeting. Threatening phone calls even warned of death.

The Washington Jewish Week reported that the Jewish student community at the University of Maryland "was in turmoil ... following a series of anti-Semitic incidents" after Touré's appearance. The article quoted a Jewish student, physical education major and Jewish youth league member, as saying Touré "spread lies and the usual paranoid campus ... The article reported that someone wrote 'Slime-Oat' below the window of the library, the campus Jewish weekly publication.

Touré told 600 students in Binghamton last November, that "Zionists sent others to their death in Germany to justify taking land from the Palestinians." He also announced his "100 percent" support of Louis Farrakhan, the anti-Semitic Black Muslim leader.

While a leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee in the 1960s, Carmichael became increasingly critical of the group's alliance with white people. He helped popularize the concept of "Black Power" and subsequently became Prime Minister of the Black Panthers.

His rapid descent into anti-Semitism and racism began at that time. According to the Anti-Defamation League's 1976 book, The New Anti-Semitism, a chairman of SNCC in 1966, Carmichael called for racial guerrilla warfare by blacks in the United States. SNCC began to attack Israel and Zionism on a regular basis. In September, 1967, Carmichael visited several Arab countries in an apparent show of solidarity with the Arabs against Israel. After a three-day visit to Syria, he declared, "Our support to Arabs and their legitimate rights in Palestine is complete and absolute."

He left the United States in 1969 to live in Guinea where he became a nationalistic citizen and espoused a policy called Pan-Africanism. He called on blacks as "one cohesive force, to wage an unrelenting armed struggle against the white Western empire for the liberation of our people."

He served as personal secretary to Kwame Nkrumah, a former president

(Continued on  
next page)

of Ghana, for two years, and then studied under President Sukarno. Touré of Guinea until President Touré's death in 1961. It was in the early 1960s that Car-michael adopted the name Keame Touré, honoring his two mentors.

Last year, Touré appeared at Madison Square Garden in New York as the opening speaker introducing Louis Farrakhan. Julius Lester reported in The New Republic that Touré said, "Our people don't need talk, they need guns!" Lester wrote that "the most interesting standing criticism were reserved for Touré's attacks on Israel, Zionism and Judaism." Touré has also attended the Palestine Liberation Organization's Palestine National Council meetings in Damascus in recent years.

The AL-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) he leads is the most independently and ideologically radical group on the left now functioning in the United States. It has described a brethren entitled "Jewish Communist Mass Murder of Palestinian Arab African Peoples: Zionism Is Racism ... It Must Be Destroyed." Another pamphlet is called "Zionism Is Racism."

Other AAPRP leaflets accuse the international Zionist movement of controlling all banks and businesses in black America and accuse Jewish bankers and merchants of selling bad meat and "dry rot" clothes to blacks. They also charge that "Jewish capital" financed slavery. One leaflet calls Zionism "a well-organized and financed, international conspiracy which controls the economic and political life of the United States and Europe, using the stronghold to steal and dominate the hand of the Palestinian people."

The AAPRP describes itself as a small party, based in Africa, a "patriotic, mass, independent, socialist, revolutionary, Pan-African political party" that fights for the "destruction of capitalism, imperialism ... racism, Zionism and apartheid."

Its recruiting efforts are focused on black college students, maintaining that "African students are the spear of the African revolution." Party rhetoric is quite explicit about its violent intentions.

"Everything we gain, we gain through bloodshed," Touré told students at the University of Pittsburgh. The AAPRP sent a delegation to Libya's Green Book conference, the popular name of the first international symposium on "The Thought of Hassan al-Banna" held in Benghazi, Libya, in April, 1981. Party members have also attended many other anti-Zionist

gatherings.

Touré's hate-filled rhetoric on U.S. campuses has been consistent:

-In 1972, at Harvard University, he said that the State of Israel is "immoral, illegal and unjust" and that he personally would "fight it with every breath in my body."

-Appearing on the WABC-TV program, "Take It to It," in 1973, he said that culture in the black community "is controlled by an alien ethnic group, not a competing ethnic group but an enemy ethnic group. The culture is not community is controlled by Zionist agents."

-In 1977, he enthusiastically defended Idi Amin, at that time Uganda's anti-Semitic and racist president, in a speech at Metropolitan State College in Denver.

-At a Washington demonstration led by Touré in 1978, the Washington Post reported that the demonstrators chanted again and again, "South Africa and Israel must be destroyed."

-Speaking at Northeastern Massachusetts University in 1979, Touré stated that Zionism was a "backward, stupid, racist, illegal system, doomed to failure."

-In 1981, 1,400 marchers celebrated "African Liberty Day" in Washington, D.C. Members and supporters of the AAPRP gathered under the rallying cry, "Fight against capitalism! It is a vicious system that oppresses you every day. Fight against Zionism and racism..."

While Touré's appearances have created discord, there is little indication that he is acquiring a mass following. His party appears to be no more than a small personal following of fanatics, a sect on the periphery of the American left.

Taken with his extreme anti-Semitism, Touré's ideological positions are so rigid and Communist-oriented that they are unlikely to win him many lasting followers. There are a few exceptions:

-On Abolitionist: "The Soviet government was verified to establish the regime."

-On Andrew Buharar: "Zionism" exists to not so bad, there (in the U.S.) you get five years for denying the draft."

-On Communist revolution:

"Wherever America has landed socialism, it has lost: in Vietnam, in Cuba, in Korea. I am more determined to see capitalism destroyed now than I was yesterday."

Touré's impact seems to be a limited one, sparking flames of hate that abate quickly. Yet he remains a polarizing and provocative figure, whose activities warrant continuing concern.

The Cincinnati Herald

July 19, 1986

(p.12)

The Cincinnati Herald

January 17, 1987

(p.3)

# Letter To Editor

## Explaining Their Stance On Judaism As Opposed To Zionism

To the Editor:

A response to the Article "Jewish Group Gives Update On Steady Carmichael" in the July 15, 1986 Cincinnati Herald by David Eversler, Anti-Defamation League.

In the past year, we have noted a stepped-up campaign being waged against the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (A-APRP) by the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) and its associates.

This does not surprise us since we are constantly raising our people's consciousness to the fact that Zionism and Apartheid are twin cancers working together at the top and bottom of our homeland. To completely cure the patient, we must cut out both to survive.

And if we don't believe that, Zionism has a grip on the United States, we should recall the recent presidential campaign. Although Rev. Jackson made an erroneous remark, the entire Republican and Democratic parties, the press, and everyone else used that mistake to drive a wedge between Rev. Jackson and Minister Farrakhan, who is anti-Zionist, not anti-Semitic.

It is appalling to us however that the Cincinnati Herald provided a vehicle for continuing these mis-trials without identifying them as the writer's opinion. Furthermore, if the Herald really wanted an update on Kwame Ture, they should have some of our past press releases on hand and could have contacted us. We would have gladly arranged for you to interview Kwame directly.

We can not fully express our understanding of Zionism here and while we hope you print this letter of response, we challenge the Herald to reprint our brochure entitled "Smash Zionism" so that the Herald readers can realize for themselves the facts of history we present. Any independent thinking African (black man or woman) will come to understand that we can no longer be neutral on this question.

We hope to illustrate why through the remarks that follow which respond to the important points raised by Mr. Eversler.

First of all, most of the quotes Eversler attributes to Kwame Ture and the A-APRP, although consistently misconstructed, will not be denied by us. His characterizations of the A-APRP, however, are those of the ADL and the African masses whose leaders we represent, know or will come to know what we stand for and what our objective is. Even African people (all black people) who have never heard of Stokely Carmichael, Kwame Nkrumah, or the A-APRP know that the time has come for us to realize that only we understand our problems. Therefore, we ourselves must determine the right solution. We must pick our own leaders, determine who our friends are as well as our enemies, by ourselves. We can no longer allow others who may be genuinely sympathetic or those who pretend to be while hiding their own self-interest, to decide these vital issues for us. Ours is a struggle to regain the dignity due to us and all human beings and making our own analysis and solution to our plight is the most basic expression of that dignity we must assert.

This self-assertion and independent action can in no way be deemed as racism. It is simply acting in our own interest. Racism, an institution, can only have a real effect upon a people when it is backed by economic control over that people. To be a racist, Kwame Ture would have to be able to deny no man their right to a decent living, a decent home, and their dignity in society. Clearly, neither he nor most Africans are in a position to be a racist when we, the Palestinians, the American Indians, and other minorities are the victims of racism.

Mr. Eversler's article and the campaign of the ADL, to try and stop Kwame from speaking before the introduction to his statement that the A-APRP has little impact on the African (black) community. The appeal of our position is that it is simply based on historical fact and try as they

(Continued on next page)

# The Cincinnati Herald

January 17, 1987

(p.3)

might, the truth will never be defeated. Furthermore, given the interest in South Africa/Azania at this time, Africans are becoming more conscious of the interwoven alliance of Zionism and Apartheid. This is the basis for the widening gulf between Africans and the supporters of Zionism.

It is correct to trace the divorce of the alliance in the U.S. between Africans and Zionist forces back to the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the 1960s. SNCC asserted an independent African analysis to the issue of Palestine and was the first organization in the U.S. to speak out against the Vietnam War. SNCC encouraged Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to speak out against the war and this heralded his assassination as his voice became pivotal in the anti-war movement which touched all people in the U.S.

In the Civil Rights struggle we allied ourselves with Jewish people as well as other groups because of the persecution they suffered. In their case, the persecution was based on religion and not racism. The Zionists who have always exploited the persecution of the Jews, tried to extend our alliance to the support of Israel. SNCC broke a hole in the dyke which finally collapsed during the last presidential campaign. Africans being a very principled people, recognized that two wrongs don't make right. Jews can not avenge their suffering by terrorizing another people and taking away their home.

Now that the struggle over self-determination in southern Africa has intensified, the Zionists are trying to suppress those who expose the brother-sister relationship of South Africa and Israel. A liberated, independent South Africa/Azania will mean the end of the unprecedented Zionist control of the gold and diamonds of that region. This is the reason for the current attacks on the A-APRP, Kwame Ture, Minister Farrakhan, and the Libyan people.

It is amazing how quickly anyone who criticizes Zionism is branded "anti-Semitic." Semite is an ethnic classification given to Arab people. The Zionists who support and control Israel are from the United States and Europe i.e. Golda Meir from Milwaukee, Menachem Begin from Poland, etc. etc. The leadership of the Zionist movement therefore are Europeans and not Semitic in deed based upon their terrorism and murder of Palestinian people, and exploitation and oppression of the Arab Jews, Muslims, and Christians who still live in Israel or occupied Palestine.

If you read our literature you will find that we distinguish between Judaism, a religion, and Zionism, a political philosophy. Judaism was born in north Africa and dispersed by Moses. The Falasha Jews of Ethiopia, the oldest Jewish sect in the world, attest to this fact. Yet the Zionists have scorned the Falashas and despite the token airlift of a handful of Ethiopians to Israel last year, have audaciously refused to accept them into the so-called "Jewish Homeland." We uncompromisingly defend anyone's right to practice the particular form of religion they believe in be it Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hindu, Buddhism, traditional, etc. Zionism tries to exploit Judaism by equating it with nationalism. This is an affront to all just religions who are universal in intent and seek to embrace all humankind. If religion had nationalism as one of its aims then there should be a Baptist Homeland, an Episcopalian Homeland, etc. This is the basis for our statement that there is no one nationality of Jewish "people." Followers of Judaism can be found in many nations around the world. The false nationalism which the Zionists created at the turn of the century to equate a "Jewish national home" with Palestine was a desperate political move after their proposals for creating a Zionist State in Cyprus, Kenya, and Uganda proved unsatisfactory.

Many Jews opposed Zionism in the beginning, and many are working now against it. They should be applauded and supported in their endeavor to

distance the humanist and God fearing precepts of Judaism from the bankrupt political philosophy of Zionism. The orthodox Jews say that "a Jew can not be a Zionist, and a Zionist can not be a Jew."

Mr. Evanier refers to hostilities that Zionist supporters have experienced on campuses where Kwame Ture has spoken. Last April when Kwame spoke at Miami University in Oxford, Ohio,

(Continued on page 11)

THE CINCINNATI HERALD - Saturday, January 17, 1967 - Page 11

## Letter To Editor

(Continued from page 3)

the story was quite different. ADL supporters, after unsuccessfully trying to persuade the sponsors to cancel the lecture, distributed a flyer about Kwame outlining the same misconceptions Mr. Evanier expounds. During the question and answer period the audience which was 80% European (white) graduate students became perturbed with the ADL supporters. It was not that the audience agreed with Kwame's statements about Zionism and capitalism, but the Zionist students tried to dominate the session and were totally disrespectful to the lecturer, cutting off his answers, and being very abusive. What made Kwame impressive on the uncharacteristic audience was the ironic respect he gave the hecklers, his patience, and the clear logic of his argument. In fact, one young heckler was so overcome by the honest logic of Kwame's answer to her question that the only reply she could muster was to storm from the room insulting an elderly African woman on the way out. And yet, no hostility was shown to this confused supporter of Zionism.

It is too bad that Zionist children get their feelings hurt by the honest response of their peers when the facts about Zionism are presented. They must realize the truth about the philosophy that allows them to lead the good life at the expense of others. Who would have argued that we should not condemn slavery because it hurt the feelings of the slaveowner's children.

And certainly Mr. Evanier does not believe that Africans would paint

Swastikas on anyone's walls just as we wouldn't paint "KKK" anywhere either. Nazism is as much our enemy as anyone else's. South Africa is a perfect reason why.

Africans in the U.S. have begun to question the Zionist issue not out of hatred but because we have been awakened by the political climate of today's world and are beginning to realize that:

a. We have the right not only to establish our own domestic agenda but our own international agenda as well. This vision in our view is vital if we are ever to come to grips with the problems we and other oppressed people face.

b. The basic precepts around the founding of the state of Israel are wrong because the rights and the lives of the dominant population of Palestine who had lived there for centuries, were totally ignored. In fact the Zionists have attempted to destroy their very identity. This is absolutely identical to our situation in southern Africa, and the condition of the Indians of north America. Africans (black) people are principled people and we cannot ignore these facts.

c. The words of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. ring home clearer than ever, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."

The Ohio Chapter  
Coordinating Committee  
The All-African  
People's Revolutionary Party  
P.O. Box 11686  
Columbus, Ohio 43215

THURSDAY, MAY 21, 1987

THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE

## Opinion

(p. A-5)

## Black Hebrews must struggle to survive

Recent overtures by the Black Hebrews to renounce their anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist activities throughout the United States emerge not from any benign change of heart by supporters in

wives. Ben Ammi is currently married to three women, not including Patricia Price. Fidelity within a polygamous union is strictly observed.

Of the adults, at least 400 are stateless, that is they have

renounced U.S. citizen may not be deported to America.

These 400 stateless adults have fathered approximately 300 stateless children.

Numerous children died of malnutrition during the group's early years. "We had major problems with vitamin B12 because our strict vegetarian diets require supplements that we could not provide," explains Ben Ammi. "We lost quite a few children." The most recent death just a few weeks ago, a 65 year mother.

A compelling reason for ousting the Black Hebrews has always been based on reports of their "reign of terror" in Dimona. It is true, in the early 1970s, the Black Hebrews brought their inner city ways with them. "We were living 25 in an apartment built for four," admits Ben Ammi.

He also concedes that in the group's early years they staged "protests" at the local supermarket — namely walking out with carts of stolen food. Numerous incidents of shoplifting combined with their clannish secrecy did create tensions with their

Please see page A-16



## The Cutting Edge

by Edwin Black

America, but from the desperation of their community in Dimona, Israel.

For nearly 20 years, the Black Hebrews in Israel — a group of some 1000 to 1500 American blacks — have been struggling to survive in the Negev.

Polygamy, widely practiced, has yielded approximately 800 children, most under age 14. Cult leader Ben Ammi Carter has fathered about a dozen children, including six by his divorced wife Patricia Price, said to be the sister of Chicago Mayor Harold Washington.

Sect rules permit up to seven wives, and a few men indeed wed as many as four. But most men maintain only two

renounced their American citizenship but not received Israeli citizenship. Upon turning 18, most but not all Black Hebrews routinely opt to

**In the early years, the group staged "protests" at the local supermarket.**

relinquish U.S. citizenship to stymie the ever-present threat of deportation. Except for extradition for a crime, a

(Cont. on p. A-16)

## The Cutting Edge

Continued from page A-5  
neighbors.

But when the Dimona police cracked down on Black Hebrew provocations, and the Israeli authorities began looking for excuses to arrest sect members, the group reformed — it only to stay out of jail. Hence for the past 10 or 15 years, cult members have lived peaceably and passively with their neighbors.

Stories of continued law-breaking, a state of siege against the townfolk of Dimona and even stockpiling of arms are all false. Knowledgeable sources in Israel laugh at such reports.

"I have seen the entire criminal file on everyone in the sect for the past 10 or 15 years," says David Clayman, Jerusalem director of the American Jewish Committee. "And it doesn't amount to a hill of beans. They're living

quietly and get along with their neighbors. That doesn't mean they belong there — they don't. It only means that they are there and living peaceably." Dimona Chief Rabbi Eli Font confirms, "There is no day to day tension. They get along with all their neighbors."

More than that, the Black Hebrews have established a vibrant alien role in Israeli society. Outfitted in colorful African robes and headresses, Black Hebrew families can be seen strolling the streets of Arad or Dimona on the Sabbath wishing passers-by Shabbat Shalom. For years, their renowned jazz troupe has entertained at army bases.

But while the Israel-based community lives quietly to avoid provoking countermeasures, supporters in the United States have waged an intensive and vicious hate campaign against Zionism and the Jewish people.

The implementors have been several thousand devoted black followers of Ben Ammi living communally in collectives called "extensions" located in Chicago, Atlanta, Washington and to a lesser extent Baltimore and Detroit. But without question it is Ben Ammi in Dimona who maintains control.

Prior to issuing his permanent renunciation of anti-Israeli and anti-Jewish activities, Ben Ammi assured, "I have the ability to call off all the protests across the United States within 24 hours."

Indeed, shortly after his proclamation, the hate campaign abruptly ceased.

But Black Hebrew sorrow over anti-Zionism is born not so much out of repentance as their desperation in Dimona. The community in Israel has lost its economic viability, which was in large part predicated on a massive network of welfare fraud, check kiting and stolen airline ticket schemes. Approximately \$12,000 per month was being forwarded to the Dimona community from America, principally Chicago.

### For the past decade, cult members have lived peaceably with their neighbors.

"We did not authorize any criminal activity," insists Ben Ammi. "When our predicament in Israel deteriorated, we came from the community in the U.S. I did not know any money was coming from illegal activities. But," he adds, "I didn't hold any investigations or ask any questions, either. Listen we had to feed our children. We needed money."

Eventually, the Justice Department requested substantial satis-

faction prosecuted the leaders causing a drastic reduction in Black Hebrew income. Monthly donations, which had previously come in by both cash and traditional banking, had dropped to about \$2000 per month. Yet the community's monthly budget remains approximately \$20,000.

Other sources of income began drying up as well due to

### Black Hebrew sorrow over anti-Zionism is born mostly out of a desperation to survive.

Israeli government pressure. First, the Histadrut revoked Black Hebrew membership, and the government cancelled their work permits due to their illegal status. Second, government agents began a coordinated effort to block other employment. Army bases no longer allow the jazz troupe to entertain.

The Black Hebrew jewelry enterprise has been paralyzed by equipment breakdowns and there is no cash for repairs. "We have no more money coming in," admits Ben Ammi, "and the government won't let us work to earn money. We are starving."

The Black Hebrew leader eventually became convinced that his anti-Zionist campaign was backfiring and only blocking efforts to relieve the strictly humanitarian crisis, even while the political stalemate over their illegal presence continued. Desperate to survive, Ben Ammi elected to give up his war against the Jews and against the state.

Citizenship for those who smuggled themselves into Israel, created an international criminal cartel to support themselves and then launched a massive anti-State and anti-Semitic campaign to intimidate the government is not possible. Ben Ammi now understands this.

His one remaining hope is that his group will somehow be allowed to remain quietly in the Negev that has been their embattled home for twenty years. Then there is a chance that several hundred children born in Eretz Yisrael might somehow be properly integrated into Israeli society.

Edwin Black is the author of "The Transfer Agreement: The Untold Story of the Secret Pact Between the Third Reich and Jewish Palestine" (Macmillan), winner of the Carl Sandburg Award for the best nonfiction of 1964 and nominated for the Pulitzer Prize. His weekly syndicated column is published by Jewish newspapers in 45 cities throughout the United States and Canada.



## CHAPTER THREE

## Affirmative Action and Quotas: A Common Concern

At the close of the 1960s, a cry of warning was sounded by some Americans against what they perceived to be the perils of preferential treatment based on race. In the months following the Democratic National Convention in Chicago, Dr. Abraham Duker, an influential Jewish professor, then an administrator at Yeshiva University, cautioned Orthodox Jews about the 'extremist attitudes' of Black power advocates and Jews of the New Left regarding the redistribution of educational and economic opportunity. Duker emphasized what he saw as the potential damage--to mainstream Jews involved in business, the professions, and the civil services--that would result from the substitution of racially based education for the "merit system." [1]

Daniel Patrick Moynihan seconded Duker's fear that Jews would be victimized by preferential treatment for African-Americans. Moynihan, while Director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of M.I.T. and Harvard in 1968, attached the label of "racialism" to what he saw as a future trend on the part of businesses and educational institutions to favor Blacks at the expense of Jews. [2] Robert E. Segal, a Jewish columnist carried by Cincinnati's American Israelite, likewise expressed his ambivalence toward the issue of preferential treatment of Blacks. Commenting on Moynihan's remarks, he agreed on the one hand with the need to foster educational and economic opportunities for Blacks; yet, like

Duker he did not want to see Jews displaced from their hard earned jobs or academic standings. Segal was uncomfortable with an approach which called for the introduction of preferential quotas to promote Black advancement. He remembered that, not so many years ago, quotas had been used to the detriment of Jews, as tools of exclusion. [3]

Four years later, as Richard Nixon, George McGovern, and George Wallace prepared for national campaigns, Philip E. Hoffman, then newly elected president of the American Jewish Committee (AJC) echoed Segal's thoughts on the pitfalls of quotas. Hoffman emphasized that individual merit had to be the basis on which any democratic system attempted to correct an uneven distribution of wealth and power. [4] Dr. David Sidorsky, a professor of philosophy at Columbia University in 1972, suggested, at the time, that reparations for discrimination against certain minorities could be achieved without quotas. He foresaw that governmental, affirmative action initiatives would ultimately result in the introduction of a quota system. In disapproving of government agencies that sponsored affirmative action programs, Sidorsky went so far as to charge them with anti-Semitism. [5]

According to columnist Segal, television reporter Eric Sevareid's dismissal of Jewish Senator Abraham Ribicoff as a vice presidential selection, on account of what Sevareid perceived to be the strong place of anti-Semitism in American life, confirmed that anti-Jewish sentiment continued to hamper Jews in their quest for equal opportunity. [6] Segal

noted that Republicans and Democrats paid serious attention to the issue of discrimination against minorities and women in their election year deliberations; in contrast, he pointed out that Jews received no special help when they were most in need. Segal agreed with the endorsement, in 1972, by the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council (NJCRAC) of affirmative action programs which were geared to create equal opportunity in employment and education for minorities, and he concurred with that group's rejection of preferential quotas as a form of minority reparations. [7]

Black congressman Louis Stokes held a completely different perspective on quotas from that expressed by Segal and significant members of the American Jewish leadership. Stokes argued that the quotas which minority Americans sought were not exclusionary. Unlike quotas which had been used against Jews in the past, these quotas were, according to Stokes, to be employed to create a foundation on which to build equal minority representation. [8] As a Black political leader, he was irate about the way in which the Republican and Democratic presidential candidates left minority representatives out of the decision making process when they exclusively confided their stands against quotas to Hoffman of the AJC.

Commenting further on the perceived injustice to Blacks as a minority group, the Baltimore Afro-American expressed disappointment with the reactionary trend which it claimed was under way in America. "What in heaven's name is it that quotas supposedly have done for blacks that whites don't

think is right?" the paper thundered in September of 1972. [9] Blacks were at the bottom of the socio-economic ladder, the Afro-American contended; moreover, the paper's editors scolded, white Americans were callous when it came to Black deprivation. Greed, it seemed to the Black editors at the Afro-American, produced apathy on the part of Whites to the plight of their Black neighbors. [10]

During the 1970s, the fight to gain jobs in the work force and seats in university classrooms moved to the forefront of Black-Jewish relations. Equal opportunities and equal outcomes in employment and educational admissions were, throughout the decade, central concerns of Blacks and Jews. Significantly, it must be noted that equal opportunity does not necessarily guarantee equal results. Battling discriminatory intent in hiring or admissions may increase the likelihood of equal opportunity; however, the elimination of discriminatory intent in employment and admissions practices is not the same as filling actual slots with minority workers and students who were previously victims of discrimination. [11]

Two controversial court battles in the 1970s prodded all Americans into devoting more serious attention to the failure of past legislation to correct the unequal distribution of wealth and power in America. DeFunis v. Odegaard and The Regents of California v. Bakke forced Jews and Blacks, especially, to further define and defend the means by which they each felt justice would best be accomplished.

In preparation for the legal battle he planned to fight,



Marco Defunis, Jr., a Sephardic Jew who had graduated as a Phi Beta Kappa and Magna Cum Laude from the University of Washington, hired lawyer Josef Diamond of Seattle to represent him. DeFunis initiated his suit against Charles Odegaard, then president of the University of Washington, in an effort to gain admission to that institution's law school, which prior to litigation, in 1971, had twice rejected him.

A trial court in Seattle, Washington found in favor of Defunis' claim that he had been discriminated against because of his race and that his Fourteenth Amendment rights of equal protection under the law had been violated. [12] Consequently, the University of Washington--under a special order by Justice William Douglas--was forced to admit DeFunis to its law school. However, the decision of the Seattle court was appealed to the state Supreme Court, which sided with the university. Ultimately, the case was brought to the Supreme Court of the United States where, in 1974, it was pronounced "moot" because Defunis had already been allowed to enter law school. [13]

Blacks and Jews had mixed feelings regarding DeFunis v. Odegaard. Three major Jewish defense organizations, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (ADL), the American Jewish Committee, and the American Jewish Congress, all supported DeFunis in his stand for individual merit against the university's policy of group preference based on race. However, two significant organizations, the Social Action Commission of Reform Judaism and the National Council of Jewish Women supported the university and its affirmative

action admissions policy. [14] From the Black perspective, Maryland State Senator Verda F. Welcome and Baltimore City Councilman Clarence II. "Du" Burns sympathized with Defunis: each Black politician expressed an aversion to "reverse discrimination" which penalized non-minority students; yet Welcome also voiced her concern for minority advancement. Congressman Parren J. Mitchell opposed Defunis' stand and openly advocated a quota system to insure Black admission to colleges and professional schools. [15] In his opposition to quotas, Clarence Mitchell, Jr., then executive director of the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), made a critical distinction between quotas and affirmative action. "A quota imposes a ceiling and as a matter of law is illegal," he said. "The affirmative action program, on the other hand, establishes a goal, and under the decisions of the Supreme Court up to now is legal." [16] According to Mitchell, the NAACP opposed Defunis' stand because it threatened to block a major avenue of Black advancement: affirmative action. [17]

University affirmative action programs and the Black beneficiaries of such endeavors were also threatened by the arguments on behalf of Allan Bakke against the Regents of the University of California in the late 1970s. Litigation for Bakke, a thirty-four year old white engineer who was turned down twice by the University of California at Davis' medical school, resembled DeFunis' lawsuit a few years earlier: attorneys for each plaintiff claimed that their client's 14th Amendment rights had been violated. Both DeFunis' and

Bakke's lawyers argued in their separate defenses that, as white males, their clients were victims of "reverse discrimination" on the basis of race. [18]

Blacks responded to the charge of "reverse discrimination" with displeasure; in general, they viewed the accusation as further proof of an ongoing reactionary trend amongst Americans. Roy Wilkins expressed the sentiments of many African-Americans when, in an editorial carried by the Baltimore Afro-American on November 12, 1977, he declared: "Allan Bakke is not just a man fighting for his constitutional rights; he is a symbol of a conspiracy to discard the philosophy and plan for sharing equal opportunity with America's Black citizens." [19]

Blacks were not alone in their concern about the implications of a victory for Bakke. A week after Wilkins decried White America's lack of commitment to Black progress, the Cincinnati Herald reported the following: "seventy-nine national civil rights organizations, including leading Black and Jewish groups...released a joint statement declaring that although differences have arisen among them in the Bakke case, 'we shall work together in the future, as in the past, to secure full civil rights for all our citizens.'" [20] Included among the signers of this significant statement were the American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, A. Philip Randolph Institute, and the National Council of Negro Women. [21]

What did these groups disagree on? While the Herald



article did not specifically address this question, it is likely that the Jewish organizations again expressed their resistance to any form of fixed, numerical quotas. Support for this suggestion can be found in an announcement made by Larry M. Lavinsky, chairman of the Anti-Defamation League's (ADL) civil rights committee in 1977, that offered the following Jewish perspective regarding the Bakke suit:

What we are now witnessing on many campuses is a new form of discrimination in which whites in general and white males in particular are now the victims--of the quotas to get minorities in. This is as divisive and morally wrong as the racism of the past. [22]

Many Blacks, on the other hand, viewed the quota system as a vital tool in the battle against educational and economic discrimination.

College admissions offices were not the only breeding grounds for litigation over affirmative action programs and charges of "reverse discrimination." Litigation pitting Brian Weber against Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Co., in 1979, drew attention to a conflict of values in the American workplace: the lawsuit brought by Weber forced the Supreme Court to judge whether job seniority or affirmative action held higher priority as grounds for offering promotion. Weber claimed his seniority was overlooked because a racial quota was used in the selection of "candidates to train employees for upgrading." The Court, however, ruled against him. [23]

Some Jews, as well as the ADL, voiced dismay at the Supreme Court's decision in favor of Kaiser. They feared the

re-introduction of quotas into the workplace. [24] Others, like Robert E. Segal, took heart from the ruling, and emphasized the obligation of the majority in America to foster the advancement of underprivileged minorities. Still, even supporters of affirmative action, like Segal, opposed quotas. [25]

For the most part, African-Americans were comfortable with whatever methods would gain them equal opportunity and equal representation in competitive areas like education and employment; consequently, they were pleased with the Court's decision against Weber. At the outset of the 1980s Blacks hoped that future rulings would continue to favor affirmative action. [26] Therefore, despite her 1982 declaration that those who benefit most from preferential treatment involving the use of quotas have been, and continue to be, white males, Afro-American columnist Ethel Payne admitted, "Even I who have been more fortunate than the woman head of a household struggling to hold her family together, have wished many times that there were some quotas or goals that would have allowed me to have more access to equal opportunity." [27]

By the mid 1980s, three views on the subject of affirmative action and quotas had crystalized. (1) Blacks generally favored inclusive, racial quotas to effect equality in education, employment, and all other aspects of domestic life as a form of reparation for past injustices perpetrated against them by White America; they supported affirmative action programs with the same end goal in mind. [28] (2) Others, mostly White, agreed with John Bunzel, a Senior

Research Fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution, who suggested to the ADL late in 1983 that:

...There should be less, not more of an emphasis on race in the political process...and society would benefit if race were gradually to become a less salient factor [in the political process]. To reinforce the emphasis on race will create perpetuate a special favored status for members of certain groups. This worry comes from my belief that people should be treated as individuals and should not receive special benefits or burdens because of their race. [29]

(3) Finally, there were Jews who consistently opposed fixed, numerical quotas but faithfully supported affirmative action programs designed to improve the plight of underprivileged minorities by providing equal opportunity in education, employment, and all walks of American life. [30]

#### Contributing Factors

Religious stereotypes, while peripheral to Black and Jewish perspectives on affirmative action and quotas, cannot be ignored altogether. Thus, Dr. Abraham Duker characterized the Episcopal Church's donation to the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School District in New York City at the close of the 1960s--which at the time was the center of a struggle between the Black community and the largely, Jewish teachers union over community control of the schools--as "a case of Christians throwing Jews to the Panthers." (The Panthers were an allegedly anti-Semitic, Black militant organization.) Duker was apparently upset by what he saw as a link between a

Christian church and Blacks who sought to advance at the expense of Jewish teachers. He feared that collusion between Blacks and White Christians would touch off a wave of scapegoating using Jews as the victims. [31]

On the other hand, positive Jewish stereotypes also appeared. For example, Dore Schary, a Jewish playwright-producer and honorary chairman of the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) declared in 1974, at an ADL meeting at which the topic of educational and economic discrimination was addressed, that it was "a Jewish ethical imperative" to fight racism. [32] Three years later, Marjorie Parham, an influential Black editor at the Cincinnati Herald, urged that Blacks and Jews not forget their common bonds. She suggested in December of 1977 that the quest for religious freedom which Channukah symbolizes was one of the ties that unite Blacks, Whites, Christians, and Jews. [33]

Evidence from the four newspapers under study suggests that politics has played a more significant and direct role than religion in Black and Jewish approaches to affirmative action and quotas. DeFunis v. Odegaard, The Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, and Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Co., were lawsuits, during the 1970s, which increased Black and Jewish awareness about the unrectified imbalances in America regarding equal opportunity in education and employment practices. Moderate Blacks and Jews had witnessed, during the past fifteen years, presidential campaigns and Supreme Court battles over affirmative action which allowed for an evolution in public

thinking on the matter. By the mid-1980s, it appeared as though both groups were satisfied with the legislative trend that prohibited reverse discrimination against Whites and also recognized that past patterns of minority exclusion could no longer be tolerated. [34]

Why did Blacks and Jews disagree over affirmative action and quotas? Jews, were traditionally wary of quotas, which they viewed as tools designed to exclude them from educational institutions and the job market. Although they were accepted as Whites and received the privileges of this status, Jews were constantly on guard against any infringement upon their hard won civil rights. By contrast, Blacks in the 1980s saw quotas as an appealing means of attaining equal rights and representation. Since Blacks and Jews increasingly began to compete for the same educational and employment opportunities, which were limited in number, competitive tensions between the two groups swelled.

Kenyan Burke, in an interesting piece which was carried by the Cincinnati Herald, suggested that the media played a role in shaping American perspectives on Black-Jewish relations in the late 1960s and early 1970s. He argued that relations between Blacks and Jews were treated in a manner that emphasized hostilities between the two groups. [35] In reporting on affirmative action and quotas, it is also likely that the media by way of semantics has tended to exacerbate Black and Jewish tensions. For example, on February 1, 1975, the Cincinnati Herald ran a front page headline which shouted: "Jewish Group Supports Quotas." A careful reading



of the article which followed this claim reveals that the group in question, the American Jewish Congress, "vigorously opposed racial quotas." What the American Jewish Congress had supported was "numerical measurement" designed to assess the progress of school integration programs. [36]

#### Significance for Black-Jewish Relations

For the past twenty years, Jewish opposition, and Black receptivity, to preferential quotas for minorities, in areas such as education and employment, have significantly contributed to the ambivalent nature of Black-Jewish relations. Cincinnati Herald editor Marjorie Parham wrote in the Spring of 1974 that although she felt Blacks would be alienated by Jewish rejection of quotas, it was nevertheless beneficial for both groups to continue to engage in dialogue on common goals. [37] Dr. Alvin Poussaint, an associate professor of psychiatry at Harvard Medical School in the mid-1970s, said then that when minorities come into conflict with each other over certain principles, "the difference [of opinion] must not be allowed to jeopardize long-standing agreements about other things...we must not destroy the potential for greater coalitions, needed now more than ever in this time of moral decay." [38] Poussaint's perspective was indicative of that held by many moderates throughout the 1970s. Even after the Bakke lawsuit which threatened affirmative action programs all over the country, Black moderates continued to call for dialogue with their Jewish



counterparts. [39]

Jews also called for continued communication with Blacks during the 1970s. For example, Ronald Shapiro, an attorney and teacher of law in Maryland wrote a special column for the Baltimore Jewish Times in which he urged that Jews explain their aversion to quotas as well as continue their contributions to civil rights advances. Shapiro stressed that the Black-Jewish coalition was healthy for American society and that divisiveness had to be prevented. [40]

Yet, some Blacks felt very uncomfortable with certain of their Jewish counterparts in the early 1980s. Columnist Ethel Payne, in 1982, voiced her discontent with Hyman Bookbinder who was then Washington representative of the American Jewish Committee (AJC). Payne resented what she called Bookbinder's assertion that where quotas were used White males were, as a result, eliminated from the selection process. She also expressed the view that Blacks were losing old allies and had to seek new alternatives to advance their causes. However, although Payne seemed to imply it, she did not specifically say that these unfaithful allies were Jewish. [41]

On the other hand, Black newspaper editor Marjorie Parham persisted in her dedication to the belief that "friends can disagree on fundamental issues and still be friends." [42] This perspective appeared to predominate in the mid-1980s among both Jewish and Black moderates. [43] Of course, it must be pointed out that there were issues which Blacks and Jews were able to agree on in the mid-1980s. Cincinnati's

Herald offered evidence for this observation in its 1986 report of Hyman Bookbinder's "ringing support" for affirmative action programs "as the way to prepare 'every American for full participation in our society.'" [44] Still, the issues of affirmative action and preferential quotas have contributed greatly to the ambivalence which has been so much a part of Black-Jewish relations over the past twenty years.

## **"Extremist Attitudes" of Black Power Militants Aid Wallace and Imperil Job, Business Status of Jews, Speaker Says**

The "extremist attitudes" of black power militants in league with those of the New Left could result in the economic displacement of less affluent Jews, forcing them to seek jobs and businesses outside the large cities.

That view was outlined by Dr. Abraham Duker, professor of history and social institutions and director of libraries, Yeshiva University.

He spoke Monday evening, Oct. 21, at the 25th convention of the alumni of Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary, an affiliate, in Monsey, N. Y.

Dr. Duker said the "harassment, terrorization, agitation and extremist propaganda" of the militant groups may find Jewish teachers, civil servants and professionals pushed out of

their jobs through abandonment of the merit system and the substitution of state and municipal-supported ethnic or racial schools for the common core culture public schools.

He warned this may be done through quasi-legal means, exercised by local, state and federal government agencies and with the approval of "respectable elements" of white society.

"This may be only the beginning," he cautioned. "It also carries with it the connotation of second class citizenship."

Commenting on the announcement of a financial grant to the Ocean Hill-Brownsville School District by the Episcopal Church, Dr. Duker called it "a case of Christians throwing Jews

(Continued on Page 4)

The American Israelite

October 24, 1968

(p.1)

(Cont. on p.4)

## The American Israelite

### "Extremist Attitudes"

(Continued from Page 1)

to the Panthers."

Stating that as in other critical periods in history, Jews are "being made, this time, the scapegoat for Negro frustrations," he said those displaced Jews would need federal, state and municipal aid, as well as help from the Jewish community.

"The Small Business Administration should be concerned with aiding Jewish merchants whose stores have been destroyed," he said, "and throughout the country there will be a need for retraining and redirecting displaced Jews in business, professions and the civil services."

"The organized Jewish community," he added, "may also have to revive agencies, similar to the Industrial Removal Office, which attempted to distribute Jewish immigrants outside the large urban centers early in the century."

Dr. Duker warned that extremist anti-Jewish agitation, such as that displayed within the New York City school dispute, could touch off riots against American

Jews unless immediate action is taken.

"What is needed is an immediate candid exposure of the problem," Dr. Duker said, "and the discouragement of extremist-racist elements."

He called for more police protection and establishment of citizens' auxiliary police made up of racially, ethnically and religiously mixed groups to aid in controlling the situation.

At the moment, Dr. Duker said, no honest dialogue is possible because of the unwillingness or fear of moderate Negro leadership to liberate itself from extremist influences.

Dr. Duker, whose remarks were made during a discussion on "Orthodox Jewry and Civil Rights," said that while the struggle for Negro civil rights was justified, it had taken a wrong turn in that the militants had caused a "polarization of the races."

"In effect, the extremist groups are deliberately aiding the cause of Presidential candidate George Wallace in that they hope to see a re-

(Continued on Page 17)

### "Extremist Attitudes"

(Continued from Page 4)

actionary, repressive form of government established, paving the way for actual revolution," he said.

"The use of Jewish blood to oil the wheels of revolution is not new," he continued.

"In Russia, in 1881, Jewish Narodniks signed an anti-Jewish pogromist appeal hoping that the violence would turn the masses against the Czarist regime. The pogroms came, but the revolution, however, did not."

Dr. Duker said those Jews of the New Left are "alienated, having roots neither in American nor Jewish ways of life."

October 24, 1968

As We Were Saying

## Moynihan Hurls A Bolt: Quotas Are Back with Us—by Robert E. Segal

A few months ago, Daniel Patrick Moynihan had one of his disturbing think-pieces published by The Atlantic.

Making a sharp distinction between "racism" and "racialism", Professor Moynihan said out loud what many more timid people have been mumbling for some time, i.e., "If ethnic quotas are to be imposed on American universities and similarly quasi-public institutions, it is Jews who will be almost driven out."

As often happens when Dr. Moynihan pulls intellectual bricks out of ivied walls and any other walls, you have to spend considerable time picking up pieces. Let's try, for the issue is important.

First, a word about Moynihan. Currently, Director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of M.I.T. and Harvard, he shook the black world in 1965 with his penetrating and much-criticized study of the Negro family in America.

More recently, along with Nathan Glazer, he provided fascinating insights into the projection, as well as blending of Jewish, Irish, and Italian ethnic strains in American life in "Beyond The Melting Pot".

In earlier days, he has had a distinguished career as assistant secretary of labor. His political wisdom matches his intellectual acumen.

In his Atlantic article, Moynihan reminds us that racism, "with its logic of genocide and subordination" is an old story in America:

"There is a streak of the racist virus in the American bloodstream, and has been since the first white encounter with the 'red' Indians. But it is now a distinctly minority position."

The professor insists that it is not racism, but racialism, that we must now note more carefully: "There is nothing mystical about rac-

ism; it is simply a matter of one group not liking another group of evidently antagonistic interests."

His further thesis is that as our cities become populated more and more by blacks and as accompanying decentralization of school and other governmental units set in, there will be an ever increasing tendency to employ racialism; high marks for being black will be given almost as a matter of course.

(Already, the American Civil Liberties Union has asked Philadelphia's six medical schools to reject a proposal that a third of the openings in September's first-year classes be reserved for Negroes. "The adoption of a quota system, even for a totally laudable objective" is assailed as baneful to the objective of total integration.)

Thus, warning flags are hoisted on a ticklish subject.

No self-respecting and forward-looking American wants to hold back blacks. The fair minded among us were clamoring long ago for an end to the blockades set up against blacks job-hunting, house-hunting, education-hunting. The denials of the past shamed and stung us.

Now, new questions are raised about preferences and quotas of preferences. ~~that is, ethnic quotas are to be imposed on American universities, "Jews will be almost driven out."~~

He adds: "This would be a misfortune to them, but a disaster to the nation. And I very much fear that there is a whiff of anti-Semitism in many of these demands." He sees Jews today as "especially exposed to conservative or reactionary pressures which would easily make an issue of 'overrepresent-

tation'."

A lot of people won't like what Moynihan has stated bluntly.

But Jews with a long remembrance of the shame of quotas reared against them in the earlier part of this century had best be about the business of preparing the community for the shock of the imposition of the new kind of quotas favorable to Negroes.

Between what they have long fought for—complete mobility in a free society—and what blacks must now have—a long helping hand stretched out to speed up the achievement of a role in dignity cruelly denied by the white society.

The problem is not insoluble.

But first it must be recognized. And Moynihan's thesis opens the door for such a confrontation.

December 19, 1968

(p.1)

## The American Israelite

May 11, 1972

(p.4)

### Quoias-and Racism in Reverse

The record of the Jews of America in behalf of the underprivileged is clear and clean and impressive.

Not least among those for and with whom the Jews have labored and given and planned are the black citizens of this nation.

Therefore, when a leader in the American Jewish community speaks out on any facet of the effort and the need to serve the cause of the blacks, that leader deserves to be heard.

We refer now to the message brought to the American Jewish Committee by its president at the AJC's recent 66th annual meeting in New York City.

We cite those salient observations from his presidential address:

"He strongly opposed "those within both political parties who are determined to push their political bandwagons off the road to integration." (We trust Mr. Hoffman includes George Wallace, who has his own, third party.)

"He condemned "black and white segregationists" and reiterated AJC's conviction that "integrated public schools offering equal educational opportunity are a necessary component" of an integrated society.

"But Mr. Hoffman sounded a much-needed warning against quotas and other forms of "reverse discrimination" that would favor people solely on the basis of sex, race, or national origin.

Quotas, he said, "ignore the fundamental principle of democracy: the rights of the individual to be judged on his merits, not on such irrelevant considerations as race, religion, ethnic or cultural affiliation."

"In a democracy, it is to the individual that rights are accorded, not to the group," he added. "And while we recognize that special measures are necessary to overcome dramatic and long-standing imbalances in wealth and power, we will insist that these measures be addressed to the individual, not the group."

A longtime leader in the effort for civil rights for blacks and other minorities, Mr. Hoffman deplored any attempts to establish different and less demanding standards for blacks in schools and on the job.

"Such practices can only serve to pronounce minority groups membership to be, ipso facto, a permanent disability requiring lower levels of performance.

"To condone such procedures is to unleash grave new injustices, to create vast new breeding grounds for intergroup anger and hostility, and perhaps most damaging of all, to downgrade if not to degrade altogether the importance of the pursuit of excellence—a quality desperately needed in our country today."



### *A Place for Firmness*

In this column in the issue of May 11, there appeared an editorial entitled "Quotas--and Racism in Reverse."

It had to do with a significant presidential address by Philip E. Hoffman of the American Jewish Committee, to the threat now posed by quotas and other forms of "reverse" discrimination that favors people solely on the basis of sex, race or national origin--instead of on ability.

The issue is an important one and it is basic in a democracy.

In an address at the same annual AJC meeting, Dr. David Sidoraky, professor of philosophy at Columbia, warned that there now is an insensitivity about anti-Semitism, as contrasted with the historical trend of previous years.

"Today," he said, "it is perfectly all right to flirt with anti-Semitism publicly."

He deplored efforts at affirmative action by governmental agencies as a not-so-subtle device to institute a quota system.

He maintained that a double standard is being applied in the principle of community control in our cities and that Jews have been disenfranchised as a result.

Jews, he said, have little or no effective voice in local poverty boards and urban renewal advisory boards in New York. He suggested that the practical reason for founding such boards was the desire to provide opportunities for groups that had hostilities against society to vent their feelings. The presumption was, he said, that Jews, having no anti-social hostilities, could be effectively excluded from such boards.

It seems to us that the disgraceful, long-time deprivations visited by society upon certain minority groups can be met by governmental agencies--without giving one inch to those who would use those agencies as a medium for anti-Semitism.

---

The American Israelite

May 18, 1972

(p.4)

## **As We Were Saying**

### **Open Season On Ethnic Quotas**

by Robert E. Segal

This is the time of year when the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, National Association For The Advancement of Colored People, Democratic Party, and Republican Party come together for soul searching and action.

And it is noteworthy that one common thread weaves in and out of these conclaves to a degree suggesting strongly that America is experiencing a cathartic binge over minority representation, preferential treatment, ethnic nationalism, racial pride, and group protectionism.

The phenomenon surfaced in early July at the NAACP annual meeting in Detroit.

There, the Negro rights body which has through the years worked most closely with the overall Jewish unit (the NJCRAC), finally tabled a revolutionary and ugly motion to condemn professional heads of two national Jewish groups for allegedly opposing preferential treatment for Blacks and other late-spiraling American minority groups.

About the same time, the NJCRAC, following a four-hour debate, voted to condemn the use of preferential quotas in anti-discrimination programs.

And by the time the Democratic convention got under way, the Republican gathering scheduled to follow

(Continued on Page 12)

## **The American Israelite**

August 3, 1972

(p.1)

THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE  
As We Were Saying

(Continued from Page 1)

soon, the issue of preferential selection, of delegates and party lieutenants on the basis of race, religion, ethnic origin, sex, and age lastly jumped straight at viewers right out of the television screen.

(At the Democratic gathering, the minor-or-fact way in which Eric Sposid claimed a minor reason for Senator Abraham Ribicoff as a vice presidential choice certainly must have struck many Communist leaders as odd. Ribicoff didn't weigh in heavy among "Real" Socialist observers, because said Senator continued as too strong a factor in American life.)

\*\*\*

This may, then, become known as the Age of Ethnic Combination.

Having long adhered to a vigorous white Anglo-Saxon preferential policy in politics, jobs, social equality and status determination, America has cut the things to such a degree that racial and ethnic considerations is becoming for today's scene "conspiratorial" with the struggle over child labor, immigration policy, and free silver in the past.

The battle for women's rights, as fresh as it is perennial, broke the time spans together.

One great danger in this human explosion is the potential loss of all perspective.

Those gladiators who now rush in to crowd-and party leaders for establishing national but guaranteed representation for Chicagoans, Blackians, women, youth and other groups appear to have forgotten completely America's record of shameful discrimination in past years.

And some who push the new demand for preferential quotas to the point of absurdity and imposition tend to forget the bitter chapters of prejudice against other groups (most notably Jews) in the season of struggle to break the back of immigration bias and foul practices in hiring and upgrading.

Over Jintons, a new name for Black preferential treatment carried to absurdity, is bound to prove counterproductive.

\*\*\*

And no self-respecting Jew will come any further from the battle for equality of opportunity until anti-Jewish attitudes and prejudices are abandoned into exile.

The recent action of the NICRA in endorsing government-aided action toward administrative action publishes to equalize opportunities for educational purposes and educational opportunities for racial and ethnic minorities, together with consideration of the of preferential quotas in anti-discrimination provisions, constitutes a political, social, and policy level.

Other groups in American—

racial, ethnic, and religious—will do well to follow the same course.

The American Israelite  
August 3, 1972  
(p.12)

## Stokes Attacks Nixon, McGovern Stand Against Quota System

WASHINGTON (JTA)—Rep. Louis Stokes (D.O.), a leading spokesman in the Congressional Black Caucus and a top figure at the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., sharply denounced President Nixon and his Democratic challenger, Sen. George McGovern (S.D.), this week for their pledges to oppose quotas in federal programs for equal employment.

Stokes also assailed the American Jewish Committee for having allegedly exacted those pledges from the Presidential candidates "in return for Jewish votes." Stokes stated his views in a letter to Hyman Bookbinder, Washington representative of the AJCommittee.

Philip E. Hoffman, AJCommittee president, wrote to Nixon and McGovern to express the organization's "grave concern" over "widespread efforts and promises to achieve 'proportional representation' in our society by providing opportunities in employment, in education, in governmental appointments and civil service on the basis of race, sex or ethnic affiliation."

In their separate replies to Hoffman, Nixon and McGovern each expressed opposition to quotas and affirmed their support for the merit system. Stokes said in his letter that he found it "distressing indeed that these three men (Nixon, McGo-

vern and Hoffman) have attained common ground without even consulting the group which will undoubtedly bear the brunt of this mutual accord."

Stokes noted in his letter that "There is a fundamental distinction to be drawn between the quotas that were applied in pre-war Germany which put a ceiling on the number of Jews in any given area and the quotas which minority Americans are demanding in federal programs which would serve only as a floor." He pointed out that as of May 31, 1971, minorities represented only 2.7 percent of the federal employees at top civil service levels and 8.6 percent of those in middle levels. He estimated that minority groups make up about 15 percent of the population. Stokes maintained that "guidelines must be established by which minorities are recruited and hired proportionate to a particular group's percentage of the population."

Continuing, Stokes wrote:

"It seems high-handed at best and racist at worst that these three individuals can flatly state that no matter who wins the election in 1972, minority Americans will have fewer guarantees of the rights of equal opportunity than they have had in the past."

The views expressed by Nixon and McGovern in their replies to Hoffman were applauded by AJCommittee executive vice-president Bertram Gold, who acknowledged the need for American society "to rectify historical injustices" suffered by Blacks and other minority groups but observed that "the American system, which is an open society, is based on individual rights, not group rights." In a letter to Robert Hampton, chairman of the Civil Service Commission, Bookbinder cautioned the Commission not to slow down or abandon the federal government's program to assure equal employment opportunities because of federal policies against quotas.

The Baltimore Jewish Times

September 8, 1972

(p.8)

## Quotas And Racism

All the bull crap you hear about quotas these days come from whites who are so blinded by their own self-deluding propaganda that they somehow have the gall to suggest that blacks are doing better than members of the majority race.

Like Rep. Louis Stokes, D-Ohio, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, we are shocked to see our Jewish friends and allies in the fight for racial and religious fair play, peddling the assinine myth about quotas giving undeserved opportunities to blacks and other minorities.

Here again is a clear example of how the majority group, for whatever reason it chooses, can ignore all existing facts and figures regarding citizenship rights of a minority group, and say or do whatever it wants with impunity.

This is part of a turning back of the clock that has been growing across the country the past few years. White House leadership that has been eroding the civil rights posture of the nation, especially in the school desegregation area, also has been forefront in the anti-quota hysterics.

Try taking any of the meaningful figures from the Census Report or other reliable sources and show how quotas have put black people on easy street in America to the disadvantage of whites.

Almost two-thirds of the country's black families live at or below the

poverty level. Whites are much better off. The black unemployment rate is nearly double that of whites. A much higher ratio of blacks survive on welfare checks than do whites.

Blacks live in the worst ghettos, have relatively few of the high paying jobs in or out of government, have most of the menial jobs, are on the short end of the educational guage, hold relatively few political positions, get the worst health care, etc.

What in heavens name is it that quotas supposedly have done for blacks that whites don't think is right?

We have the answer, but it is so un-American and steeped in the kind of racism we hoped the nation was walking away from that we find it tough to concede.

The bitter truth we must face is that white Americans want more than their rightful share of the good things the nation has to offer and they don't give a damn how many blacks are in poverty as long as they and their families live good.

They see in quotas one means of blacks getting a better share of the jobs and other opportunities available and they don't want them.

When quota becomes a tasty word, part of a national party's list of "anti-s" and an issue in a presidential campaign (one of the racist code words), then the most optimistic black man in America understands that he is in deep trouble.

The Baltimore Afro-American

September 16, 1972

(p.4)

## The Question Of Quotas

The American Jewish Committee stirred up a hornet's nest when it recently got the two presidential candidates to express opinions on quotas of employment. The Committee itself is opposed to quotas basically, we believe, because quotas could limit the participation of Jewish people in the social functions of the system.

Blacks are in favor of quotas because they realize that this is one of the avenues of admission into many areas of employment and education.

President Nixon immediately seized upon the issue to call for an end of quotas and responsive federal agencies and the private sector breathed a sigh of relief and began operation along the lines of the 1940's.

The sigh of relief, we believe, was premature. Even though no federal contracts have been snatched away due to non-compliance with the law the fact is that the law still exists. The law calls for affirmative action even without quotas, means that an employer must make some effort to see that blacks

participate in the mainstream at respectable levels.

So it is much too early for those who are opposed to quotas per se to begin digging graves for ahead of the employment struggle in the area of civil rights.

In spite of the semantics (affirmative action or quotas) the fact is that the law says there shall be no discrimination in hiring. The Equal Opportunity guidelines demand that recalcitrant companies have an active affirmative action program. The whole federal body of courts and laws seems geared in the direction of enforcing these laws. And, in spite of Nixon playing politics with this sensitive area, there should be no doubt that the law will be enforced.

What is called for now is a closer monitoring of the entire situation. Now that quotas have been spotlighted as a potential problem area there will be more and more demands for percentages and affirmative programs designed to give equal access to blacks, Jews and Gypsies and other minority groups.

The Cincinnati Herald

September 16, 1972

(p.6)



### Racism and Quotas

The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith has again performed a significant service in the field of civil rights, in a sharp attack on a chilling piece of reverse racism and application of the quota system.

The organization involved is the National Education Association. The specific object of ADL's unhappiness is to be found in the NEA's new constitution and by-laws --characterized by the ADL as "unlawful, undemocratic and racist."

Lawrence Peirez, ADL civil rights chairman, promised that the ADL "will take steps to challenge the legality of provisions in the NEA rules which mandate quotas and preferential treatment for certain minorities in the selection of officers and lay leadership and in NEA staff employment."

He complained that the new constitution specifically designates as ethnic minorities Blacks, Mexican-Americans, other Spanish-speaking groups, Asian-Americans and Indians.

The NEA authorizes those minorities alone to nominate minority candidates for the board and executive committee; it requires that there be a minimum of 20% ethnic minority representation on the NEA board, executive committee and all other committees; and delegates to the national representative assembly from state and local affiliates be allocated on the basis of the ethnic minority percentage of the population or be denied credentials.

Mr. Peirez added that the NEA, in a misguided attempt to assist minorities, "has codified, stratified and perpetuated discrimination, and, at the same time, has violated Title 6 of the Civil Rights Act, which explicitly forbids such practices."

The new NEA constitution and by-laws deny members the right and responsibility to choose the best qualified leadership and staff personnel without regard to ethnic or racial background, Mr. Peirez observed.

### The American Israelite

January 31, 1974

(p.4)

# ACROSS MY DESK

By Marjorie Parham



Mrs. Parham

Recent editorial comment relative to Jewish organization protests relative to quotas for blacks in law schools has brought comment. The thrust of these comments seems basically to agree with the Herald that the long range goals of both blacks and Jews are compatible and that some "middle-of-the-road" two large minorities pursue their own goals.

For the past five years blacks have made rapid progress in the face of adverse odds. This progress can be demonstrated by the fact that America's 24 (counted) blacks represent 11.3 percent of the total population and have a total money income of \$1.4 billion, an amount equal to the combined total personal income of Alaska, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Hawaii and Oregon. These statistics are comparable in demonstrating black buying power where there are large populations and are given only to highlight black progress. There are 106 black mayors, 15 black congressmen, 42 State Senators and 196 State Representatives; 1 black U.S. Senator, 154 black judges (except in Cincinnati) and a total of 3,871 total black elected officials of which 357 are women.

On the other hand the anti-Semitism League of Pious Birth recently completed a study which indicated that there is strong worldwide anti-semitism based on in-

sensitivity to Jewish co-sensitization. So-called of this new anti-semitism seems to flow from the Arab-Israeli conflict and is reflected as a negative force rather than a positive force. The impression is that black attitudes coupled with the attitudes of Americans and others has contributed to a low profile for our Jewish brothers.

But, relating to blacks, our editorial comment indicated that Jewish opposition to black quotas would serve to alienate blacks still stands. It stands, however, with the thought that both communities should begin to stop this erosion of confidence and relations by engaging in what is sometimes called "mutual experiences or meaningful

dialogue. There should be some getting together of leadership in both ethnic religious communities to search for ways to bring us together again without damaging each group hopes and aspirations for the future.

The Cincinnati Herald

March 9, 1974

(p.6)

March 29, 1974 • BALTIMORE JEWISH TIMES

# Racial Quotas

Combined Baltimore Jewish Times Staff Report

**W**e have never come across a case that aroused as much public interest as this one has," remarked an Anti-Defamation League official in New York.

He was referring to a law suit that started quietly three years ago in Seattle, a city in the far northwest of this country, but by this month had moved thousands of miles to the Supreme Court in Washington, D.C., along the way enlisting with it all the law schools in America, scores of organizations, dozens of the country's most noted legal minds and threatening, no matter what the Supreme Court's decision, to arouse the American public over such is-

such as quotas, "affirmative action," programs, reverse discrimination, integration, the rights of minorities and the power and meaning of the Constitution.

The legal case is officially listed as *DeFunis v. Odegaard*. It involves a Jew by the name of Marco DeFunis, Jr., a graduate of the University of Washington, who two years in a row was denied admission to the university's law school, even though the school admitted 28 members of minority groups who scored lower on the Law School Admission Test and had lower college grades than DeFunis.

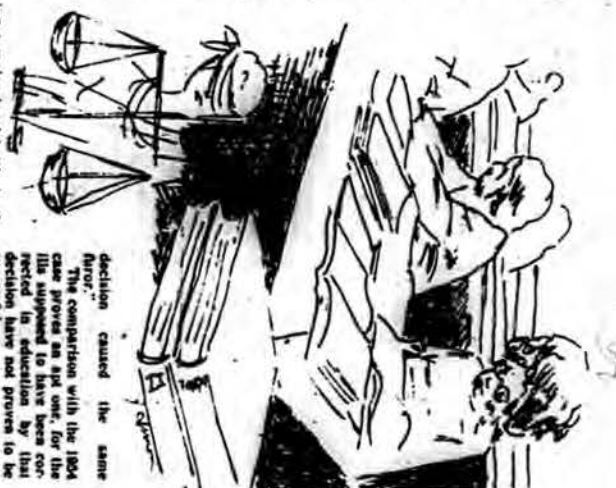
When DeFunis filed suit in 1971 against the university president Charles Odegaard to seek admission, the federal court in Seattle ruled that DeFunis had been deprived of equal protection of the law under the Fourteenth Amendment and ordered the school to enroll him. The university complied, but appealed to the state Supreme Court which ruled in favor of the school's admissions policy—amounting to a certain amount of places for members of such minority groups as blacks, Philippine-Americans, Chicanos and American Indians. This is being done, say university officials, to "mitigate gross underrepresentation of certain minorities in the Law School and in membership of the Bar."

DeFunis' lawyer, Josef Tishmond, appealed the Washington State Supreme Court decision to the Supreme Court of the United States, which heard arguments earlier this month and will make its decision between now and June.

Emerging from all the legal discussions are such questions as the future of the federal government's affirmative action program which has sought to increase the number of minority groups employed in various industries and the rights of the individual such as DeFunis as contrasted to the rights of minority group members. But also involved is the specter of the quota system which historically has kept Jews out of higher education and higher echelon jobs in a host of businesses and professions.

**I**n a special survey compiled by the staff of the Baltimore Jewish Times of the DeFunis case and the many issues it raises, the profound implications of this case and the many lives it touches becomes readily apparent. The numerous pro and con positions of various groups and individuals can be found in articles on this and other pages of this special report, but one thing is clear—*DeFunis v. Odegaard* is becoming a major legal battle in the history of America.

"Not since the school integration case of *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 have we seen such reaction," the Assistant Director of the Civil Rights Division of the Anti-Defamation League in New York, Justin Finger, told the Jewish Times. "We have never seen the rush of articles, the demands for material and for ADL speakers as now. And I doubt if that 1954



decision caused the same furor."

The comparison with the 1954 case proves an apt one, for the illa supposed to have been corrected in education by that decision have not proven to be successful.

"The *Brown* case which was to equalize an unequal situation has just not done the job," Laurence M. Katz, Associate Dean of the University of Maryland School of Law and involved in the admissions program of the school, told the Jewish Times. "Unfortunately, the hopes of the *Brown* decision have not been realized. To realize these hopes, the Federal government in recent

(Cont. on p.7)



## Comments On The Pro-Defunis Briefs

### American Jewish Congress

The American Jewish Congress accused the University of Maryland of "a system of arbitrary and capricious selection" of students on the basis of race, which is a constitutional violation and a constitutional breach in support of the American Jewish Congress. The position of the American Jewish Congress is that the University of Maryland should be granted the use of race in decision-making process of governmental agencies and that that discrimination should be ended by the University of Maryland. The American Jewish Congress is a national organization that is both educational and practical.

The University of Washington was making its own criteria for minority admissions. The American Jewish Congress is a national organization that is both educational and practical. The American Jewish Congress is a national organization that is both educational and practical. The American Jewish Congress is a national organization that is both educational and practical.

Although this jury may not meet the demand of racial and ethnic minorities for equality or results, immediately, it should provide a direct, sounder foundation for the more equitable America we seek.

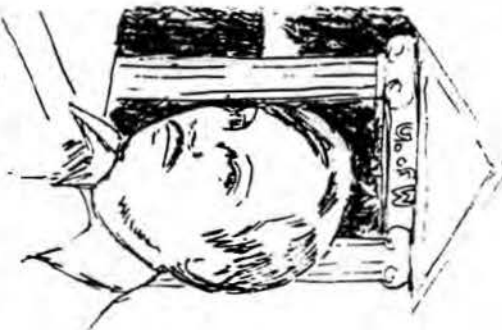
The unusually implied by the national American Jewish Congress that the American Jewish Congress is a national organization that is both educational and practical. The American Jewish Congress is a national organization that is both educational and practical. The American Jewish Congress is a national organization that is both educational and practical.

Two of the national organizations that have had a long history of fighting for the rights of racial and ethnic minorities are the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Congress. The American Jewish Congress is a national organization that is both educational and practical. The American Jewish Congress is a national organization that is both educational and practical.

The Baltimore Jewish Times

March 29, 1974

(p.6)



## Today's Civil-Rights Issue

from has moved into a more positive role of seeking the removal of employment and educational barriers through what are called "affirmative programs," whereby companies and institutions must show a concerted effort to help minority members in the educational field. In the past, the law has been used to remove barriers to minority law students, and in law school classes for minority members. But by acting in

right with past wrongs, law schools have been able to improve the educational field for minority students. According to Harpuz, this is where his Constitutional rights have been violated.

Numerous organizations and individuals have come out for Harpuz, including the American Bar Association, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Association of American Law Schools, Harvard, the American Bar Association and the United Mine Workers of America.

But the same 64 organizations that supported Harpuz before the Supreme Court, including two former U.S. Solicitors General, Erwin Griswold and Archibald Cox, who supported the university's admission policy, and Alexander Bickel, who supported the university's admission policy, have not been revealed.

For impressive line-up on both sides of the dispute, Harpuz says the deep divisions between the two groups are evident and the profound legal and intellectual questions involved in the issue.

The intense interest, though, has only been revealed.

"We have been shouting about this problem for two to three years," the AALC spokesman said. "But I guess this is how it happens. Also the nature of the people that have become involved on both sides has made it very dramatic."

The drama is made up in equal parts of race, religion, education, jobs, race, discrimination—all touching on the nerve ends of an American community that has now been wrestling overtly with the civil rights issue since the 1954 landmark decision. Now, with the Supreme Court's decision in the Harvard case, the long Jewish agency over question threats to reveal itself, possibly not now but in the long run.

As the question of what admission policy is being decided, Harpuz says the university's policy is a violation of the AALC. "It is that the University of Washington's admission policy is a violation of the AALC," he says. "The university's admission policy is a violation of the AALC."

Anti-Semitism, Langley has been said by some observers to be likely to be shown some deference by the Supreme Court justices because of the influence of its authors (Alexander Bickel and Erwin Griswold) of the University of California, two leading Constitutional scholars. This brief pointed out that if the law school's admission policy is upheld, it would mean that after about 20 years of affirmative action, the Jewish student which for centuries has been the role in excluding or restricting Jewish students may again be able to do so, again in the name of enlightenment.

Today, enough, Harpuz says, that the university's admission policy is a violation of the AALC. "The university's admission policy is a violation of the AALC," he says. "The university's admission policy is a violation of the AALC."

### The Baltimore Jewish Times

March 29, 1974

(p.7)

(Cont. on p.8)





and ask him why he didn't want to be accepted," said Josef. "I would, who is a partner in a Seattle law firm. The rule was that he didn't want to be accepted because he didn't want to be accepted by a white man. He was asked to see the records, but I was denied access to them. "I then talked to the board of Regents. They wouldn't show me the records either. They said they were confidential. I then went to the court order. It was only then that I realized they were discriminating because of minorities. All along I knew the law couldn't be denied admission because he wasn't qualified as all those people who were accepted. But I didn't know that. I was in undergraduate school. The law school invited 350 students out of 1600 applicants to enroll. I couldn't believe they had 350. Magnus Cum Laude and Thomas Cum Laude. I didn't know the records did not have what I would find. I was just trying to open the door. I was prepared to lose."

What, Josef? Blamond found out that all white applicants above the grade and that the records did not have what I would find. I was just trying to open the door. I was prepared to lose."

But still, DePuyne '78-23 was better than 37 or the 38 minority members admitted. And yet, he was denied admission. "I found that the school had set up two classes—one for the regular students and one for the minority members—and they did not compare the two. They took as many of the minority students as they could. They were 'qualified' but that's a relative term. If they wanted to pull names by lot, it would have been okay with me—then everyone would have been treated alike. But treating the minorities differently than the white students, said Blamond, is not a right given to the universities by the law. It's a right given to the universities because in the past there has been discrimination against Negroes, that situation can be rectified by creating discrimination against other races."

Law schools today, said Katz, are trying to identify those blacks who are especially worthy of being in law school. "I don't know if they can demonstrate that against their white counterparts, because they did not have the background or because they experienced any number of problems blacks face. The schools are not trying to identify the worthy of the schools would be looked down upon if the admissions process would be solely mechanical or based strictly on grade point average or law school activities test results and ignored the background of the students. In the past particular activities he had participated in and so forth."

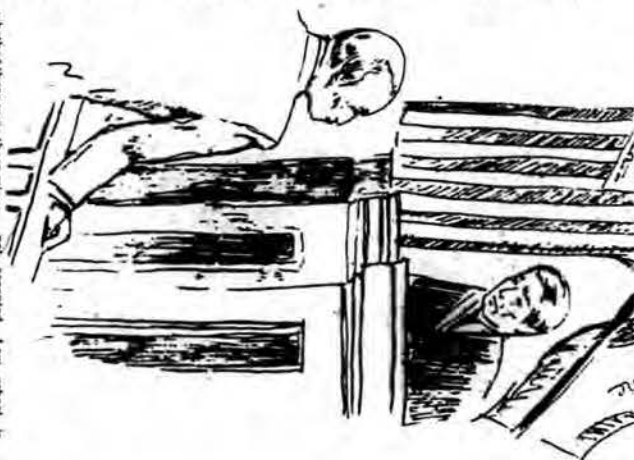
Katz also touched on another problem faced by all law schools today—limited space. "Each year, The University of Maryland has a limited number of fully qualified applicants. The school would continue to accept qualified students whether there were three minority programs or not. This year, we will be rejecting in excess of 200 people we would have accepted. The school is not rejecting minority programs in my class. This year, 25 percent of the freshmen class are women. This parity of students and the policy of affirmative action has meant one dramatic fact

# The Baltimore Jewish Times

March 29, 1974

(p.8)

(Cont. on p.9)



## Views In The Black Community

The *DeFunis v. Odej* case now pending before the U.S. Supreme Court poses special problems for black political leaders. For them, there appears to be no easy way out, as reflected in the comments below in the sample survey conducted by The Gallitree Law Journal for Thurgood Marshall Law School to a case and no issue that may well prove to be the most important civil rights issue on the Supreme Court opinion on the subject—*DeFunis v. Odej*—appears split and confused.

By Communist literature. "Du," Marx id., this is, however, really not personal belief is that I'd like to see the men win this case, because it'll uncover a lot of things this country ought to know about Discrimination hurts everyone. It won't affect the older people so much as it will have meant for those who are young. Those of us who are 40 or 45 are settled in our lives, whereas the young people are just starting out, looking for jobs, housing and educa-

Male Senator Verda J. Welton (D, Ark): "This case regarding discrimination in reverse is the same ugly discrimination that blocked the progress of many brilliant

together in a coalition to show we're all victims. It may be the thing that turns this country around and solves the whole racial question."

schools—the quota system. No school will let us in out of the goodness of its heart, without the pressure of the law and the courts backing us up.

On the basis of the broadest system, not only did black get admitted, but also a larger number of non-minority whites.

a century. They began the the whole case. I regard it as an intellectual difference and not something visceral. There are people I culturally work with."

on p

1

in American life. "There wasn't one single seat this year in an American Bar Association approved law school that was vacant," he said.

As for Jewish concern over quotas, Katz did not see "the reinstitution of quotas here as that used against Jews throughout the centuries."

"I don't see those motivations here as in past times. The matter is more complicated. I don't see what is happening here as a quota system. I don't see Jews as being singled out, but as being put in the same position as all non-blacks. This is not the same as the quota system we're used to where Jews were singled out."

**B**ut whatever position is taken on the DeFunis case, both sides of the issue acknowledge the difficulties being raised and the fine line being mentally walked. Both black and Jewish organizations seem divided (see accompanying stories). Katz called it "an extremely difficult problem." Justin Flinger of the ADL termed it "a very touchy case." Rabbi David S. Goldstein, in the Balti-

more Hebrew Congregation Bulletin, wrote about the issue: "We are on the horns of a dilemma."

What is also posing a real problem are the various implications of whatever the Supreme Court rules in the DeFunis case, for a favorable ruling for DeFunis, it is being said, would cause havoc with the government's efforts to eradicate discrimination in housing, labor unions, corporations, and a host of other fields. Even opportunities for women could be affected, some observers point out.

The other part of the difficulty presented by the DeFunis case is that, as one Justice Department lawyer remarked, the case "represents the collision of two cherished liberal beliefs: Do everything to make it up to the blacks for being kicked around and judge everyone strictly on his own merits. This time you can't have both."

And what about the simple, but profound judicial concept of justice? As Rabbi Goldstein wrote, "The society we must build can only be established on the cherished principles of equality, brotherhood, opportunity and justice. But justice may not be served when men and women of ability and capac-

Continued on page 28

The Baltimore Jewish Times

March 29, 1974

(p.9)

## Center Of The Storm: Marco DeFunis, Jr.

He will not grant interviews. He will not give out any pictures. His name is on the lips of most lawyers and law schools today and increasingly in the newspapers, and yet all he wants to do now is concentrate on his studies and finish law school in June.

This is how Seattle lawyer Josef Diamond describes the present situation of his client, who is currently at the center of a legal storm now sweeping America.

In a transcontinental telephone interview with the Baltimore Jewish Times, Josef Diamond, who is with the Washington state law firm of Loret, Diamond and Sylvester, provided some details about what most of the news media have overlooked—Marco DeFunis, Jr., the person.

Marco DeFunis, now twenty-two years of age, is a Jew of Sephardic descent. He was born and raised in Seattle, Washington. His parents are middle-class working people who have lived in Seattle for over fifty years. His father is a salesman in a furniture store.

DeFunis was an honor student in his public high school and an honor student as an undergraduate at the University of Washington. To put himself through undergraduate school and law school, he has worked summers, taught Sunday School at his synagogue, and worked for the Parks Department of the City of Seattle. His wife works as a dental assistant. Married for two years, they have no children.

One of the rare photos published of DeFunis which appeared in Newsweek Magazine, shows an earnest young man with the look of his Sephardic background. He has high cheek bones, a wide face, eyebrows sweeping in thin lines above piercing eyes, and a trim mustache. His look is that of a determined youth, which he has been since 1970 when, as a Phi Beta Kappa and Magna

Cum Laude graduate of the University of Washington he applied to and was rejected by the university's law school.

During the school year of 1970-71, DeFunis went to graduate school in preparation for applying again to law school the following year. He made 26 quarters of straight A's and one B in graduate school, but in 1971 was again not admitted to law school. At this time, he went to Josef Diamond.

"When I took the case I didn't even know he was Jewish," said Diamond, himself a Jew. "But we never made a religious issue of this and intentionally stayed away from it. As far as I was concerned when I took the case, this was a young student who I felt was entitled to get into law school but wasn't being admitted and I wanted to know why."

In one of those ironies of history, DeFunis will finally graduate from law school this June by the time his three-year case is resolved by the United States Supreme Court (he was admitted under a special order from Justice William Douglas after the lower court in Washington first ruled in DeFunis's favor). According to his lawyer, DeFunis will finish "somewhere" near the middle of his class.

DeFunis has experienced no anti-Semitism over the case or in his law school classes, said Diamond. "All the students know who he is, and he is singled out a little when he recites, but no one has given him trouble. Some professors have been quite helpful, but he has kept to himself and minded his own business. He has a tough road to go with all this publicity and with his need to work his way through school. That's why he will not grant interviews or give out any pictures. He has nothing to gain by it. He has a tough law school to finish and he just wants to complete it and become a lawyer."

The Baltimore Jewish Times

March 29, 1974

(p.9)

# Today's Civil-Rights Issue

Continued from page 9

ity are made the sacrificial lambs to expiate the guilt of a nation. The Torah warns us that justice can be perverted out of a natural sympathy for the underprivileged."

For all the legal, ethical and religious turmoil associated with it, the DeFunis case is demonstrating one thing—that America has failed during the past score of years to right the wrongs suffered by the American Black. The 1954 school integration case has yet to be fully implemented, with even a city such as Baltimore

now being ordered by the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare to comply more fully with that court ruling. The very existence of affirmative action programs and the need for law schools to set minorities apart in the selection process as a way to help them compete is evidence that this is still a country with less than full equality for all its citizens.

**T**he question that remains, however, is—is reverse dis-

crimination the way to accomplish change? The troubling aspect is that many good people are questioning the rightness of the affirmative action solution and the reverse discrimination policy of a University of Washington. For in the rush to do something right, are other wrongs being done? Certain realities, for instance, are obviously being overlooked: What are reverse quotas going to do to the quality of the law profession in America? Will minority groups themselves be getting the best lawyers to serve their needs? Will truly qualified minority students be tainted by undue help to less qualified minority members? What about the claims and the needs of other minority groups now overlooked by government and universities? And what are the implications for Jews—who constitute but 3% of the population—in not being considered a minority in this country?

These are some of the questions that may be resolved by the Supreme Court decision due within the next two months. Or they may be issues only inflamed and worsened by that decision.

In either instance, one of America's landmark civil rights cases will undoubtedly prove to be a Jewish student's battle to get a law school education. He has, as has this nation, already gotten quite an education out of just one case—*DeFunis v. Odegaard*.

The Baltimore Jewish Times

March 29, 1974

(p.28)

# ACROSS MY DESK

By Marjorie Parham



Mrs. Parham

The failure of the United States Supreme Court to render a far reaching on the celebrated DeFunis case has further breached the relationship between the Jewish world and the black world. For those who don't remember the DeFunis case surrounds the efforts of a young, able-want to enter the University of Washington Law School. He was refused. Following his refusal legal action was instituted arguing that Blacks were receiving preferential treatment from law schools and that this was reverse discrimination. Civil Libertarians across the country gasped at the audacity of the suit which had attacked what Blacks and their friends felt was repayment for the details of

the past. Liberals and conservatives and genuine believers in the doctrine of fairness began taking sides. Since the issue was joined it was felt that the Court would render a decision striking down the special privileges for Blacks. Jewish organizations joined those who wanted an end to preferential treatment, but the Court ruled very narrowly on the issue and said that the question was moot since DeFunis had already been admitted to the Law School. The residual overhang from Blacks caused them to question their traditional friends in the Jewish World. Were they really our friends or were they really concerned about fairness. This newspaper has several

editorials reflecting our view that Blacks still needed some kind of reciprocity for past misadventures. For this many who raised the issue of anti-semitism. We did not bother to even deny the charge, but the fact is that Jewish organizations and spokesmen are now showing concern for the result of their actions. The up-sweep of anti-semitism should, however, be cause for real concern among all of us. There is a compatibility between the black problem and the Jewish problem and even though both groups sometimes forget the unity of purpose, that is no reason for us to abandon cooperative efforts toward goals we share. We may differ on methods or even issues, but the fact remains that both Blacks and

Jews contribute immensely to the American mind. Therefore it is only good sense that the groups combine force, forget differences raised by the DeFunis case and begin a new journey a path through the mazes of bigotry.

The Cincinnati Herald

May 25, 1974

(p.6)



# The American Israelite

November 28, 1974

(p.4)

## Alliance Jeopardized Between Blacks, Jews, Say Speakers

... YORK CITY(SPL)-- A Harvard psychiatrist who was raised in Harlem and a playwright-producer who was brought up in the Jewish ghetto of New York arrived at the same conclusion in a forum on "Black-Jewish Relations"--the fate of blacks and Jews is still intertwined but the alliance between the two groups is being jeopardized by opposite stands on preferential treatment and quotas.

The two, Dr. Alvin F. Poussaint, associate professor of psychiatry at Harvard Medical School, and Dore Schary, president of TheatreVision Systems and honorary chairman of the Anti-Defamation League, spoke on the topic recently at a luncheon session of ADL's four-day annual meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel.

At the same session, Benjamin R. Epstein, ADL national director, presented the agency's Torch of Liberty Award posthumously to John A. Morsell, former assistant executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Roy Wilkins, executive direc-

tor of the NAACP, delivered a tribute to Dr. Morsell. Mrs. Morsell accepted the award.

In making the presentation, Mr. Epstein said Dr. Morsell "was a man of deep humanity and understanding and did more to bridge the gap between blacks and Jews than any other person."

According to Dr. Poussaint, "there is still a correlation between being anti-black and being anti-Semitic...we can and should help each other, not fight each other."

He took sharp issue, however, with ADL's stand against preferential treatment and quotas.

Declaring that "more than the removal of legal barriers is needed" to assure the entry of blacks into the mainstream of society, he said blacks are still segregated in schools, particularly in the North, receive inferior preparatory education, and are enmeshed in poverty currently aggravated by runaway inflation and increasing unemployment.

Therefore, he continued, "the modification of job and college admissions criteria is partly an

(Continued on Page 25)

(p.25)

## Alliance Jeopardized

(Continued from Page 4)

attempt to be fair and objective and is not necessarily preferential treatment."

And, he went on to say, "I do not like the application of the term 'quota' to affirmative action programs...Terms like 'target goals' are preferable because they indicate an attempt to find qualified applicants instead of arbitrarily filling places to satisfy a quota."

Mr. Schary questioned whether "vocabulary is pertinent to the problem" which he spelled out

(Continued on next page)

as being the need for:

--extra preparation in primary schools, high schools, and colleges so that more blacks can lead rooms at the top.

--loosening the hardened resistance of certain labor organizations;

--Government reduction in building bonds in order to build more schools;

--ridging ourselves--Jews and blacks--of stereotypic notions.

He noted that "the alliance between blacks and Jews that was forged by similar experience in the burned ghettos of bloody history is crumbling."

He said that as it crumbles "suspicion breeds hate, hate brings violence and, so often, violence brings defeat." Yet, he told the ADL leaders in attendance, "if blacks are liquidated or constricted, we can be sure that Jews will be liquidated or constricted."

Addressing Dr. Pousanist, Mr. Schary gave what he called a "second alert"--blacks must realize that Jews have been "their strongest and most understanding companion against the wave of hatred."

Pointing out that "ADL has been fighting racism for many years because this is a Jewish ethical imperative," Mr. Schary said it is "unfortunate that the black press has paid inadequate attention, but we have not done it for the publicity."

He cited the following League activities:

--organization of the first national conference of educators on desegregation after the 1954 decision;

--the first to develop supplementary text material for use in schools to educate about blacks and black history;

--the first to stand up against and fight the Ku Klux Klan;

--leadership in the passage of the first fair employment law in the nation, which was passed in the State of Washington, and the first fair housing law in Colorado;

--the first to organize national conferences on industry and the racial crisis, and race and the news media;

--the only organization, black or white, distributing materials to schools which combat the concept of the alleged inferior intelligence of blacks advanced by such people as Professor William Shockley and Professor Arthur Jensen.

The ADL position on preferential treatment and quotas was explained at the session by Maxwell Greenberg, Los Angeles attorney, vice chairman of the League's national executive committee, and chairman of the session.

Asserting that the agency "advocates and supports" the elimination of non-job related tests and seeks affirmative action in the form of compensatory education, in-service training, retraining, special counseling and other forms of help to those who have been discriminated against, he said that "in all our years in the fight against racial and religious discrimination, we have insisted that individual ability must be the criterion."

"Our basic rule," he declared, "is that every person, male or female, minority or non-minority, is accorded the same right to be free of discrimination."

Anything else, he said, "merely substitutes a new form of discrimination for an old form: the victim will change, but not the act."

The League, which has compiled and presented to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare several hundred examples of preferential treatment and quotas in college admissions and hiring, maintains that such practices constitute "reverse discrimination" and are prohibited by the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Dr. Pousanist concluded his remarks by calling past alliances between blacks and Jews "important to our mutual advancement in America."

He said that when principles held by one minority conflict with those of another, "the difference must not be allowed to jeopardize long-standing agreements about other things...we must not destroy the potential for greater coalitions, needed now more than ever in this time of cultural decay."

Mr. Schary, in his conclusion, called for "thoughtful discussion and reason" to find "other concepts, different paths, some more peaceful alternatives to those conclusions which we now accept as imperishable."

At another session of the ADL meeting, Bernard Kutiner, chairman of the agency's discrimination committee, announced publication of a League chart-guide, "How To Use Federal Remedies To Combat Employment Discrimination," issued in commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the Civil Rights Act.

The guide, under the headings of General Employment Practices including promotion, transfer and termination; Quotas; Religious Observance and Practices, and Salary Discrimination based on Sex, lists such things as controlling statutes and regulations, what businesses and institutions are covered, exceptions, enforcement agencies, who may complain and how.

The guide is available through the League's national headquarters in New York or any of its 17 regional offices at \$1 per copy.

## The American Israelite

November 28, 1974

(p.25)

# Cincinnati HERALD

121 E. INDIANA AVENUE - CINCINNATI, OHIO 45204

VOL. 98 NO. 31

CINCINNATI, OHIO

SAURDAY, FEBRUARY 1, 1975

PRICE 30 CENTS

PHONE 211-5448

## JEWISH GROUP SUPPORTS QUOTAS

The American Jewish Congress has accused the New York State Board of Regents of trying to "disguise" a "retreat" from school integration with an "inappropriate reference to 'ratios' and 'quotas' - terms which have properly acquired derogatory connotations in different contexts."

In a letter to Regents Chancellor Joseph McGovern, the Jewish organization said it found "disturbing" the Regents' decision -- announced Jan. 22 -- to judge integration not by a numerical measure of a school's racial makeup but by the "serious effort" of a local school district to integrate its schools.

Howard M. Squadron, chairman of the national Governing Council of the Congress, wrote Mr. McGovern:

"The American Jewish Congress has vigorously opposed racial quotas and ratios in employment and education because they can be and are used to deny persons opportunities based on group membership rather than individual qualification, and because they encourage unconstitutional racial, ethnic or religious preference in the allocation of limited jobs, benefits and other opportunities."

"However, we have not opposed the use of numerical measurements designed to advance the proper educational goal of school integration."

"We have difficulty understanding how the extent of integration in a school district, and the effectiveness

of an integration program, can be ascertained without reference to numerical progress on a school-by-school basis."

"We recognize the difficulties that demographic developments and hostility to school busing present to school districts seeking to achieve integration."

"Nevertheless, we believe that the Board of Regents' policy of substituting 'efforts' on behalf of school integration for the more realistic mathematical measure of what is in fact achieved represents a retreat by the Board."

"We believe further that the Regents attempt to disguise this retreat and forestall criticism by its inappropriate reference to 'ratios' and 'quotas' - terms which have properly acquired derogatory connotations in different contexts -- is unfortunate."

In the announcement which the American Jewish Congress criticized, the Board of Regents had declared:

"Integration does not, by definition, require that racial quotas be used in determining the proper or desirable composition of population within a school. If a school district is making, and has made, a serious effort to bring about equal opportunity for children of various ethnic groups to intermingle and to share a common learning environment, then the Regents maintain that the population of a school within a school district need not be required to be comprised of, or measured by, ratios or quotas of white to black (or Hispanic) students."

The Cincinnati Herald  
February 1, 1975

(p.1)

## As We Were Saying Equality, Yes! Quotas, No!

By Robert E. Segal



These are stormy days for the folks who want to see job and educational discrimination ended without the imposition of that old devil, the quota system.

Sen. James L. Buckley (R.N.Y.) is introducing a bill to prohibit federal government imposition of job quotas in requiring unions, universities, and business to achieve job equality for women (a majority group) and members of minority groups.

In the same session, Dr. Nathan Glazer, professor of education and social structure at Harvard, has blasted away at certain governmental efforts for achieving equality of opportunity by forcing facts on important back with the easy-to-forget title of "Affirmative Discrimination: Ethnic Inequality and Public Policy."

Buckley has armed himself with a dossier of hundreds of complaints about quotas sent to him from all over the country.

He still boasts of his support of the Federal Civil Rights Act of 1964 (and undoubtedly agrees with Lyndon Johnson's sage comment of that era: "Until we overcome unequal history, we cannot overcome unequal opportunity.")

The New York Senator doesn't blame Congress for the heartache and squabbling over Affirmative Action, Preferential Treatment, Outright Quotas and all other efforts to compensate for America's past bad record of discrimination.

He scores Washington lawmakers.

Professor Glazer, whose achievements include co-authorship with Daniel Patrick Moynihan of the highly-rated textbook, *Beyond The Melting Pot*, also scolds federal functionaries for pushing after "artificial parity" in the effort to avenge discriminatory practices.

Properly respected for his efforts to secure the civil rights of all Americans, he now shares the dilemma of civil service employees, educators, hard hats, and numerous others who claim they are trumped by directives from Washington. Ironically, a part of his reward consists of being lobbied by intellectuals on the right.

Much of the trouble begins with slavery, was aggravated by xenophobia (especially in the era of the influx of millions of southern Europeans), and now is further compounded by joblessness during the recession.

Always expecting more from the economy, lumped into extravaganzas by taxation compounds, and into ever "fanned school heating" alongside the program of Affirmative Action, millions of normally decent Americans have been herded to a fever hall by George Wallace during this election year.

Along the way, the Department of Labor has felt obliged to demand that government em-

(Continued on Page 4)

### The American Israelite

April 22, 1976

(p.1)

(Cont. on p.4)

## As We Were Saying

(Continued from Page 1)

tractors show good faith in working positively to hire and upgrade blacks, orientals, American Indians, Chicanos, women, and Puerto Ricans.

The government, for its part, can show convincing evidence that many firms benefitting by federal largesse have not done the right thing by minority employees. And in some instances, the courts have awarded punitive damages to victims of persistent discrimination.

The Jewish community of America has been as much concerned as any group about discriminatory practices and often deeply disappointed in seemingly clumsy efforts to end such handicaps.

Especially in the field of education and among those on civil service, there has been much complaining, a great deal of it justified, over promotions and preferential treatment.

Above all, any suggestion that quotas be adopted enrages Jews with long memories of virulent prejudice against Jews seeking entry to medical schools in the early and middle part of the century.

Reaction to governmental efforts to right old wrongs is undeniably bitter. Litigation, public protest, a curb on too much zeal in the drive to deal fairly with those long suffering from discrimination, are to be expected.

But the knife has two edges; and such proposals as that of Gov. Meldrim Thomson Jr. of New Hampshire, calling for repeal of the 14th Amendment (our Magna Carta for equality of opportunity), should serve as a warning to those who refuse to acknowledge the necessity to employ heroic measures to wipe out past evils.

Early in the discussions of this profound issue, the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council offered a sound judgment to those who really cared:

"We oppose all quotas. But we do not oppose - indeed, we endorse - setting specific target goals and timetables, not determined by population percentages, for rectifying the imbalances resulting from past discrimination, so long as such goals and time tables are used to evaluate good faith effort and not as rigid requirements."

## The American Israelite

April 22, 1976

(p.4)

# As We Were Saying A Storm at the Medical School

By Robert E. Segal



Two years ago, the battle of "Affirmative Action" boiled over when the Supreme Court was considering the case of *Harro D. Davis*, a Jewish student who was denied admission to the University of Washington Law School despite his outstanding academic record.

Currently, that same battle of debate over placement of minority students has blown its steam whistle because of interpretations of an article in the prestigious New England Journal of Medicine.

Dr. Bernard D. Davis, professor of bacterial physiology at Harvard Medical School, here the focus of the attack on the article as its author.

As Dr. Davis' subsequent reply indicated, he used questionable judgment about some aspects of his article.

He also displayed a touch of narrow vision, he said, in effect, that he had not realized that his

article would "touch the public press."

Such hesitance in the laboratory may advance the cause of bacterial physiology but it reveals a highly unsophisticated appreciation of what may happen in opinion when they become public property.

In his article, Dr. Davis acknowledged that "it would be a very poor idea today" to question the value of extending the criteria for admission and of trying to make up for earlier educational disadvantages by help disadvantaged groups.

He then wondered what had brought him for critics for putting students should be awarded. Certainly a honest limiting of the public would's allow serious considerations. To share here with objectivity," he said. That would be criminal. And then:

(Continued on Page 4)

## As We Were Saying

(Continued from Page 1)

The implication to extend racial discrimination as a desirable goal seems to have been a question, even though the interpretation of Davis says the two principles of justice and medicine are not equally viable and dramatic.

Dr. Davis' son of the term, "charitable bias," landed off a charge of comment that yielded around the Harvard Medical School and the ethics of civil rights groups between them. And well it might.

Harvard President David Bok,

taking issue with Dr. Davis, said he could find no basis for any implication that minority students are less than they qualified for the M.D. degree in comparison with the medical students of the Harvard Medical School.

Dr. Robert H. Davis, dean of the Faculty of Medicine at Harvard, asked the Davis article "irresponsible," took pains to set forth facts as to an actual case cited by Dr. Davis, and stated categorically that the Medical School "rejects the notion that any of its graduates might be a danger to the public because of

## THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE

background preparation

When Dr. Davis, in a truly genuine effort to get at the sub of the issue, wrote "Considerations of fact and faith over our history of enormous racial injustices have made it difficult to face the problem," he scored a major hit.

But the battle didn't go deep enough.

For it is not only the prejudices of the past that must be recognized, it is also the very history of the nation which still very seriously that needs to be reviewed.

Black and Jewish youngsters who were turned away from medical schools to grow up by because of racial and religious prejudice suffered outrageous treatment; but society as a whole has been the loser also because of the weaknesses of the liberal part of the medical complex.

The Jewish community can learn a great deal from the Dr. Davis controversy, such learning will not be achieved by calling Dr. Davis bigot (he's not) nor by going to the extreme of denouncing every effort to guarantee the rights and freedoms the cause of medicine demands for minority people so they might reach with.

The battle is smoldering.

And Harvard is a very famous academy as evidenced by the fact recently when it awarded an honorary degree to Mrs. Berta Einstein, a Jewish member of Bush's Albany Parliament, who withdrew ungraciously to fight the charges of apartheid on a scientific lecture given by her brother, Albert.

## The American Israelite

September 2, 1976

## As We Were Saying Affirmative Action Limpes Along

By Robert E. Segal

Affirmative action is a lumbly concept. But if we're not careful, this concept may wither and die just the way Jerry Ford's 900 horses dropped off.

All the knee-slapped money in the world won't get us special jobs and policies to get more minority group people hired and promoted.

But those leading figures are also not willing to say that blacks, hispanics and potentially American Indians other than black American Indians, the Spanish speaking, and Chinese in our labor market.

Take the rampages kicked up by

hundreds of new government regulations applicable to certain federal contractors and subcontractors.

Or the right groups are barking about those like Robert W. Wood who have said that the government is not prepared for hiring only if the contracts at hand were worth \$10 million or more. In the secretary's opinion,

(Continued on Page 2)

## As We Were Saying

(Continued from Page 1)

This would do away with pre-contract award questions for 80% of all defense contractors. Hence, we would have a blowback to the old trickle down benefits theory, exposed by business leaders 50 years ago.

Other critics of the Labor Department's new grant plus hire method through the complex and language of the provisions and concluded that Jews and some other groups will be adversely affected. The reason for this is that the Labor Department's addition of minority groups leaves out Jews and others who deserve job and minority protection.

Meanwhile, the Affirmative Action program will support and spread among a number of areas as federal and state bureaucracies pull it along its checkered course.

On "Meet the Press" not long ago, Harvard President Derek Bok gave his blessing to Affirmative Action.

This was in context of questioning about an important recent California Supreme Court decision. The first court case held that racial quotas employed to give blacks a head start at the University of California were discriminatory against whites. The up California court upheld the "Reverse Discrimination."

If this is not enough to confuse the average reader, let us note that just six months before this decision came down, the New York State Court of Appeals had ruled unanimously that "Reverse Discrimination" was unconstitutional in certain circumstances. Taking up complaints about the Department of Medical Center's grant of preference to minority

students has qualified them while students. The New York Appellate Court opined that the kind of procedure was unduly arbitrary as long as a substantial interest underlies the policy and practice, and further, that no non-racial or non-objective racial standards will serve the purpose.

But hold on: two months later, a federal judge in Washington looked hard on a "Reverse Discrimination" practice by declaring that Georgetown University violated the civil rights of a white student by setting aside most of its first-year law school scholarships for minority applicants only.

It is our determination to wipe out discriminatory practices, not to create them. That's the history we try hard to reverse the policy for program long enduring under the ways of the old order.

But "Affirmative Action" seems inevitably to invite establishment of quotas in hiring, in admissions to schools, in efforts to achieve a balance in the military and among government employees.

"Quotas will Use Quotas For Public" see headline asserts. "Black Quota Policy Lead To Murders" declares another. "Race Quota For School Principals Voted by U.S. Court" proclaims a third.

So what's the country like the United States going to do? We can't do it all the time, as the case of Jerry Carter. If ever we needed a new solution, it's now.

## The American Israelite

January 13, 1977



The Baltimore Jewish Times

**ADL'S VIEW ON  
QUOTA CASE**

Los Angeles — Phillip B. Kurland will represent the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith in the Regents of California v. Bakke "reverse discrimination" case to be heard by the U.S. Supreme Court this fall. The Court's decision will affect all special college admission programs based on preferential treatment and quotas.

Kurland, professor of law at the University of Chicago, will write ADL's "friend of the court" brief challenging the constitutionality of the University of California's racially-based special admissions program for its Davis Medical School.

The announcement was made by Larry M. Lavinsky, chairman of ADL's civil rights committee, at the agency's national executive committee meeting at the Beverly Hilton Hotel.

Allan Bakke, a white applicant, sued for admission to the medical school claiming he was rejected by reason of his race. The school's special minority admissions program set exclusively for "minorities" 16 out of 100 seats available annually and selected the 16 under a lower set of standards than those used for white applicants. Following the California Supreme Court's ruling last September that the program is unconstitutional, the university appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

According to Lavinsky, "the totality of the California situation — adoption of a fixed quota, the barring of non-minorities from participating in the special program, no past history of discrimination at the school — all make this the landmark case on the issue of preferential admissions policies."

Lavinsky is a member of the New York and Federal Bars who has written on the subject of special admissions programs for the Columbia Law Review and the Hastings Constitutional Law Quarterly.

He noted that ADL in the 1940's was instrumental in eliminating college admission quotas designed to keep minorities out. "What we are now witnessing on many campuses," he declared, "is a new form of discrimination in which whites in general and white males in particular are now the victims — of the quotas to get minorities in."

"This," he went on, "is as divisive and morally wrong as the racism of the past."

June 17, 1977

(p.9)

## As We Were Saying Taking Up The Bakke Case

By Robert E. Segal



Case No. 76-811: The Regents of the University of California v. Allen Bakke.

College quotas, the Affirmative Action program, and a boiling flood of emotionalism over the use of the term, "reverse discrimination" are all involved in the much-discussed case now before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Some 53 briefs amicus curiae, perhaps a record number for a Supreme Court case, have been filed. (When Marco DeFuria, a Sephardic Jew, was fighting to get into the University of Washington Law School in a similar battle in 1971, only 25 such briefs were filed. DeFuria eventually

became a lawyer and has himself filed a brief in the Bakke case for the Young Americans For Freedom, over on the far right.)

As Archibald Cox, former Solicitor General of the United States and hero of the firestorm that set the Watergate episode ablaze, argues the case against Bakke, lawyers are giving special attention to the brief filed by Rutgers University Law School on behalf of the University of California. This appeal to the court points out that while the California Supreme Court used the 14th

(Continued on Page 4)

### THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE

#### As We Were Saying

(Continued from Page 1)

Amendment to rule, 6 to 1, that Bakke should be admitted to the Davis Medical School at the University of California, the California Court, in effect, forgot the objective and significance of the 13th Amendment.

In non-legal terms, this means that while it is true that the 14th Amendment (which became a part of our Constitution in 1868) asserts that no citizenship rights shall be abridged, the 13th Amendment (in effect since 1865) declared sternly that slavery and involuntary servitude had to go.

So the Rutgers brief asks the top justices to remember that if they, following the lead of the California court, put all emphasis on the 14th Amendment which holds that all Americans "shall have equal protection of the laws," such action washes out the good the 13th Amendment can do now by way of making up for wrongs visited upon blacks in the American slavery era.

"The 13th Amendment commands the eradication of all the badges and incidents of servitude," the Rutgers brief declares. "The gross exclusion of blacks and similar racial minorities from the medical profession is one of the badges and incidents of servitude. The University of California's race-conscious admissions program is a direct and effective means to overcome the badges and incidents of servitude as they continue in the medical profession."

In further argument against Allen Bakke's fight to get into a medical school (he has tried to enter 13 of them), the prestigious Carnegie Council On Policy Studies In Higher Education has asserted recently that race is, after all, a relative factor to be considered when applications for entrance to medical schools are considered. "The racial experience of an academically admissible applicant... is among the criteria relevant to admissions decisions," this staid body has pointed out.

And most admissions officials, when pressed, can recall having to bow to political pressure, to appeals made by influential college trustees and others when applicants came up for consideration.

All pertinent. All important. All appealing. Yet, the bulk of opinion persists that if the Supreme Court rules now that the Davis Medical School erred in denying Bakke admission, the ghost of college quotas past will return to undercut opportunities for non-blacks. Folks with a clear recollection of old injustices in college admission offices know well that many universities did employ quotas—they set aside 90 to 99% of openings for applicants who were not Jewish, not of the favored class of society.

Hence, again and again, wisdom indicates the importance of concentrating on a program of opening more facilities for the education of medical students—students who are black, students who are white, students desiring to serve in rural areas and in cluttered ghettos, students who should have the right to demand and obtain (in the words of Martin Luther King) "all, here, now."

### The American Israelite

October 27, 1977

WILKINS SPEARS

## The meaning of Bakke

By Roy Wilkins

There is something very solid behind the Bakke case, wherein Allan Bakke is charging the University of California Medical School at Davis with "reverse discrimination."

"Reverse discrimination" — that phrase has become sort of a code. It says disadvantaged blacks and other minorities should not be given a chance to catch up to persons whose color has made them advantaged since our country began.

Bakke says his color (white) kept him from gaining one of the 100 admissions to the school because 16 were given to minorities, leaving only 84 for whites.

Bakke says he was being discriminated against because minority students with lower grade points were admitted. Four white students with lower grade points were also admitted. Two other medical schools which did not have affirmative action programs had denied admission to Bakke and his high grade point.



There is little or no discussion about the distressed urban medical schools have been in their history selective admissions. There is little discussion about Bakke's advanced age (37) and the long and demanding education in medicine.

There is no discussion of the Davis medical school's alleged special admissions program through which white students with influential recommendations are admitted with lower than the Bakke "benchmark" score.

There is no discussion of the possibility of denial of admission to Bakke for any reason except his whiteness.

The news media has been satisfied with the "reverse discrimination" tag and unusually disinterested in what is behind the Bakke case, else the public might have been told of the allegation that Bakke was encouraged to file his suit and helped in choosing his lawyer by an admissions official of the university.

It was he, this latter official, it is alleged, who gave information to the press on the grade point standing of minority students.

Newspapers have not reported on the casual handling of the university's defense by the California courts which has led some civil rights leaders to believe there was collusion. At any rate, the presentation of the defense omitted important facts, thus leaving legal grounds for appeal shockingly sparse.

There is something solid behind the Bakke case—about \$4 billion in construction funds of which 10 per cent is to be set aside for minority contractors. There is something behind the Bakke case—like minority faculty members in colleges and their tenure, like job advancement in corporate firms that hastily adopted affirmative action programs, like professional schools training doctors and dentists and lawyers from minority groups, like public employees advancing in their positions.

Behind the Bakke case is a tragedy of the racial attitude of privileged and advantaged Americans.

Behind the Bakke case are the individuals and organizations who have previously allied themselves with those in the struggle for the advancement of black people, but have now turned face and are espousing this concept of equal opportunity.

Behind the Bakke case is the refusal to believe that racial oppression is still a fact of life in the United States.

Allan Bakke is not just a man fighting for his constitutional rights; he is a symbol of a conspiracy to discard the philosophy and plan for sharing equal opportunity with America's black citizens.

The Baltimore Afro-American

November 12, 1977

(p.4)

## **Blacks, Jews, Lawyers, Doctors And Others Unite To Oppose Bakke**

On October 12, 1977, the Supreme Court began to hear the Bakke case, officially entitled: "The Regents of the University of California vs. Allen Bakke." This case is considered by many to be the most important civil rights case since the Brown desegregation case of 1954. The issue is whether or not the affirmative action and special admissions programs to professional schools and colleges are constitutional. The weight of the case is that affirmative action programs, designed in attempts to correct minority exclusion, may wipe out minorities employment opportunities. The Cincinnati Coalition to Oppose the Bakke Case and 79 black and Jewish groups have united in their effort to preserve the only chance blacks and non-whites have for equal opportunity.

Allen Bakke, a 34 year old white engineer was twice rejected from medical school at the University of California at Davis (UCD), as well as 13 other schools, in 1973 and 1974. Bakke sued UCD charging that he had higher admissions test scores and grades than several of the black applicants accepted.

that UCD had no intention of defending its minority programs but instead encouraged the Bakke case in order to halt these programs. A UCD admissions official urged Bakke to sue, fully realizing that the admission process is subjective and employs grades and scores only to establish minimum requirements. In fact, many white students with lower grades and scores than Bakke were accepted. In addition, UCD flatly refused minority co-council before pleading its case, and did not cite as evidence past judicial decisions where special considerations were given to minorities to correct past discrimination. Finally, the case did not question the justice of the Dean annually admitting approximately 5 applicants from wealthy backgrounds, bypassing the admissions committee altogether. UCD even refused to admit evidence of past discrimination at their school and filed counter-suit to ensure the whole issue of affirmative action would reach the Court even if Bakke's suit is dropped. The entire case was allowed to rest on the written testimony of one

(Continued on page 2)

The Cincinnati Herald

November 19, 1977

(p.1)

(Cont. on p.2)

# The Cincinnati Herald

November 19, 1977

(p.2)

## Blacks, Jews

member of the Admissions Committee. Officers from UCD were very willing to state their views, but were refused a chance to testify. The decision of the California Court was a foregone conclusion in favor of Blacks.

The Baker case has provided an opportunity for some forces in society who now seek to destroy the gains made by minorities in the 1960's. Already in Ohio large corporations have filed suit to reverse decisions providing giving minority business 10 percent of all federally funded public works projects. This suit and similar suits in other states are based in large part on the Baker decision. The newspapers and magazines speak of "reverse discrimination" and argue that affirmative action has gone too far. A Cincinnati Enquirer editorial even went so far as to "question the ability of medical and law schools to convert 2nd class applicants into 1st class doctors and lawyers we need". Yet, in 1970, the Association of American Medical Colleges recommended that medical schools have 13 percent minority representation by 1975. Medical school minority enrollment in 1974-75 was only 8.3 percent and by 1975-76 it had decreased to 8.2 percent. Furthermore, of the 40 medical schools that once had affirmative minority recruitment programs, 35 have been abandoned. The Black physician population has remained at approximately 1-2% since the 1960's, essentially unchanged. (The general ratio for the U.S. in 1970) In education, law, and other professions the situation is little different. But the implications of the Baker case

include the NAACP, A. Philip Randolph Institute, National Council of Negro Women, American Jewish Congress, American Jewish Committee and Anti-Defamation League

to be beyond the professions. The destruction of affirmative action in industry would greatly worsen the economic position of minorities and women in society. Already Blacks and other minorities have especially heavy attacks including an unemployment rate twice that of whites, the lowest paying and most unstable positions assigned, and continuing discrimination in housing and education. Furthermore, the concept of reverse discrimination may serve to pit white against black, non-egalitarian, at a time when unity is critical. If the underserved groups and individuals have joined together to support efforts to reverse the Baker case and to defend and expand affirmative action programs. This includes the support of admissions quotas for minority students in those programs where they currently exist. The implementation of such quotas only arose when experience showed that the professional schools did not significantly increase minority recruitment on the basis of previous abuse and that further definitive action was required. To abandon these quotas now as Carter and others propose could lead to the eventual dismantling of all affirmative action programs. We are committed to continue our defense of minority admissions, nationally and locally, no matter how the Supreme Court finally rules on the Baker Case.

Black American Law Students Association, National Lawyers Guild, Black Engineers Association of Cincinnati, Student National Medical Association, Medical Committee For Human Rights, Cincinnati Federation of Teachers Human Rights Committee, Revolutionary Students Against African American Support Committee, and Independent Medical Students, as well as many other national civil rights organizations, including leading Black and Jewish groups. The latter has released a joint statement declaring that although differences have arisen among some in the Black community, they are united in their determination to secure full civil rights for all

members of the movement

## Community Affairs

By Kenyan C. Burke

### **Black-Jewish Relations**

There seldom is the breach between blacks and Jews as a result of the Babbie case; what has been the impact of this case and other efforts to desegregate and affirm affirmative action efforts? And as we put the "old coalition back together again?"

These and similar questions are receiving much closer attention by groups that worked hard in hard toward passing the civil rights laws and social legislation in the last 20 years.

It is significant that the prestigious Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the umbrella organization, of over 141 civil rights, and other organizations concerned with equal opportunity and human rights were unable to take a position on the Babbie case and the issues it raises. The position taken by major Jewish organizations is particularly disturbing to the issue in the last 20 years. The consequences of black Babbie case and all it organizations and their representatives has become less desirable.

In the late six and early '70s, caused great concern among newspapers and the electronic all of us. There is no need for media frequently focused us to serious the pros and cons upon conflicts that seem to put of the Babbie case as we have these two communities (Continued on page 10)

The Cincinnati Herald

December 3, 1977

(p.4)

(Cont. on p.10)

## Community

(Continued from page 4)

previously stated in this column why we are for Affirmative Action and programs especially designed to help our disadvantaged citizens to gain equal access to the goodies of this bountiful country of ours.

Benjamin L. Hooks, Executive Director of the NAACP, in a creative attempt at bridge building between groups that are currently at odds on this issue invited the leadership of those groups who have come down hard against Affirmative Action programs to come and reason together in the following statement:

"Indeed we are alarmed and have grave concerns over the issue raised by the Bakke case. Our traditional allies in our struggle for equality and the eradication of racism seem to be marching to a different drummer. No matter how the Supreme Court determines the Bakke case, the scars and wounds it has

inflicted will remain for some time.

"We have a bottom line position. That is, it bothers us in these days that all over the country well-meaning friends, so-called, are wringing their hands and admitting that there has been past discrimination. They admit that the effects of that discrimination are still with us and say plainly that it must be changed.

"But their intention eludes us. So we call on them in the name of simple justice. If you recognized there has been discrimination, if you admit that the vestiges of those discriminatory practices exist in our nation today, then it becomes necessary that something be done to eliminate them. And we have begun to wonder who our friends are, when every plan that we propose and move forward with is attacked.

"If there is a wrong and it must be corrected, there must be a way to do it. So we call upon our traditional allies who now seem to be marching to the tune of a different

drummer to show us how we can do it better, if what we are doing in the way of Affirmative Action programs is wrong."

Finally above all, let's be mature enough to disagree without being disagreeable

The Cincinnati Herald

December 3, 1977

(p.10)



# ACROSS MY DESK

By Marjorie Parham



Mrs. Parham

## HAPPY CHANUKAH

In spite of the Bakke divisiveness that has sprung up between the Black and Jewish leadership there is an inescapable kinship

between the Jews of the World and the Black communities of the world. Especially in America where the Jewish leadership have given over their time and money to further the civil rights of Blacks. In many instances Jews have completely forgotten their own heritage in order to support the black movement, and for this all blacks should be grateful.

For many years this newspaper observed Chanukah with articles and editorials but sadly, in the past several years, we have allowed this important period in Judaism to pass without comment. The recent schism between the Jews and Blacks brought this into sharp focus and caused us to realize that

you don't desert real friends because you can't agree philosophically on one issue ... even though Bakke is the single most important issue facing blacks in the last ten years.

As we approach the high Jewish holidays we should remember that Chanukah is the first victory for religious freedom won by the Jews two thousand years ago (talk about roots).

It was a victory indicative of the Jews indomitable spirit and belief in a supreme deity. For they resisted the Syrian-Greeks who sought to make the worship paganism. After a three year war Judah Maccabee marched victoriously into Jerusalem, proclaimed an eight day holiday and dedicated the Temple.

It was not just a victory for

Judaism, but victory for Christianity because that victory was the cornerstone for the emergence of Christianity and is credited with being a factor in the influence of both Christianity and Judaism in the world.

So all citizens both black and Christian should pause out of respect for the memory of the temple dedication where candles were burned for eight days in recognition of religious freedom. The high holidays was lit December 4 and lasts eight days.

It is a time to refresh the spirit and remember that Chanukah means dedication. It is a time for all of us black and white, Christian and Jew to rededicate ourselves to true religious freedom from which all freedom must ensue.

The Cincinnati Herald

December 10, 1977

(p.4)

## The Baltimore Jewish Times

## Opinion (p.7)

THE BAKKE CASE:  
IT'S NOT REALLY  
BLACKS VS. JEWS

BY RONALD M. SHAPIRO

Special to BALTIMORE JEWISH TIMES

*Bakke v. Board of Regents, University of California at Davis*, is perhaps thought of as a landmark constitutional case. "Bakke," however, is better described as a landmark political case. Traditional allies in the civil rights coalition have split on the question of Alan Bakke's legal battle to gain admission to the University of California Medical School at Davis. The emotionally-charged

equality. That is, a quota at UCD Medical School was established to advance the cause of equalizing opportunities for blacks in medical education. As a result of the quota, whites were expressly and automatically barred from placement in any of the positions reserved for minorities. Because of a quota, a white man suffered "reverse discrimination." This one point is the key to the split

nature of issues involving admission quotas has, in the eyes of many, pitted minority against minority and, more specifically, Jew against Black. Jews have been cast in the role of supporters of Alan Bakke, with blacks as their adversaries. Yet a close examination of their respective legal positions indicates that their cleavage may be more semantic than actual.

The examination begins with some recent constitutional history. During the last twenty-five years, courts have recognized their power to sustain action that corrects past constitutional infringements by granting remedies in civil rights cases which have favored blacks to the apparent detriment of some whites. Or to put it in less legalistic terms, the courts have assisted individuals and groups, particularly the blacks, in playing "catch-up football" to gain a position in society previously denied them because of government-enforced discrimination. Examples of such court assistance are the busing remedies in school desegregation cases and the one-man, one-vote principle laid down in the congressional redistricting cases.

In these cases, the courts have advanced the rights of a minority, even though uninvolved members of the majority may be forced to make sacrifices, as in the instance of a redistricted school or a re-aligned congressional district. They have implemented the objective of the 14 Amendment's Equal Protection Clause to eradicate two hundred years of slavery. Recognizing the tragedies of law-enforced slavery — broken families, limited education and absence of a black financial base — could only be overcome by law-enforced equality, few people have seriously objected to these "reparations."

"Bakke," however, adds a new ingredient to the existing formula aimed at implementing such

Mr. Shapiro, a law of attorney, is chairman of the Baltimore chapter of the American Jewish Committee.

"Bakke" has engendered within the traditional civil rights coalition.

Before considering the matter of quotas further, some specifics of the Bakke case should be examined. First, "Bakke" is a bad case factually to occupy such a central position in a constitutional controversy. It is unfortunate that the Supreme Court should be called upon to decide such a potentially critical constitutional law case on virtually no record. The Court has few facts to review as the "Bakke" record reveals merely a series of stipulations, i.e., agreements of counsel, and only one deposition of a University official. This is a weak basis for a landmark constitutional decision.

Second, attention must be called to an assortment of unpublished facts about Bakke. Alan Bakke, now a 37-year-old professional engineer, was rejected by a total of twelve medical schools, including UCD. Because of his age, his medical training would not be complete until he was in his forties — a negative factor from the perspective of most medical school admissions committees. The class to which Bakke sought admission accepted a number of white students who had lower composite statistical qualifications than Bakke's. And, although the University's minority program admitted black applicants with academic statistics lower overall than their white counterparts, the University did maintain minimum acceptable standards for minority students. Those standards, in the opinion of experts, were sufficient to qualify such students to study and practice medicine.

Jewish organizations filing brief in Mr. Bakke's behalf may have found his personal struggle for admission less appealing due to these facts. Nevertheless, the traditional Jewish abhorrence of quota systems (because of their discriminatory potential) has forced these groups into Mr. Bakke's camp. Perhaps predictably, the black perception of this alliance has been that Jews are

continued on next page

December 16, 1977

(Cont. on p.8)

moving away from their blacker origins of first-class Jewry. From the Seattle flight in the Supreme Court by Professor Cox on behalf of the University on the one hand, and numerous Jewish organizations (through anti-semitic brethren on the other, is not as clearly apparent as a single step. They are the two sides of the same coin, but their basic principles do not diverge. Most Jewish organizations, in fact, acknowledge that the factor of disadvantage should be given weight in the admission process. It is Mr. Baker's argument in one respect that he is actually opposing giving any weight to race or disadvantage in admissions. This position is based upon an admission principle of strict academic merit which practically has been rejected by Jewish organizations. Such a principle would even deny admission to a Soviet Jewish immigrant — the subject of a case involving another California medical school — who requires that disadvantages due to language and background differences be compensated for by superior intellectual qualifications in her application.

From it, therefore, properly turned on the areas of agreement that do exist between Professor Cox on behalf of the University and the Jewish organizations. Both sides concede the depravity of the alleged discrimination against blacks through the admission of Jewish students. Both recognize the need for more black professionals and, therefore, the need for admitting blacks to professional schools for training both disciplines with Baker's attorney's position that statistics alone should be considered in the admission process. Both concede that admission programs should properly give some consideration to academic deficiencies due to racial deprivation. In fact, numerous Jewish organizations have long accepted "quotas" for minority admissions, so long as such quotas did not discriminate against blacks. The only question is whether a goal, too, could have a "reverse discrimination" effect. A disadvantaged black candidate who upon close evaluation, is highly qualified may gain admission in a goal-oriented program and thus pre-empt a white applicant with superior academic achievement. Accordingly, and in view with standing the existence of such areas of agreement between the parties, the political and social issues generated by "Baker" at times seems insupportable. Despite my own experience as a teacher and practitioner of the law for the past decade, I have had difficulty reaching a definite conclusion. Nonetheless, I am convinced that the law and revealing the commentators have not provided the answer. I have come to reject quotas and so much because of their inherent evil. But because of the historically-demonstrated tendency to believe that the law is a neutral arbiter of the public affirmative action programs have brought about. I have taught and known numerous black law students, admitted under special programs at the two Maryland law schools, who are qualified graduates of the law. On the other hand, I have known students of all races who have demonstrated statistical academic

competence, yet who lack the necessary depth and insight essential to a good lawyer. I have known the legal rights of other human beings. Hence, while I would accept a rejection of quotas, as such, by the Supreme Court, I would reject a system based solely on standards of academic merit. Statistically, black students have gained time and time again that if affirmative action of all types were to be eliminated by the Court, then the numbers of black

**A close examination of their respective legal positions indicates that the black-Jewish divergence may be more insurmountable than actual.**

students in our professional classrooms would be substantially reduced. That result could not be good for blacks or for a better-known society.

Perhaps we will not be confronted with such a result. However, the Supreme Court of "Baker" may be that the Supreme Court decides not to decide the far reaching constitutional issues of the case. Recently, the Court required the filing of supplemental briefs directed at resolving "Baker" on the more limited basis of constitutionality rather than of constitutionality.

Even so, the problems presented by "Baker" will not be obliterated. The current heat in the judicial arena will reach a new intensity in the political arena. Hence, it would be a mistake merely to wait the Supreme Court's opinion. If the Supreme Court's support for the cause of Jewish rights should be articulated while, at the same time, the basis of the Jewish disdain for quotas should be explained. The strengthening of the Black-Jewish coalition and the need for an understanding of the Black-Jewish identity in terms of their value to society today and in the future. A way must be found to prevent the lower ethnic nation from being divided any further. ■

The Baltimore  
Jewish Times  
December 16, 1977  
(p.8)

## The American Israelite

### As We Were Saying

#### DeFunis to Bakke to Weber

By Robert E. Segal



Way back in 1971, Marco DeFunis, a member of a Sephardic Jewish family and a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Washington, was turned down when he applied for admission to that Seattle institution's law school. He was admitted to four other law schools, but his alma mater was his top choice; and his fight to get in eventually reached the Supreme Court.

Many folks sensed anti-Jewish leanings in the DeFunis case; others said, oh, no, the University of Washington was just trying to make it easier for blacks to become lawyers.

In any event, Justice William O. Douglas pushed the legal button that gave a victory of sorts to young Mr. DeFunis.

This all left a cloud of ambiguity hanging over the issue of justice in college admissions. And matters drifted along until a year ago when the Supreme Court handed down a sharply divided ruling in

the famous Allan Bakke case. That time around, the Court upheld consideration of race in school entry programs while at the same time ordering Mr. Bakke, who is white, admitted to the University of California Medical School at Davis where he is struggling along toward his degree.

Just as the DeFunis case left shadows of uncertainty, so did Bakke. The Jewish community by and large hailed the Bakke decision as a blow at college quotas while continuing to sub-

Continued on Page 4

#### THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE

#### Robert E. Segal

Continued from Page 1

scribe to the important principle of affirmative action. The black community was understandably upset by the Bakke decision. Dr. Alvin Poussaint, Harvard professor of psychiatry and a prominent member of the Black community, complained: "Legally, I think it [the Bakke ruling] is going to open a Pandora's box; it invites a testing of affirmative action programs all over the place."

But now with the decisive 5 to 2 ruling by the Supreme Court in the case of Brian Weber vs. the Kaiser Aluminum and Chemical Co., we have moved away from the important but somewhat circumscribed area of discrimination in education to the much broader issue of discrimination in employment. The DeFunis and Bakke cases impinged upon the destinies of several hundred thousand; the Weber case packs a message to millions of workers and many, many employers.

At issue in the Weber case was Weber's complaint that the Kaiser Co., in selecting candidates to train employees for upgrading, ignored Weber's seniority by using a racial quota. That the case originated in Louisiana, where equality was long consigned to the dungeon, complicated the issue. Moreover, it appeared rather certain that the Kaiser Louisiana plant, taking on the hue of the immediate environment, had indulged in bias against Blacks.

Confronted by such factors, steeped in doubt, the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Committee decided to sit out the Weber case. (Both agencies had filed briefs in the Bakke case.) The Anti-Defamation League, which had also been active in the Bakke case, filed in support of Weber; and judging by early reports of reactions to the 5 to 2 ruling, the ADL is unhappy about the outcome.

Not so the Black community, certain sectors of organized labor, and a number of governmental units. The dismay of the ADL folks is understandable; they fear a rebirth of a drive for quotas.

Actually, many who have fought for equality of opportunity for years are not too upset, indeed rather encouraged by the Court's Weber ruling. They feel confident that neither Chief Justice Burger's nor Justice Rehnquist's negative branding of their judicial brothers as "escape artists such as Houdini" will endure the test of time. Rather they take heart from the fact that Justice Blackman—no fiery liberal—was with the majority.

Even more to delight is the decision of the majority to sound a clear call for "employers and unions to self-examine and to self-evaluate their employment practices and to endeavor to eliminate, so far as possible, the last vestiges of an unfortunate and ignominious page in this country's history."

We must refuse to allow the re-entry of quotas; but we also have an obligation to give the basic philosophy of affirmative action an uncluttered chance to advance the ideal of equality in schooling, in jobs, in housing, and in public accommodations.

July 19, 1979

# The American Israelite

## **As We Were Saying**

### **Affirmative Action In the 1980s**

**By Robert E. Segal**



Twenty years ago, four black freshmen at the North Carolina A & T State University started the much-cursed and discussed sit-in movement by ordering coffee from a white waitress. They called sharp attention to a rank kind of discrimination in Greensboro, inspired similar demonstrations in 54 cities and helped energize Martin Luther King's non-violent campaign for equality of opportunity.

When the quartet originating the sit-in held a reunion in Greensboro, it turned out that one now is a stockbroker, another is at management level in a large manufacturing company, a third is moving ahead as a farmer, and the fourth is an evaluator for a CETA program.

These sit-in pioneers may not have been moved up the ladder by a specific Affirmative Action program; but that they were on a rising tide is hard to deny. Hiring and promoting managers in government, schools, factories, banks, and construction may

(Continued on Page 4)

(p.1)

THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE

**Robert E. Segal**

(Continued from Page 1)

appear lukewarm to government orders to compensate for the long-imposed handicaps of discrimination; but ways are being found to employ and upgrade those historically obliged to leap the hurdles of bigotry.

New indications of determination on Washington's part to create job opportunities for so-called minority groups include President Carter's mid-January announcement that the will earmark \$2 billion to help unemployed young people to be trained for openings in the job market. Congress soon followed by approving legislation calculated to send millions of dollars into urban areas where unemployment is festering.

Even so, the rate of joblessness among black teen-agers in some cities has moved to a new high of 34%.

...

(p.4)

February 29, 1980

(Continued on next page)

(p.4)

What, then, of Affirmative Action?

Court rulings in the DeFundis, Bakke, and Weber cases are behind us, drawing keen notice to Affirmative Action programs but leaving many blacks hoping for wide acceptance of rigid mandates to give preference to their brothers and leaving many Jews adamant in their opposition to quotas and disturbed about misconceptions of the true meaning of Affirmative Action.

Still to be decided is the Fullilove case. This raises a blunt challenge to the federal public works program setting forth the order that 10% of all construction granted emanating from that program must be awarded to minority-owned companies.

Unlike the Weber case, this legal fight does not deal with the limited field of college admissions but zeroes in on the much wider zone of employment.

And inasmuch as the current and yet unended rift between Blacks and Jews is largely concerned with varying interpretations of the Affirmative Action doctrine, the Fullilove case is being closely monitored in both large communities.

Much depends on what legal limits the Supreme Court eventually sets on Affirmative Action. Much depends also on the methods finally agreed upon for implementing Affirmative Action programs.

It is clear to many who want sincerely to open job opportunities that added training for minority employment seekers and added recruitment efforts on the part of management are essential. But the imposition of rigid and escalating quotas that bring with them the factor of reverse discrimination inevitably raises up a storm.

If this thesis is correct, one can understand why a federal appeals court not long ago dismissed as "sweeping affirmative relief" a federal court order that imposed a rigid quota for the hiring of Bridgeport, (Conn.), firemen. Other large cities continue to wrestle with proposed quotas for police; and the fight may not be ended soon.

To the great credit of the National Jewish Community Relations Advisory Council, that valuable body supports that Affirmative Action program for both government and the private sector providing for compensatory education, training, apprenticeship, job counseling, and financial assistance for the disadvantaged and deprived.

(Continued on Page 18)

## Robert E. Segal

(Continued from Page 4)

Added to this must be assurance that individual need is the sole criterion of eligibility for such special services. Such factors as poverty, cultural deprivation, inadequate schooling, and discrimination must be taken into account.

But always the intrusion of quotas must be guarded against.

History carries into our hearts and minds the assurance of that final mandate.

(p.18)

## The American Israelite

February 29, 1980

## Behind the Scenes

by Ethel Payne

I had hoped to make this my last column for 1981 a rather commentary on the year including all the disastrous things that happened to change our lives and our history. Of course, I would venture into the usual fall prognostications, some of which would be necessarily true, but that changed after I read Susan Rothblat's letter to the editor of the New York Times which appeared in the Monday, December 21st issue.

Mr. Rothblat is the Washington Representative of American Jewish Committee and he is an avid member of everything written or spoken that he feels is relevant to the issues about which his organization is concerned. His reputation for profane letters of scolding to points of view approved by "representatives" of other organizations has earned him the sobriquet of "Watchman," and he frequently sounds the alarm when every thought is approaching which he deems to be a threat to the interests of his constituency.

Rothblat's most recent target of criticism is the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the agency which for many years has functioned as watchdog and advocate for the rights of blacks and other minorities. Lately, however, under the onslaught of Reaganomics and the conservative tide, it has been battered and bruised so that its future is in doubt. Once again, the issue is that old canonical question over the words, quotes and goals in the context of the process, affirmative action. As usual, Rothblat rushes in to stir up a tempest over the "unfortunate" assertions of the commission, this time in its latest and perhaps last report on affirmative action. It is the repeating the last words of a dying man.

What I find most irritating is his propensity in attempting to speak for blacks and women and indeed the public at large. Says he, "A quote is equal opportunity programs means the setting aside of a given number or percentage of positions for the exclusive use of named 'target' groups: blacks, Hispanic people, women, etc. It means, to put it bluntly, 'white males need not apply.' Many fervent supporters of civil rights, including the American Jewish Committee, reject quotes as a new form of discrimination. The overwhelming majority of Americans, including blacks and women, have told every national pollster that they reject quotes."

The assertion that "White males need not apply" is unfair, untrue and a character assassination that would be ridiculous were it not so inflammatory, but then that is what Rothblat is most adept at, dancing to the antipathies between male and female, black and white, Jew and Gentile. I don't treat polls anymore than I do his claims of statistical distortions. They are just that. I know an awful lot of blacks and women and many Hispanics, none of whom who has ever been interviewed by a pollster. The folks I know - good, solid, law-abiding citizens - share one view in common, the system which Rothblat defends is weighted against blacks, Hispanics and women, although in less percentages for the latter group than those who are discriminated against purely because of skin color or ethnic origin.

White males are not an endangered species, but the most among most threats is that they are fast being assigned to the surplus stockpiles of obsolete goods. As the economic crisis deepens, hitting the middle class of

The Baltimore Afro-American

January 9, 1982

(p.5)

(Cont. on next page)



## Bookbinder on goals and quotas

Americans more, the competition for jobs increases and there are fewer and fewer work opportunities for even the best educated and trained among blacks. A third and newer danger is the takeover by whites or recent citizens of mental positions that have been traditionally reserved for blacks. That has created more tensions and more frustration.

Secondly, the National Council of Negro Women, one of the oldest and most durable organizations in the black community, sent out a distress call for immediate funds to move such vital programs as children victimized by hunger and malnutrition; unemployed youth, low-income women heads of families, pregnant teenagers and youth in conflict with the law. It's the timing of the screw on the federal dollar that have been the frustration and the only source of hope for millions. Dorothy Height, the president of NNCW, says, "Our survival and future progress are at stake: conditions of a nightmare economy are having the greatest impact on our women and their families." So white Bookbinder is blustering about the differences between goals and quotas, blacks are up against the wall and it is Armageddon time.

The fellow hanging out on the street corner with no place to go and nothing to do isn't concerned about the semantics involved in word definitions. Ask him about goals and quotas and his answer would be, "Don't make no difference. I ain't got no job and the Man don't give a damn." I've live a long time and seen many periods of good times and bad times, but even I who have been more fortunate than the women head of a household struggling to hold her family together, have wished many times that there were some quotas or goals that would have allowed me to have more access to equal opportunity. I've knocked on doors and had them slammed in my face, like millions of other blacks and Hispanics. I've listened to American leaders make studies of discrimination and brutal mistreatment that pale the horror fiction by comparison.

Sam Wicker, the columnist for the New York Times, whose views I respect, recently discussed the ambivalence of President Reagan on the issue of affirmative action and voting rights. On one hand, Mr. Reagan says he favors the training of blacks through voluntary agreement between states and management, but over at the Justice Department, William French Smith, the assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, called the White House decision "at war with the American ideal of equal opportunity," and said he would seek to have it overturned. For the record, Mr. Reagan has been against affirmative action, but it sometimes appears that there is confusion between him and his appointees in government.

John Wether, by way of contradiction, was the white worker at the Kaiser Aluminum Company who brought suit because he claimed that he was the victim of reverse discrimination in promoting a black above him. The case was a fellow-up to the Supreme Court for admission to medical school and the DePauls contention that he was held back from admission to law school in order to make way for less qualified blacks and Hispanics.

The Supreme Court ruled against Wether, but it upheld the DePauls case and took a smart position in the DePauls suit since he had already graduated from law school by the time his case reached the high court. Wether says rightly there is a clear history of past discrimination against blacks that makes such programs for training and goals necessary and useful. There is no getting about quotas. If as Bookbinder and others so persistently argue quotas are evil instruments of inequity, I submit that the greatest beneficiaries of quotas have and continue to be whites and particularly white males. There are too many "gentleman's agreements" that bar blacks and Hispanics from policy-level positions, and this extends even to the playing fields. How many black quarterbacks are there, for example, in professional football despite the fact that they are predominant in the game?

As we move into 1982, it is clear that blacks have fewer allies to rely on and will have to turn to alternatives, simply to survive. The outside race among blacks is up, and that is alarming. I am angry at the injustice of it all, and most of all at people who allege that we are in agreement with the establishment. So Heyman Bookbinder, go back your head and spare us any more operational pleasantries. With friends like you, we don't need any enemies.

The Baltimore Afro-American

January 9, 1982

(p.5)

## The Cincinnati Herald

Across My Desk  
by Marjorie Parham

Over the years this newspaper has been supportive of philosophical views that projected the prevailing opinion of our Black readers. This was not only a reflection of their opinion, but also the opinion of the editors and publisher of this newspaper. Thus we opposed capital punishment because we believed it to be an unfair instrument of justice in as much as our death rows across the nation was [sic] filled with a disproportionate number of Blacks. We still fill [sic] that way.

We also support integrated schools and not necessarily by using busing, but by changing district lines and making housing opportunities a reality for Black citizens. This did not mean we were opposed to Black schools. Indeed, Black schools do more toward promulgating the culture of Blacks than any other institution except the church. But integration in schools is one of the first steps toward moving into the total mainstream. Something we need if we are ever to become full first class citizens.

We also have affirmed support philosophy [sic] for Affirmative Action and Reparations. In recent years Affirmative Action has come in for some devastating attacks from both friends and foes of civil rights. This week in our editorial section we are printing an article by John Bunzel which was first published in the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith [sic]. Over the years we have also supported Jewish causes and did much toward introducing our readers to Jewish cultures [sic] and lauding the Jewish community for the support they [sic] gave to civil rights.

In recent years Jewish organizations and other Jewish friends have come under attack by civil rights advocates primarily because the ADL is opposed to Affirmative Action. We believe that friends can disagree on fundamental issues and still remain friends. They need only work together on those issues where their thinking and support is [sic] compatible rather than break off over an issue where they honestly disagree.

Initially we thought to rebut the ADL stance on Affirmative Action. Instead we believed we should allow it to stand because it is a legitimate expression of one group's opinion of an issue that caused great legal and social minds a great deal of discomfort because they could not resolve the dichotomy of the issues.

December 24, 1983 (p.4)

## Affirmative Action, A Fair Shake

by John H. Bunzel

John H. Bunzel, Senior Research Fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution, was one of President Reagan's nominees to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. This article, adapted from his address at the Anti-Defamation League's National Executive Committee meeting, represents his personal views.

A very wise observer of the human scene, Professor Emeritus Paul Freund of the Harvard Law School, has warned against the doctrinaire, the fanatic who holds to absolutes, whether it is liberty and nothing else, equality and nothing else, or truth and nothing else.

The issue of affirmative action is not absolute. It is one of competing and legitimate values and their relationship to many difficult and practical problems. It is a collision of rights and a conflict of principles. The important question is how one balances one's obligations.

Many of the assertions and assumptions about affirmative action need to be tempered by opposing and equally compelling considerations. Here are some examples:

1. The solution of many people to the problems of minority groups is to require equal representation of certain minority groups in Federal and other employment, or as beneficiaries of Government programs.

But: Many of the problems of minority groups are no longer the result of present discrimination. Today, employment discrimination against blacks or Hispanics is considerably diminished and is not of much serious long-lasting consequence. The same holds for educational opportunity. Yet, if these problems are treated as if they are problems of discrimination, the result can only be the imposition of quotas, which, in turn, could trigger a decline in efficiency of services and in the morale of employees. Most serious is the damaging effect quotas have on the motivation, self-respect and capacity of minority group members themselves.

2. Many proponents of affirmative action say that to remedy past educational, economic, and cultural injustices, colleges and universities should move at once to bring about a statistically acceptable representation of women and minorities on their faculties. Some go so far as to say that the way to bring this about is simply to put them there.

But: The cause of low representation of blacks and Hispanic Americans among college and university faculties is not simply the result of invariable discrimination: the reason is limited supply. Less than three percent of the doctoral degrees in this country go to blacks. Sixty percent of those are in education. By contrast, Asian Americans have forged ahead in recent decades because they have concentrated in the sciences and mathematics, engineering, architecture - even though they faced severe and pernicious discrimination. What might be done to deal with this situation is to have educators encourage minority youngsters to concentrate more on math and science courses rather than social sciences and ethnic studies.

3. The assertion is made that enforcement agencies have a right to determine whether or not government contractors, including universities, are in compliance with Federal affirmative action guidelines.

But: A college or university must not compromise the right to make its own decision regarding hiring, tenure and promotion based on professional judgments about intellectual capacity, scholarship, and teaching ability. The real question is whether affirmative action compliance investigators are willing to assure a university that having canvassed widely, and having a non-discriminatory applicant pool to consider, the university is completely protected in choosing the best qualified person. This is what affirmative action should be all about.

The Cincinnati Herald

December 24, 1983

(p.4)

(Continued on next page)

The Cincinnati Herald  
December 24, 1983

Is Preference Implicit?

4. It is often claimed that preferential treatment of racial minorities is implicit and necessary in the enactment of laws that are serious about prohibiting discrimination and overcoming disadvantage.

But: Neither the laws themselves nor their legislative histories expressly make such provisions. Those who would replace the principle of non-discrimination with the principle of race-based entitlements are abandoning the idea that all Americans should have a "fair shake" in exchange for a very different concept - that everyone should have an "equal share." Furthermore, there is a clear conceptual distinction between prohibiting discrimination on the one hand, and overcoming disadvantage on the other. Both deserve our support, but they should not be lumped together in debates over civil rights legislation and enforcement policies as if they were synonymous.

5. We are told by some that prohibiting racial discrimination is a means to a substantive end - to overcome the disadvantageous circumstances of blacks and other minorities.

But: Those who want to remedy a racially disproportionate impact have very different policy objectives from those who stand behind the principle of non-discrimination. Non-discrimination assures evenhanded treatment of individuals who are similarly situated. This principle is violated when similarly situated people are treated differently because of their race or their national origins.

Outcome Not Guaranteed

When some of us drew the line during the recent debate over the renewal and extension of the Voting Rights Act, it was not in opposition to the Act, but rather because of attempts to emphasize results rather than process. Equal access to registration and the ballot box does not automatically mean equal outcomes in the electoral process. Put very simply, racial non-discrimination in the political process should not be replaced by some notion of proportional group representation. That has been my worry and remains my worry. One is no less a friend of equal electoral opportunity for not wanting to see the goal of the Voting Rights Act transformed into a policy that would promote "color coordinated politics" - that is, the color of the candidate unfairly matching the color of his constituency.

It is my very strong belief that there should be less, not

(Continued on page 9)

Affirmative Action, A Fair Shake (cont., p.9)

more of an emphasis on race in the political process and that society would benefit if race were gradually to become a less salient factor. To reinforce the emphasis on race will create or perpetuate a special favored status for members of certain groups. This worry comes from my belief that people should be treated as individuals and should not receive special benefits or burdens because of their race.

(p.4)

(p.9)

## As We Were Saying

### Affirmative Reaction

By Robert E. Segal



By its 6-3 decision in a Memphis affirmative action case—a matter considered moot by many lawyers—the Supreme Court has brought joy to the heart of the Reagan Administration's chief civil rights officer and dismay to veterans of the civil rights movement. Jubilant with this victory in the Memphis firemen's case, William B. Reynolds, Assistant Attorney General who heads the Administration's civil rights division, has quickly turned his guns on the federal district court in Cincinnati where a case similar to the one in

Memphis has gone in favor of black city employees.

Apparently determined to equate all affirmative action programs in the public realm with the use of quotas for hiring, promotions and layoffs based on

(Continued on Page 41)

#### THE AMERICAN ISRAELITE

Robert E. Segal

(Continued from Page 11)

race or sex, Mr. Reynolds says he plans to take a fresh look at hundreds of such cases in which the federal government has had a role.

The Memphis case flowed from a 1980 settlement. Ten years ago, the Memphis fire department's personnel was only 4% black. Protests in court resulted in an increase to 15.5%. This amounted to a sharing of jobs more commensurate with the racial composition of the city's work force.

In the agreement of 1980, nothing was said about layoffs. A year later, when a city budget deficit loomed, Memphis authorities decided that maintaining the principle of job seniority was more important than protecting the jobs of blacks newly-hired in the spirit of affirmative action.

Black fireman fought this "last hired, first fired" decision and won in the federal appeals court. Consonant with the court decision, the city then laid off or demoted a number of white firemen. In turn, the firefighters' union went to court claiming discrimination against white firemen.

Writing the majority opinion for the Supreme Court, Justice Byron R. White, whose findings in earlier affirmative action cases had pleased civil rights activists, held that Memphis Judge Robert M. McPeck Jr., had without justification jettisoned the fire department's seniority system. In addition, Justice White declared he found no evidence of discrimination against any of the black firemen.

In his dissent, Justice Harry A. Blackmun made a wise and compassionate observation:

"The court majority has deprived the black firefighters of the opportunity to substantiate their claim (that they were discriminated against), and then faults them for having failed to do so."

Mr. Reynolds is on record as viewing affirmative action limited to efforts to encourage greater numbers of minorities and women to enter the work force and to insure that their opportunity to be employed is equal to the opportunity anybody else has. Once inside the firehouse door or the factory gate, they are on their own.

This blunts the reality of difficult access to jobs, a reality that has played a key role in dividing American society into two segments, one white, one black.

One of Mr. Reynolds' fellow federal government officials—Linda Chavez, new staff director of the wounded U.S. Commission on Civil Rights—shares Mr. Reynolds' philosophy. She frowns upon practices that favor "group rights."

In these new bureaucratic winds swirling about Washington, it appears that past employment attitudes, past wrongs, past deprivations, past discriminatory practices are not the government's concern. This is antithetical to the spirit of redress that has characterized government action since passage of the 1964 federal Civil Rights Acts.

Cold detachment colors the new mood. By scolding members of minority groups and their champions for what he calls "using discrimination to cure discrimination," Mr. Reynolds may delight millions opposed to affirmative action, but he does grave harm in America's basic commitment to social justice.

The American Israelite

June 28, 1984

## Jewish Group Says: **Quotas - No: - Affirmative Action - Yes**

ATLANTA, Jan. 13... The Washington Representative of the American Jewish Committee acknowledged today that "a needless hostile debate has been raging over the issue of quotas," and that "confusion and conflict over the proper use of arithmetic standards has unfortunately kept us from working as hard as we should for the non-controversial components of any meaningful package of affirmative action programs."

Speaking at the Ebenezer Baptist Church at ceremonies marking the first celebration of Martin Luther King Day as a national holiday, Hyman Bookbinder offered ringing support of affirmative action programs as the way to prepare "every American for full participation in our society," but he was just as firm in opposing "rigid, inflexible, preferential quotas."

"With only rare exceptions, the civil rights community is united in support of goals and timetables," he continued. "It rejects the argument that goals are the same as quotas or that they perforce operate as *de facto* quotas."

Commenting on American Jews, Mr. Bookbinder went on: "The Jewish community, I can state with assurance, overwhelmingly shares that consensus. We continue to oppose rigid, inflexible, preferential quotas - but we are committed supporters of the whole range of affirmative action, including the prudent use of goals and timetables."

Mr. Bookbinder pointed out that while no clear and complete definition had been offered of the term affirmative action, "it has come to stand for special efforts to help realize the goal of equal opportunity in employment."

Such efforts, he went on, have resulted in progress over the last 15 years that has found blacks in industries and professions where there were none before, with many "equal opportunity" employers and agencies making "at least some efforts" to open up their workplace to members of previously excluded groups.

On the other hand, Mr. Bookbinder went on, "we should feel today that progress has been sufficient." The shortcomings, he said, are because of "employers and agencies who simply

refuse to recognize the new, more just demands on them."

In some cases, he charged, court-ordered quotas have been ordered as "the remedy for documented, deliberate discrimination," and they have caused "serious, agonizing, acrimonious debates" and "much confusion over the entire affirmative action picture."

"There is much more to affirmative action than the ultimate use of quotas in court-ordered remedies, whatever the court's final action may be," he asserted.

Saying that "we must put new determination and adequate resources into every aspect of preparing members of historically excluded groups for recruitment and hiring in industries and areas which may open up for them" as "a challenge which would unite all groups concerned with an America truly committed to the dream so memorably articulated by Martin Luther King," Mr. Bookbinder urged these steps among what he called "the best efforts of both our governments at all levels, and of our private sector."

Special efforts that reflect the realities of "current family disarray," along with the epidemic of teen-age pregnancies, the drug culture, the feminization of poverty,

"A hard look at our present education, training, and retraining programs both public and private;

"An evaluation of current recruiting, selection, and testing methods;

"The best possible understanding" of developing labor market needs in a high-tech era.

But, Mr. Bookbinder concluded, we need a new look at "the whole challenge of affirmative action." "It will require a commitment and an allocation of resources - to both the public and private sectors - to match some of the greatest commitments of the past," he said.

The American Jewish Committee is the country's premier Jewish relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

The Cincinnati Herald

February 1, 1986

(p.4)

The Cincinnati Herald

## A. J. C. Comments On Recent Court Ruling

NEW YORK, May 20 ... The American Jewish Committee said today that yesterday's Supreme Court decision on affirmative action "appeared to satisfy the major claims of moderates on both sides of the issue" because the decision held that reverse discrimination against whites was not permissible but that maintaining exclusionary patterns against historically oppressed minority groups was also wrong.

In a statement issued by Theodore Edensoff, AJC national president, and Irving M. Levine, director of the agency's national affairs department, the committee cautioned, however, that it was "awaiting further decisions on two outstanding affirmative action plans with the hope that even greater clarity will emerge." "Since the New York Sheet Metal case and the Cleveland Firefighters case will probably be decided some time in July, it is quite possible that these three cases, taken as a whole, may finally make sense out of a vital issue that for two long has divided our society."

The statement said also that "it is our preliminary opinion that Justice Powell's majority position and Justice O'Connor's concurrence show that there is indeed a Supreme Court consensus that is in conformity with the American Jewish Committee's long-standing policy on affirmative action."

"These positions, which the court appeared to uphold yesterday, approve of the concept of affirmative action, accept racial diversity as a positive value, permit goals to be set in affirmative action plans, and reject the Justice Department's view that only victim-specific remedies are constitutionally acceptable. The Court's decision also shifts the burden of achieving diversity to the larger society rather than to innocent parties who might be forced to give up their jobs even when they have earned seniority."

The complete statement follows: "Yesterday's Supreme Court decision on affirmative action (*Wygant v. Jackson Board of Education*), which clearly divided the court, appears to favor carefully drawn affirmative action plans that reduce the risk of serious injury to the interests of non-minorities, but that allow for the establishment of goals for greater minority participation in situations where patterns of past

discrimination are provable. This may have historic consequences.

"Even though the majority struck down the Jackson school plan on grounds relating to the particular circumstances of that jurisdiction, they did establish some important principles in this decision. We await further decisions on two outstanding affirmative action plans with the hope that even greater clarity will emerge.

"It is our preliminary opinion that Justice Powell's majority position and Justice O'Connor's concurrence show that there is indeed a Supreme Court consensus that is in conformity with the American Jewish Committee's long-standing policy on affirmative action. These positions, which the court appeared to uphold yesterday, approve of the concept of affirmative action, accept racial diversity as a positive value, permit goals to be set in affirmative action plans, and reject the Justice Department's view that only victim-specific remedies are constitutionally acceptable. The Court's decision also shifts the burden of achieving diversity to the larger society rather than to innocent parties who might be forced to give up their jobs even when they have earned seniority.

"In this sense, it appears that the court satisfied the major claims of the moderates on both sides of the issue. It has upheld the principle that reverse discrimination against whites is impermissible, but so is it wrong, the Court said, to maintain patterns of exclusion against historically oppressed minority groups.

"The Supreme Court has said that within carefully drawn frameworks, affirmative action is proper and necessary. Since the New York Sheet Metal Case and the Cleveland Firefighters Case will probably be decided sometime in July, it is quite possible that these three cases, taken as a whole, may finally make sense out of a vital issue that for too long has divided our society."

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

May 31, 1986

(p.4)



ENDNOTES

Introduction

1. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, p. 19.
2. Jacob R. Marcus, The Colonial American Jew: 1492-1776, II, p. 700.
3. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, p. 23.
4. Jacob R. Marcus, The Colonial American Jew: 1492-1776, II, p. 701.
5. Ibid., p. 703.
6. Sherman Labovitz, "Attitudes Toward Blacks Among Jews: Historical Antecedents and Current Concerns," Ph.D. diss., p. 9.
7. Jacob R. Marcus, The Colonial American Jew: 1492-1776, II, p. 704.
8. Ibid., pp. 704-405.
9. Ibid., p. 825.
10. Ibid., p. 704.
11. Bertram W. Korn, Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South: 1789-1865, pp. 31-32.
12. Ibid., p. 59.
13. Jonathan D. Sarna, Jacksonian Jew, pp. 108-109.
14. Bertram W. Korn, Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South: 1789-1865, pp. 13-14.
15. Ibid., p. 14.
16. Ibid., p. 43.
17. Ibid., p. 47.
18. Ibid., p. 32.
19. Ibid., p. 64.
20. Kate E.R. Pickard, The Kidnapped and the Ransomed, pp. 265-266.
21. Bertram W. Korn, Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South: 1789-1865, pp. 34.

22. Ibid., p. 28.
23. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, pp. 24-25.
24. Ibid., p. 25.
25. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
26. Sherman Labovitz, "Attitudes Toward Blacks Among Jews: Historical Antecedents and Current Concerns," Ph.D. diss., pp. 10-11.
27. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, pp. 29-30.
28. Arnold Shankman, Ambivalent Friends: Afro-Americans View the Immigrant, p. 115.
29. Ibid., pp. 117-118.
30. Ibid., p. 123.
31. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, p. 11.
32. Philip S. Foner, "Black-Jewish Relations in the Opening Years of the Twentieth Century," Phylon XXXVI, no. 4 (Winter 1975), pp. 362-363.
33. Ibid., p. 360.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., p. 361.
36. Ibid., p. 363.
37. Ibid., pp. 363-364.
38. Ibid., p. 364.
39. Abraham J. Peck, "That Other 'Peculiar Institution': Jews and Judaism in the Nineteenth Century South," Modern Judaism VII, no. 1 (February 1987), pp. 104-105.
40. Steven Bloom, "Interactions Between Blacks and Jews in New York City, 1900-1930, As Reflected in the Black Press," Ph.D. diss., pp. 59-61.
41. Ibid. Bloom contends that it was only after Frank's death that Johnson was able to admit the anti-Semitic climate in Atlanta.
42. Hasia Diner, In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915-1935, p. 15.

43. Steven Bloom, "Interactions Between Blacks and Jews in New York City, 1900-1930, As Reflected in the Black Press," Ph.D. diss., pp. 57-59.
44. Ibid., p. 62.
45. Arnold Shankman, Ambivalent Friends: Afro-Americans View the Immigrant, pp. 114-115.
46. Ibid., p. 115.
47. Ibid., p. 121.
48. Ibid., p. 123.
49. Ibid., pp. 121-122.
50. Ibid., p. 122.
51. Ibid., p. 126.
52. Ibid., p. 130.
53. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, p. 33.  
see also Hasia Diner, In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915-1935, p. 98.
54. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, p. 33.
55. Negro-Jewish Relations in the United States: Papers and Proceedings of a Conference Convened by the Conference on Jewish Social Studies in New York City, pp. 3-4.
56. Ibid., p. 4.
57. David G. Singer, "An Uneasy Alliance: Jews and Blacks in the United States, 1945-1953," Contemporary Jewry IV, no. 2(Spring-Summer 1978), pp. 45-46.
58. Ibid., p. 40.
59. Lenora E. Berson, The Negroes and the Jews, p. 98.
60. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, p. 134.
61. Allen Krause, "The Southern Rabbi and Civil Rights," Rabbinic Ordination thesis, p. 178.
62. Ibid., p. 179.
63. Isabel B. Price, "Black Response to anti-Semitism: Negroes and Jews in New York, 1880 to World War II," Ph.D. diss.,

p. 50.

64. Philip S. Foner, "Black-Jewish Relations in the Opening Years of the Twentieth Century," Phylon XXXVI, no. 4 (Winter 1975), pp. 360-361.

65. Joseph R. Washington Jr., ed., Jews in Black Perspectives: A Dialogue, p. 89.

66. Hasia Diner, In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915-1935, p. 71.

67. Ibid.

68. see also David J. Hellwig, "Black Images of Jews from Reconstruction to Depression," Societas VIII (Summer 1978), p. 213. and Isabel B. Price, "Black Response to anti-Semitism: Negroes and Jews in New York, 1880 to World War II," Ph.D. diss., p. 262. on subject of Black-Jewish expectations arising out of common experience of suffering.

69. Isabel B. Price, "Black Response to anti-Semitism: Negroes and Jews in New York, 1880 to World War II," Ph.D. diss., pp. 140-141.

70. Ibid., p. 142.

71. Ibid. p. 143. see also Marvin Weitz, "Black Attitudes to Jews in the United States From World War II to 1976," Ph.D. diss., pp. 37-40.

72. Marvin Weitz, "Black Attitudes to Jews in the United States From World War II to 1976," Ph.D. diss., pp. 38-39.

73. Isabel B. Price, "Black Response to anti-Semitism: Negroes and Jews in New York, 1880 to World War II," Ph.D. diss., pp. 75, 87-88.

74. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, p. 45. see also Isabel B. Price, "Black Response to anti-Semitism: Negroes and Jews in New York, 1880 to World War II," Ph.D. diss., pp. 207-208, 269.

75. Isabel B. Price, "Black Response to anti-Semitism: Negroes and Jews in New York, 1880 to World War II," Ph.D. diss., p. 209.

76. Murray Friedman, and Carolyn Beck, "Blacks and Jews in Philadelphia, 1940-1985," In Philadelphia Jewish Life, 1940-1985, ed. M. Friedman, p. 144. see also Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, pp. 46-51.

77. Isabel B. Price, "Black Response to anti-Semitism: Negroes and Jews in New York, 1880 to World War II," Ph.D. diss.,

p. 255.

78. Ibid., p. 259.

79. Ibid., p. 170.

80. Murray Friedman, and Carolyn Beck, "Blacks and Jews in Philadelphia, 1940-1985," In Philadelphia Jewish Life, 1940-1985, ed. M. Friedman, p. 144-146.

81. Lenora E. Berson, The Negroes and the Jews, p. 96.

82. Murray Friedman, and Carolyn Beck, "Blacks and Jews in Philadelphia, 1940-1985," In Philadelphia Jewish Life, 1940-1985, ed. M. Friedman, p. 147.

83. David G. Singer, "An Uneasy Alliance: Jews and Blacks in the United States, 1945-1953," Contemporary Jewry IV, no. 2(Spring-Summer 1978), pp. 35, 39. see also Isabel B. Price, "Black Response to anti-Semitism: Negroes and Jews in New York, 1880 to World War II," Ph.D. diss., pp. 319, 350-351. For two responses to the issue of Jewish exploitation of African-Americans see also Leonard Dinnerstein, "The Origins of Black Anti-Semitism in America," American Jewish Archives XXXVIII (November 1986), pp. 115-116. and Steven J. Whitfield, "A Critique of Leonard Dinnerstein's 'The Origins of Black Anti-Semitism in America,'" American Jewish Archives XXXVIII (November 1987), pp. 195-197.

84. Henry Cohen, Justice, Justice, p. 19. see also Irving Spiegel, "Dr. King's Plea Moves 17 Rabbis to Join in St. Augustine Protest," The New York Times, June 18, 1964, p. 25.

85. Marvin Weitz, "Black Attitudes to Jews in the United States From World War II to 1976," Ph.D. diss., pp. 111-112.

86. Ibid., p. 113.

87. Ibid., p. 114.

88. Ibid., p. 116.

89. Ibid., p. 115.

90. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Negroes, Jews, Israel, and Anti-Semitism," Jewish Currents, XXI, no. 1(January 1968), pp. 8-9.

91. David Lawsky, "Jackson Renounces Farrakhan Statements," The Baltimore Afro-American, July 7, 1984, p. 1.

92. "Black Muslim Leader Denounces Farrakhan," The Baltimore Jewish Times, July 13, 1984, p. 5.

93. David Lawsky, "Jackson Renounces Farrakhan Statements," The Baltimore Afro-American, July 7, 1984, p. 1.



94. Gary Rosenblatt, "Jewish Attitudes Towards Blacks," The Baltimore Jewish Times, December 19, 1980, p. 19.

95. Milton Friedman, "Can't You Accept A Black Man or An Arab to Be As Human As Jews?," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 13, 1968, p. 5.

96. Ibid.

97. Trude B. Feldman, "Exclusive Interview with Andrew Young," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 14, 1979, p. 12.

98. "Black Americans to Support Israel is Organized," The American Israelite, September 25, 1975, p. 1.

99. Andrew Baker, "Letters to the Afro: Misleading, Misinformed, Mr. Marable," The Baltimore Afro-American, February 22, 1986, p. 4.

100. Robert G. Weisbord and Richard Kazarian Jr., Israel in the Black American Perspective, p. 135.

101. Ethel Payne, "Behind the Scenes," The Baltimore Afro-American, January 9, 1982, p. 5.

102. Marjorie Parham, "Across My Desk," The Cincinnati Herald, December 24, 1983, p. 9.

103. "Jewish Group Says: Quotas - No: - Affirmative Action - Yes," The Cincinnati Herald, February 1, 1986, p. 4.

#### Chapter I. Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism

1. Marvin Weitz, "Black Attitudes to Jews in the United States From World War II to 1976," Ph.D. diss., p. 18.

2. Ibid.

3. Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, The New Anti-Semitism, p. 176.

4. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, pp. 125-126.

5. Hasia Diner, In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915-1935, p. 79.

6. Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, The New Anti-Semitism, p. 176.

7. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, pp. 125-126.

8. Hasia Diner, In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and

Blacks, 1915-1935, p. 71.

9. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, p. 105.

10. "Unified Negro Anti-Semitism Does Not Exist," The Baltimore Jewish Times, February 24, 1967, p. 3.

11. Robert E. Segal, "Looking Far Beyond Snick's Anti-Semitism," The American Israelite, September 28, 1967, p. 1.

12. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, p. 103.

13. Milton Friedman, "A Goal for Jews and Negroes," The Baltimore Jewish Times, February 23, 1968, pp. 6-7.

14. "Core Leader Says: Core No Anti-Semitic," The Cincinnati Herald, March 2, 1968, p. 2.

15. Marvin Weitz, "Black Attitudes to Jews in the United States From World War II to 1976," Ph.D. diss., pp. 161-162.

16. Arnold Forster and Benjamin R. Epstein, The New Anti-Semitism, pp. 49-50.

17. Milton Friedman, "Capitol Spotlight," The American Israelite, April 25, 1968, pp. 1, 17.

18. Marvin Weitz, "Black Attitudes to Jews in the United States From World War II to 1976," Ph.D. diss., p. 169.

19. "Are the Panthers Anti-Semitic?," The Cincinnati Herald, February 21, 1970, p. 1, 15.

20. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, pp. 90-91.

21. Ibid., p. 134.

22. "African American Teachers Association Rejects Charge of Anti-Semitism," The Baltimore Jewish Times, March 17, 1972, p. 4.

23. "Black, Jewish Ties," The Baltimore Afro-American, September 9, 1972, p. 4.

24. "Jewish Leader Hopeful: Kaplan Urges Closeness Between Blacks and Jews," The Baltimore Jewish Times, December 29, 1972, p. 14.

25. Marjorie Parham, "Across My Desk," The Cincinnati Herald, September 8, 1973, p. 6.

26. "The Status of Black Jews," The Baltimore Jewish Times, August 6, 1976, p. 22.



27. Georgia Ulmer, "Coretta Scott King Declares Blacks, Jews Natural Allies," The Cincinnati Herald, November 4, 1978, p. 5.
28. Marc Silver, "Blacks and Jews at UMBC," The Baltimore Jewish Times, May 26, 1978, pp. 44-47.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid.
31. Elsa C. Elkin, "Blacks and Jews," The Baltimore Jewish Times, August 31, 1979, p. 7.
32. Thomas C. McNeil, "Dayan Off Target," The Baltimore Afro-American, November 29, 1980, p. 4.
33. Gary Rosenblatt, "Jewish Attitudes Towards Blacks," The Baltimore Jewish Times, December 19, 1980, p. 18.
34. "Religious Leaders for Jesse," The Baltimore Afro-American, March 3, 1984, p. 1.
35. "Gibson Denounces Jackson's Slur," The Cincinnati Herald, March 24, 1984, p. 5.
36. Ethel Payne, "Behind the Scenes," The Baltimore Afro-American, May 5, 1984, p. 5.
37. David Lawsky, "Jackson Renounces Farrakhan Statements," The Baltimore Afro-American, July 7, 1984, p. 1.
38. "Black Muslim Leader Denounces Farrakhan," The Baltimore Jewish Times, July 13, 1984, p. 5.
39. "Coping with Louis Farrakhan," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 27, 1985, p. 30.
40. "Black Muslim Leader Denounces Farrakhan," The Baltimore Jewish Times, July 13, 1984, p. 5.
41. Edwin Black, "Black Hebrews Apologize for Anti-Semitism," The American Israelite, May 14, 1987, p. 5.
42. Robert G. Weisbord and Richard Kazarian Jr., Israel in the Black American Perspective, pp. 63-65.
43. "'60 Minutes Star: Mike Wallace Apologizes for Racial Remarks at College," The Cincinnati Herald, May 23, 1987, p. 2.
44. Robert E. Segal, "Looking Far Beyond Snick's Anti-Semitism," The American Israelite, September 28, 1967, p. 15.
45. Gary Rosenblatt, "Jewish Attitudes Towards Blacks,"

The Baltimore Jewish Times, December 19, 1980, p. 19.

46. David Lawsky, "Jackson Renounces Farrakhan Statements," The Baltimore Afro-American, July 7, 1984, pp. 1-2.

47. "Black Muslim Leader Denounces Farrakhan," The Baltimore Jewish Times, July 13, 1984, p. 5.

48. "Coping with Louis Farrakhan," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 27, 1985, p. 30.

49. Edwin Black, "Black Hebrews Apologize for Anti-Semitism," The American Israelite, May 14, 1987, p. 5.

50. "Unified Negro Anti-Semitism Does Not Exist," The Baltimore Jewish Times, February 24, 1967, p. 3.

51. Milton Friedman, "Capitol Spotlight," The American Israelite, April 25, 1968, pp. 1, 17.

52. "Core Leader Says: Core No Anti-Semitic," The Cincinnati Herald, March 2, 1968, p. 2. see also Martin Luther King, Jr., "Negroes, Jews, Israel, and Anti-Semitism," Jewish Currents, XXI, no. 1 (January 1968), p. 9.

53. "The Myth of Black Anti-Semitism," The Cincinnati Herald, December 14, 1968, p. 6. see also Ellen Willis, "The Myth of the Powerful Jew," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 14, 1979, p. 44.

54. Ellen Willis, "The Myth of the Powerful Jew," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 14, 1979, p. 46.

55. "Jewish Leader Hopeful: Kaplan Urges Closeness Between Blacks and Jews," The Baltimore Jewish Times, December 29, 1972, p. 14.

56. Gary Rosenblatt, "Jewish Attitudes Towards Blacks," The Baltimore Jewish Times, December 19, 1980, pp. 18-19, 24.

57. Marc Silver, "Blacks and Jews at UMBC," The Baltimore Jewish Times, May 26, 1978, p. 47.

## Chapter II. Black and Jewish Perspectives on Israel and the Middle East

1. Joseph R. Washington, Jr., ed., Jews in Black Perspectives: A Dialogue, p. 50. see also Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, pp. 85-86.

2. Robert G. Weisbord and Richard Kazarian Jr., Israel in the Black American Perspective, p. 19.

3. Ibid., p. 10.

4. Ibid., p. 12.
5. Ibid., p. 20.
6. Ibid., p. 22.
7. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, pp. 87-88.
8. Robert G. Weisbord and Richard Kazarian Jr., Israel in the Black American Perspective, p. 8.
9. Ibid., p. 31.
10. Robert G. Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew, p. 88.
11. Ibid.,
12. Roy Wilkins, "Israel's Time of Trial Also America's," The Baltimore Afro-American, June 24, 1967, p. 4.
13. Milton Friedman, "Can't You Accept A Black Man or An Arab to Be As Human As Jews?," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 13, 1968, p. 5.
14. Milton Friedman, "Capitol Spotlight," The American Israelite, January 8, 1970, p. 14.
15. Robert E. Segal, "Are Arabs Beautiful?," The American Israelite, April 1, 1971, p. 1.
16. "Black Caucus Stand on Israel Welcomed by Miller, AZF Head," The Baltimore Jewish Times, March 31, 1972, p. 3. see also "Black Convention Softens Resolution: Condemns Israel, but Would Not Destroy It," The Baltimore Jewish Times, April 14, 1972, p. 3.
17. Milton Friedman, "Can't You Accept A Black Man or An Arab to Be As Human As Jews?," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 13, 1968, p. 5.
18. Milton Friedman, "Capitol Spotlight," The American Israelite, January 8, 1970, p. 14.
19. "Black Caucus Stand on Israel Welcomed by Miller, AZF Head," The Baltimore Jewish Times, March 31, 1972, p. 3.
20. "News from the American Jewish Committee," The Cincinnati Herald, November 11, 1972, p. 6.
21. James S. Tinney, "Will Black Troops Have to Fight in Mid-East War?," The Baltimore Afro-American, November 3, 1973, p. 1.

22. "Blacks Rated on Jewish Hostility," The Cincinnati Herald, February 2, 1974, pp. 1, 11.
23. "Black Americans to Support Israel is Organized," The American Israelite, September 25, 1975, p. 1.
24. "Two Letters Tell A Story," The Cincinnati Herald, September 11, 1976, pp. 4, 10.
25. "AJC's Shocking Excuse," The Baltimore Afro-American, September 14-18, 1976, p. 4.
26. J. H. Gresham, "Sad Day at the UN Israel vs. Black Africa," The Cincinnati Herald, August 28, 1976, pp. 1, 2, 14. see also Marjorie Parham, "Across My Desk," The Cincinnati Herald, September 18, 1976, pp. 4, 11.
27. "Black Jewish Relations," The Baltimore Afro-American, September 14-18, 1976, p. 4. see also G. James Flemming, "Unfortunate: The Making of A Black-Jewish Rift," The Baltimore Afro-American, September 14-18, 1976, p. 16.
28. "...The AFRO," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 7, 1979, p. 6.
29. Bayard Rustin "Black Leader Speaks Out Against the PLO," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 7, 1979, pp. 32-33.
30. Trude B. Feldman, "Exclusive Interview with Andrew Young," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 14, 1979, pp. 10-12, and p. 14.
31. Robert E. Segal, "Black-Jewish Rift Hurts Peace Efforts," The American Israelite, September 27, 1979, p. 4.
32. "Israeli Bombing Raid An Embarrassment," The Baltimore Afro-American, June 27, 1981, p. 4.  
September 14-18, 1976, p. 4.
33. Ethel Payne, "Behind the Scenes," The Baltimore Afro-American, July 3, 1982, p. 5.
34. "Jackson Raps Democrats," The Baltimore Afro-American, July 17, 1982, p. 8.
35. Gus Savage, "An Independent View from Capitol Hill," The Cincinnati Herald, October 2, 1982, pp. 4-5.
36. Bayard Rustin, "The Vibrancy of Israel's Democracy," The Cincinnati Herald, October 16, 1982, p. 5.
37. John Jacob, "Israel Welcomes Ethiopian Jews," The Baltimore Afro-American, October 12, 1985, p. 5. see also Manning Marable, "Israel and Africa," The Baltimore Afro-American, February 1, 1986, p. 5.

38. Andrew Baker, "Letters to the Afro: Misleading, Misinformed, Mr. Marable," The Baltimore Afro-American, February 22, 1986, p. 4.

39. "Martin Luther King Day is Declared in Israel," The Cincinnati Herald, January 18, 1986, p. 5.

40. Edwin Black, "Farrakhan's Israel Connection," The Baltimore Jewish Times, February 21, 1986, pp. 30-32. see also Edwin Black, "Black Hebrews Must Struggle to Survive," American Israelite, May 21, 1987, p. A-5.

41. David Evanier, "Jewish Group Gives Update on Stokely Carmichael," The Cincinnati Herald, July 19, 1986, p. 12.

42. "Letter to Editor: Explaining Their Stance on Judaism as Opposed to Zionism," The Cincinnati Herald, January 17, 1987, p. 3.

43. David Evanier, "Jewish Group Gives Update on Stokely Carmichael," The Cincinnati Herald, July 19, 1986, p. 12.

44. Ibid.

45. James S. Tinney, "Will Black Troops Have to Fight in Mid-East War?," The Baltimore Afro-American, November 3, 1973, p. 1.

46. Edwin Black, "Farrakhan's Israel Connection," The Baltimore Jewish Times, February 21, 1986, pp. 31.

47. "Black Caucus Stand on Israel Welcomed by Miller, AZF Head," The Baltimore Jewish Times, March 31, 1972, p. 3.

48. Ibid.

49. Trude B. Feldman, "Exclusive Interview with Andrew Young," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 14, 1979, p. 11.

50. Manning Marable, "'Israel and Africa,'" The Baltimore Afro-American, February 1, 1986, p. 5.

51. Milton Friedman, "Can't You Accept A Black Man or An Arab to Be As Human As Jews?," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 13, 1968, p. 5. see also Milton Friedman, "Capitol Spotlight," The American Israelite, January 8, 1970, p. 14.

52. Robert E. Segal, "Are Arabs Beautiful?," The American Israelite, April 1, 1971, p. 1, 18.

53. "Black Americans to Support Israel is Organized," The American Israelite, September 25, 1975, p. 1. see also Bayard Rustin, "The Vibrancy of Israel's Democracy," The Cincinnati Herald, October 16, 1982, p. 5.



54. Bayard Rustin "Black Leader Speaks Out Against the PLO," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 7, 1979, pp. 32-33.
55. Trude B. Feldman, "Exclusive Interview with Andrew Young," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 14, 1979, pp. 10-11.
56. "Black Caucus Stand on Israel Welcomed by Miller, AZF Head," The Baltimore Jewish Times, March 31, 1972, p. 3.
57. "Black Convention Softens Resolution: Condemns Israel, but Would Not Destroy It," The Baltimore Jewish Times, April 14, 1972, p. 3.
58. Trude B. Feldman, "Exclusive Interview with Andrew Young," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 14, 1979, p. 12. see also Ethel Payne, "Behind the Scenes," The Baltimore Afro-American, July 3, 1982, p. 5.
59. Trude B. Feldman, "Exclusive Interview with Andrew Young," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 14, 1979, pp. 11-12.
60. Ibid.

### Chapter III. Quotas and Affirmative Action: A Common Concern

1. "'Extremist Attitudes' of Black Power Militants Aid Wallace and Imperil Job, Business Status of Jews, Speaker Says," The American Israelite, October 24, 1968, pp. 1, 4, and 17.
2. Robert E. Segal, "Moynihan Hurls A Bolt: Quotas Are Back With Us," The American Israelite, December 19, 1968, p. 1.
3. Ibid.
4. "Quotas--and Racism in Reverse," The American Israelite, May 11, 1972, p. 4.
5. "A Place for Firmness," The American Israelite, May 18, 1972, p. 4.
6. Robert E. Segal, "Open Season on Ethnic Quotas," The American Israelite, August 3, 1972, pp. 1, 12.
7. Ibid.
8. "Stokes Attacks Nixon, McGovern Stand Against Quota System," The Baltimore Jewish Times, September 8, 1972, p. 8.
9. "Quotas and Racism," The Baltimore Afro-American, September 16, 1972, p. 4.
10. Ibid.

11. Stanley N. Katz, "The Strange Birth and Unlikely History of Constitutional Equality," The Journal of American History, LXXV no. 3 (December 1988), 747-762.

12. "Racial Quotas," The Baltimore Jewish Times, March 29, 1974, p. 6.

13. Marjorie Parham, "Across My Desk," The Cincinnati Herald, May 25, 1974, p. 6.

14. "Racial Quotas," The Baltimore Jewish Times, March 29, 1974, p. 7.

15. Ibid., p. 8.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. "Racial Quotas," The Baltimore Jewish Times, March 29, 1974, p. 7. see also Robert E. Segal, "Taking Up the Bakke Case," The American Israelite, October 27, 1977, pp. 1, 4.

19. Roy Wilkins, "The Meaning of Bakke," The Baltimore Afro-American, November 12, 1977, p. 4.

20. "Blacks, Jews, Lawyers, Doctors and Others Unite to Oppose Bakke," The Cincinnati Herald, November 19, 1977, p. 2.

21. Ibid.

22. "ADL'S View on Quota Case," The Baltimore Jewish Times, June 17, 1977, p. 9.

23. Robert E. Segal, "Defunis to Bakke to Weber," The American Israelite, July 19, 1979, pp. 1, 4.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid.

26. Robert E. Segal, "Affirmative Action in the 1980s" The American Israelite, February 29, 1980, p. 4.

27. Ethel Payne, "Behind the Scenes," The Baltimore Afro-American, January 9, 1982, p. 5.

28. Marjorie Parham, "Across My Desk," The Cincinnati Herald, December 24, 1983, p. 4.

29. Ibid., p. 9.

30. "Jewish Group Says: Quotas - No: - Affirmative Action - Yes," The Cincinnati Herald, February 1, 1986, p. 4.



31. "'Extremist Attitudes' of Black Power Militants Aid Wallace and Imperil Job, Business Status of Jews, Speaker Says," American Israelite, October 24, 1968, pp. 1, 4.

32. "Alliance Jeopardized Between Blacks, Jews, Say Speakers," The American Israelite, November 28, 1974, p. 25.

33. Marjorie Parham, "Across My Desk," The Cincinnati Herald, December 10, 1977, p. 4.

34. "A.J.C. Comments on Recent Court Ruling," The Cincinnati Herald, May 31, 1986, p. 4.

35. Kenyan C. Burke, "Black-Jewish Relations," The Cincinnati Herald, December 3, 1977, p. 4.

36. "Jewish Group Supports Quotas," The Cincinnati Herald, February 1, 1975, p. 1.

37. Marjorie Parham, "Across My Desk," The Cincinnati Herald, March 9, 1974, p. 6. see also Marjorie Parham, "Across My Desk," The Cincinnati Herald, May 25, 1974, p. 6.

38. "Alliance Jeopardized Between Blacks, Jews, Say Speakers," The American Israelite, November 28, 1974, p. 25.

39. Kenyan C. Burke, "Black-Jewish Relations," The Cincinnati Herald, December 3, 1977, p. 10. see also Marjorie Parham, "Across My Desk," The Cincinnati Herald, December 10, 1977, p. 4.

40. Ronald M. Shapiro, "The Bakke Case: It's Not Really Blacks vs. Jews," The Baltimore Jewish Times, December 16, 1977, p. 8.

41. Ethel Payne, "Behind the Scenes," The Baltimore Afro-American, January 9, 1982, p. 5.

42. Marjorie Parham, "Across My Desk," The Cincinnati Herald, December 24, 1983, p. 4.

43. "A.J.C. Comments on Recent Court Ruling," The Cincinnati Herald, May 31, 1986, p. 4.

44. "Jewish Group Says: Quotas - No: - Affirmative Action - Yes," The Cincinnati Herald, February 1, 1986, p. 4.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

#### AFRICAN-AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS:

The Baltimore Afro-American, 1967-1987.

The Cincinnati Herald, 1967-1987.

#### JEWISH NEWSPAPERS:

The Baltimore Jewish Times, 1967-1987.

The American Israelite, 1967-1987.

### SECONDARY SOURCES

#### BOOKS

Berson, Lenora E. The Negroes and the Jews. New York: Random House, 1971.

Cohen, Henry. Justice, Justice. New York: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1968.

Diner, Hasia. In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915-1935. Contributions in American History Series, no. 59. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1977.

Forster, Arnold and Benjamin R. Epstein. The New Anti-Semitism. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1974.

Korn, Bertram W. Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South: 1789-1865. Elkins Park, Pennsylvania: Reform Congregation Keneseth Israel, 1961.

Marcus, Jacob R. The Colonial American Jew: 1492-1776. Vol. II. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1970.

Negro-Jewish Relations in the United States: Papers and Proceedings of a Conference Convened by the Conference on Jewish Social Studies in New York City. New York: Citadel Press, 1966.

Pickard, Kate E.R. The Kidnapped and the Ransomed. Syracuse: William T. Hamilton, 1856.

Rustin, Bayard. Down the Line. Chicago: Quadrangle, 1971.

Sarna, Jonathan D. Jacksonian Jew. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1981.

Shankman, Arnold. Ambivalent Friends: Afro-Americans View the Immigrant. Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies, no. 67. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982.

Washington, Joseph R., Jr., ed. Jews in Black Perspectives: A Dialogue. Cranbury: Associated University Presses, 1984.

Weisbord, Robert G. and Richard Kazarian Jr. Israel in the Black American Perspective. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985.

Weisbord, Robert G. and Arthur Stein. Bittersweet Encounter: The Afro-American and the American Jew. Westport: Negroe Universities Press, 1970.

#### DISSERTATIONS AND THESES

Bloom, Steven. "Interactions Between Blacks and Jews in New York City, 1900-1930, As Reflected in the Black Press." Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1973.

Krause, Allen. "The Southern Rabbi and Civil Rights." Rabbinic Ordination thesis, Hebrew Union College, 1967.

Labovitz, Sherman. "Attitudes Toward Blacks Among Jews: Historical Antecedents and Current Concerns." Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1972.

Price, Isabel, B. "Black Response to anti-Semitism: Negroes and Jews in New York, 1880 to World War II." Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1973.

Weitz, Marvin. "Black Attitudes to Jews in the United States From World War II to 1976." Ph.D. diss., Yeshiva University, 1977.

#### ARTICLES

Dinnerstein, Leonard. "Southern Jewry and the Desegregation Crisis, 1954-1970." American Jewish Historical Quarterly 62, no. 3 (1972-1973): 231-241.

---. "The Origins of Black Anti-Semitism in America." American Jewish Archives 38 (November 1986): 113-122.

Foner, Philip S. "Black-Jewish Relations in the Opening Years of the Twentieth Century." Phylon 36, no. 4 (Winter 1975): 359-367.

Friedman, Murray, and Carolyn Beck. "Blacks and Jews in Philadelphia, 1940-1985." In Philadelphia Jewish Life, 1940-1985. edited by M. Friedman. Ardmore: Seth Press, 1986.

- Hellwig, David J. "Black Images of Jews from Reconstruction to Depression." Societas 8(Summer 1978): 205-223.
- Katz, Stanley N. "The Strange Birth and Unlikely History of Constitutional Equality." The Journal of American History 75, no. 3(December 1988): 747-762.
- King, Rev. Martin Luther, Jr. "Negroes, Jews, Israel, and Anti-Semitism." Jewish Currents 21, no. 1(January 1968): 7-9.
- Peck, Abraham J. "That Other 'Peculiar Institution': Jews and Judaism in the Nineteenth Century South." Modern Judaism 7, no. 1(February 1987): 99-114.
- Sarna, Jonathan D. "The 'Mythical Jew' and the 'Jew Next Door' in Nineteenth-Century America." In Anti-Semitism in American History, edited by David A. Gerber. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1986.
- Singer, David G. "An Uneasy Alliance: Jews and Blacks in the United States, 1945-1953." Contemporary Jewry 4, no. 2(Spring-Summer 1978): 35-50.
- Toll, W. "Pluralism and Moral Force in the Black-Jewish Dialogue." American Jewish History 77, no. 1(September 1987): 87-105.
- Whitfield, Steven J. "A Critique of Leonard Dinnerstein's 'The Origins of Black Anti-Semitism in America.'" American Jewish Archives 39(November 1987): 193-197.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHIES

- Davis, Lenwood G. Black-Jewish Relations in the United States, 1752-1984: A Selected Bibliography. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984.
- Publications Service of the American Jewish Committee. A Selected Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets, and Articles On: Negro-Jewish Relations. New York: Publications Service of the American Jewish Committee, 1971.