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Box 79, Folder 7, Black-Jewish relations, 1972-1979.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date November 17, 1972
to Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum
from Rabbi A. James Rudin
subject Meeting with Professor C. Eric Lincoln at Union Theological Seminary, November 14, 1972

Rabbis Tanenbaum and Rudin and Mr. Strober met with Professor C. Eric Lincoln at Union Theological Seminary on November 14, 1972. Professor Lincoln was most eager to co-sponsor a national conference on Black-Jewish relations. The conference will take place at Fiske University in Nashville, Tennessee, from June 10 through 14, 1973. (The precise length of the conference is subject to change.) Professor Lincoln stressed the need for such a meeting since there are many "misunderstandings and misconceptions" that have sprung up in both communities.

The proposed program is listed on the following page, and it was decided that Professor Lincoln would appoint several members from the black community to serve on the conference committee. Rabbi Tanenbaum, Rabbi Rudin and Mr. Strober will also serve on the conference committee. The committee will refine the theme further and will select speakers and participants. The over-all theme would be an intensive study of Black-Jewish relations beginning with the Biblical period, moving through the early American historical experience and culminating with the present state of Black-Jewish relations and specific proposals for the future.

Professor Lincoln wants "everything to be on the table" including the subjects of employment, quotas, affirmative action, the meaning of Israel, the impact of Islam on the black community and the meaning of the Third World for blacks and Jews. Both sides agreed that the conference should involve academicians, seminarians, graduate students and professional community leaders, i.e. Vernon Jordan, Roy Wilkins, Bayard Rustin, etc.

Professor Lincoln hoped that from this meeting would emerge a permanent Black-Jewish Institute that would systematically deal with the current issues that concern both communities. He lamented the fact that no such institute presently exists. He further hoped that such a conference would be the first step in overcoming some "romantic" notions held by some blacks vis-a-vis Islam.

It was finally agreed that Professor Lincoln would appoint the black conference committee members and then we would meet again to finalize the conference planning.

AJR:FM

cc: Judith Banki
Inge Gibel
Gerald Strober



BLACK-JEWISH CONFERENCE PROGRAM - FISKE UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE,
TENNESSEE - JUNE 10-14, 1973

1. Opening presentation - Professor C. Eric Lincoln
2. A Biblical and Historical view: a Black Perspective
Professor Charles Copher, Atlanta, Georgia, Interdenominational
Seminary Professor of Old Testament

A Biblical and Historical View: a Jewish Perspective
Possible speakers - Professor Cyrus Gordon, Brandeis University
Professor H. L. Ginsberg, Jewish Theological
Seminary

This would involve a discussion of the Jewish experience in Africa,
the Biblical period, Archeology, etc.
3. Black-Jewish Relations in early American History: A Black Per-
spective - speaker to be selected

Black-Jewish Relations in early American History: A Jewish Per-
spective
Possible speakers - Bertram Korn or Jacob Marcus

This would involve a discussion of the Colonial period and the
early republic up to the Civil War
4. The Post Civil War Period: a Black Perspective

The Post Civil War Period: a Jewish Perspective

Possible speaker - Harry Fleischman
5. The Post World War II Period: a Black Perspective

The Post World War II Period: a Jewish Perspective

Possible speaker - Meyer Weinberg

The Civil Rights struggle
6. The Issues Today: a Black Perspective

The Issues Today: a Jewish Perspective

Quotas, Affirmative Action, Israel, Islam, the Third World

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BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS

Commentary by Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, A.J. Committee

The most significant fact about the National Consultation on Black-Jewish Relations that was held at Fisk University on June 9 through June 12 in Nashville, Tennessee was that it was the first meeting of its kind since the close of the civil rights struggle at the end of the 1960s. Of course, there have been other meetings between blacks and Jews during that time usually devoted to discussing specific problems and issues, such as housing, jobs, education, quotas, etc. But the uniqueness of this consultation was that it sought to bring together a broad representation of black and Jewish academic figures and institutional leaders in an effort to explore systematically and with the equipment of scholarship virtually every aspect of black-Jewish relations.

Co-sponsored by the Department of Religious and Philosophical Studies of Fisk University and by the Interreligious Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee, and with Professor C. Eric Lincoln and myself serving as co-chairmen, the consultation examined in depth relationships between blacks and Jews from several vital perspectives - biblical, theological, historical, and contemporary sociological. On some levels, new ground was broken opening positive new insights for future understanding; on other levels, stale and ugly stereotypes surfaced, including an erratic expression of anti-Semitism, that demonstrated how far both communities have still to

go and to grow together. By the end of the meeting, enough sorting out of distortions and fears on both sides had taken place allowing for the close to be upbeat with both blacks and Jews searching for new ways to find common ground and to build a consensus to their mutual advantage.

In the section of the conference dealing with Biblical studies, Jewish scholars of the stature of Dr. William Braude of Providence, Rhode Island, and Dr. Lou Silberman of Vanderbilt University, Nashville, made telling presentations based on Rabbinic exegesis on the Bible that literally removed the poison from the classic fundamentalist argument that blacks suffer under the curse of Ham and Canaan. Both Jewish scholars demonstrated that Rabbinic texts do not speak of Hamites or Cushites as a class to be deprecated, but that in fact Jewish sources associate these terms with "beauty, character, purity of heart, belovedness, and valor." As I tried to indicate in my summary statement, if black scholars, together with white Christian and Jewish authorities, were to pursue seriously this new trend of thought, such studies could lift from the back of black people, especially in the South, the burden of contempt that the studies that undercut the Christ-killer charge at Vatican Council II removed as a source of hatred for Jews.

On a theological level, Dr. James Cone of Union Theological Seminary, presented a paper on black theology that demonstrated the fundamental kinship between black religion that centers on the Exodus and Liberation Theology and the Jewish religion which rests centrally on the Exodus theme. Further joint studies between black and Jewish

theologians, as was proposed, could advance this work as a strong common bond between blacks and Jews throughout the nation.

The historical studies on the role of blacks and Jews in the slavery period became very sticky, and demonstrated how great is the need for both black and Jewish historians in writing together a history of that period. One Jewish historian tended to idealize that period implying that Jews played virtually no role in slavery, while one black scholar suggested, in a kind of black version of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion that Jews were almost completely responsible for the slave trade. Both were obvious distortions, and after lengthy discussion, both black and Jewish scholars agreed on the need for more serious, balanced and fair-minded writing of that period.

On the contemporary social action level, there was much that was troublesome and much that was constructive and hopeful. Stale stereotypes and images of blacks as criminals and Jews as exploiters were trotted out and then dismantled as blacks came to realize that Jews are still less racist than other whites, and that blacks are less anti-Semitic than many whites. Both blacks and Jews realized that no two groups have had their humanity attacked as violently as they had. They also realized that while their agenda is not the same their dream for justice, dignity and defeat of oppressors is the same.

They also began to come to terms with the fact that propaganda must not be allowed to obscure the reality than both Israel and

black African nations are have-not-nations, both of which desperately need American aid if they are to survive the oil crisis. And to move America to meet those great human needs of vulnerable and in many cases starving people in Israel and in Africa, blacks and Jews have important work to do together in this country.



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The question that Professor Copher has posed is that of the presence of black people in the biblical world. The answer to that question is offered on several levels drawing evidence from a number of scientific and scholarly disciplines and the answer is an unequivocal yea. My own very clear personal inclination is to acquiesce to Professor Copher's affirmation and to sit down; but my obligation as a scholar inhibits this and that not merely because when you put a scholar in front of an audience he talks whether he has something significant to say or not, but because while joining in with the assertion that there was a black presence in the biblical world, I find myself raising very real objections to the evidence or some of the evidence brought forth, to the way in which it is marshalled and to some of the conclusions drawn from some of the evidence and from its development by Professor Copher.

My initial problem revolves around the exact focus of black in our context. We are told that "the evidences testify, according to American sociological definitions of Negro, ~~that~~ the ancient Egyptians were Negroes," and continuing: "...according to modern anthropological and ethnological definitions the ancient Egyptian population included a large percentage of so-called Negroes, possibly 25% as an average across the long period of time that was ancient Egyptian history." Again, in the paper "The Black Man in the Biblical World" we are told: "In the main, these [the problems involved in the answer to our question] have to do with definitions and the usage of words, such as race, black, Negro, as they are employed by Afro-Americans on one hand and Euro-Americans on the other." The writer continued: "It is to be noted that Afro-Americans

define black in several ways, both literal and figurative. Thus one may be literally black in color and be a black person, or Negro. Or the person may be of any shade of color and still be defined as Black, Negro. Additionally one may be defined as black regardless of color or race; all who suffer oppression, especially oppression at the hands of white Westerners, are classified as black." And still further: "Over against the Afro-American definitions are the definitions of the white man. These may be social, political, biological, and so on. In American black means Afro-American, Negro, but the precise definition may vary from state to state; or the definition may be set by the Federal Government. Nationally, anyone with a discernible trace of African Negro blood is black."

Now quite frankly I am offered too many definitions, too many variables, and I am not at all sure that most of these or any of these will turn out to be at all helpful in dealing with our question. However rhetorically valuable the figurative definition offered by Afro-Americans may be in talking about the present situation and even rallying support for political action in our day, it is totally irrelevant--no--it is totally confusing in the biblical situation. Being oppressed was endemic in the ancient world, so when the Israelites oppressed the Canaanites, the Canaanites were "black" by this definition, but when the Philistines oppressed the Israelites, the Israelites were black. When Asseria conquered and oppressed Egypt the Egyptians were "black"; when the neo-Babylonian Empire conquered and oppressed Assyria, Assyrians were "black." I do not mean to reduce this to an absurdity, merely to suggest the rhetoric is unhelpful in dealing with the situation we are discussing. And if the further modification "at the hands of white Westerners" is

introduced, the whole matter vanishes, for we are not discussing a world in which there are any "white Westerns" in the sense in which the definition seems to use the term. We are in an Afro-Asiatic world, in which there were few, if any, whites in the sense intended. Nor can we find much help in the white man's definition, if by white man one means contemporary sociologists, anthropologists and ethnologists. Let me indicate what I mean: Roland B. Dixon-- a Harvard anthropologist, wrote fifty years ago that the oldest strata in Africa are represented by the Mongoloid--that is rounded-headed (brachycephalic) low-skulled (chamaecephalic) broad-nosed (platyrrhine) and the proto-Australoid--that is long-headed (dolichocephalic) lowskulled (chamaecephalic) broad-noses (platyrrhine)-types. He also wrote: "If we turn to archaeological data, it appears that the Proto-Australoid type was by a small margin dominant in Egypt in Pre-Dynastic times and decreased largely later except for a temporary rise in the fifth dynasty and again in Ptolomaic times." I refer to this material not to suggest its superiority to another definition but again to indicate that I doubt it is of much help to us in our quest. Jeremiah said: *ha-yahaphokh cushi oro* הֲיִפְּוֹךְ כּוּשִׁי לְבָרָו --Can a Cushite change his skin?"--he did not comment on the possibility of changing skull-shape. ^{Skull measurements are a modern technique and cannot} What I am arguing is that we take a passage such as I have just read at its face value, its vulgar meaning--: in Jeremiah's time--and there is at least the possibility that the prophet is quoting a popular adage--a Cushite (LXX Ethiopian, i.e., Nubian) was defined by skin color. I do not think that it is possible to introduce a more sophisticated definition into the biblical situation. If that is the case then we are justified in

projected
back into the
biblical
world.

arguing that when someone is designated Cushi--we are confronting an individual perceived by simple visual appearance as black--that without any further refinement of racial stock. However, not every occurrence of Cushi--particularly as a proper name--may give us leave to claim the blackness of the individual so-called. Let me point to two instances. Professor Copher calls our attention to Jeremiah 36:14 where we are introduced to a personage Yehudi, who is sent by the Judean princes to summon Baruch, Jeremiah's scribe. His genealogy is provided: he is בן נתניהו בן שלמיהו בן כוש--the son of Nethaniah, the son of Shelemiah, the son of Cushi--while it is altogether possible that Cushi is no more than a proper name--without any specific reference to origin--(like the name Melanie often borne by blonde, blue-eyed young ladies who are entirely unaware that its Greek root $\mu\sigma\lambda\acute{\iota}\varsigma$ means black);--or it could be a proper name referring to a physical characteristic--i.e., a very swarthy (swart in O.E. means dark) child, or it could be since this is the only genealogic claim in this passage that reports the name of three previous generations, a reference to descent: Yehudi is the descendant in the fourth generation of a Cushite--a bit of evidence supporting Professor Copher's claim. How to choose among these several possibilities is by no means evident. However, in another instance, the genealogy of the prophet Zephaniah, this latter suggestion does not seem to hold. Cushi there seems to be a proper name coming as it does at the end of a four member genealogical chain all the names in it being theophorous. Yet it is quite possible that the name Cushi here could refer to the individual's parenthood on his mother's side--i.e., his father Gedalyah had married a Cushite woman--hence

the child was called Cushite because of his physical appearance-- this is, however, the veriest speculation--or it could be just a name. At this point I hope Professor Copher will not find me over-critical when I suggest that my reading of the several commentaries to which he refers does not ^{entirely} agree with his footnote in which he says that some of the commentators identify the prophet as Negro. More than that, the matter of the Hezekiah mentioned as perhaps being a reference to the Judean king is a conjecture and given the complete uncertainty of the whole matter I find it difficult to acquiesce to Professor Copher's assumption that Zephaniah was a black Judean and that his ancestry included King Hezekiah. Blacks were among the population and black blood flowed in the veins of Judah's kings." It remains a possibility but on the basis of the evidence a very remote one.

Now let me turn to a wider perspective. Professor Copher in his paper "The Black Man in the Biblical World" has amassed a wealth of evidence pointing to the wide-spread presence of blacks in ancient Egypt. I do not intend to dispute his findings--All that I have read,, indicates the correctness of his position. But I would add my previous warning, namely that the awareness of blacks was, I think, totally unrelated to criteria other than quite apparent and evident physical characteristics--however one describes them, but I think I must insist that skin color was undoubtedly first and foremost. Now the Israelite and Judean kingdoms had much to do with Egypt so it is quite beyond question that in that constant interaction in so far as population movements, etc., are concerned--the presence of and interrelation of Israelites

with blacks be denied. What exactly was the scope of that inter-relation we are in no position to know.

But unfortunately, it seems to me, Professor Copher is ready to make wider claims than the evidence allows. The way in which he reads and interprets chapter ten of Genesis is open, it seems to me to serious challenge; his easy equation of Egyptian with black, that is related to that interpretation cannot be maintained on his own evidence. The presence of a Negroid element or of blacks even in considerable number in the general Egyptian population does not transform that population into a black population in any sense meaningful in the ancient world.

Let me put this as succinctly as I can. In chapter 9 of Genesis we are told of Noah's three sons--one of them is Ham. According to the text, Ham committed some sort of offense against his father, but strangely enough, not Ham but another individual, Canaan, is cursed. We have already been informed that he is the son of Ham--indeed it is clear from 9:18 that Canaan, not Ham, is the center of interest. Later on we learn that he the youngest of four sons--and it is he and he alone who is punished for his father's offense. Another of the sons of Ham is Cush. He is not nor are his other brothers Put and Mizraim, the object of the curse. His descendants are listed as are those of Mizraim (Egypt) and Canaan--there is no reference to the descendants of Put (=Lybia?) Now how are we to understand this table of descent? racially? linguistically? geographically? Commentators have argued this indeterminably. One item is clear or so it seems: Whatever else is involved--these are geographic--they are all vis a vis Palestine--

south. Another item is clear, too--the inhabitants of Cush are identified--if we understand the passage from Jeremiah as I have suggested as black--but we cannot draw the conclusion that because the inhabitants of Cush are black every other group named is perceived as black; nor are we entitled on the basis of biblical evidence to assume that the father of Cush--and I doubt that we are to take father in the sense of physical begetter--Ham, is black--and that therefore all of the descendants of Ham--the Hamites of Professor Copher's paper--were perceived as black. The blackness of Ham is a later interpretation--that I assume Dr. Braude will deal with. What I am arguing is simply that Professor Copher, in order to challenge the claim--if such is really made--that there was no black presence within the biblical world--has gone to the opposite extreme of finding undefined blackness everywhere. The name Ham--so far as I know--did not in biblical times engender a gentile Hami that like Cushi made reference to skin color. Outside of the two chapters--Genesis and the repetition of the genealogy in I Chron. 1:8--he has no function in the biblical literature. But, as I have indicated, one can limit the referent to black presence to Cush, and still have an important and imposing black presence. Just consider the historical record: Cush--i.e. Nubia--that portion of the Nile Valley between the first and sixth Cataract--was absorbed into the Egyptian Empire as far as the second Cataract in the Middle Kingdom period and as far as the sixth by the New Kingdom Pharaohs. Around 1050 BCE when the New Kingdom disintegrated--Cush--thoroughly Egyptianized--regained its independence under a line of native rulers with its capital at Napata--that sequence of rulers remained unbroken until the third century BCE when the capital was moved

further south to Meroë. This branch of the Nubian kingdom continued until the fourth century CE when it was conquered by the ^XAumite kingdom of Abyssinia. That Nubian dynasty exercised sovereignty over Egypt during the 25th dynasty (715-633 BCE) but the conquest began earlier (c. 750 BCE). Of that dynasty, Taharka (690-644) ^{Tirhakah, II Kg. 18, 13 (f) and 19, 9.} or his brother and predecessor Shebitku was an important ally of Hezekiah (689-686 BCE) against Assyria. Which ever of the two it was--he symbolized for the biblical author the historical role of the entire Cushite-Nubian-Ethiopian dynasty and its resistance of Assyria. Although Egypt was invaded by Esarhadon in 671 and by Ashurbanipal in 667--forcing Tirhakah to withdraw to Nubia, Egyptian chronicles continue to consider him pharaoh until 666 BCE. Here is the clearest and most compelling evidence not for mere physical presence of blacks but of a significant role in the unfolding history of the ancient world--a presence and role that begins with the first mention of Cush in Egyptian inscriptions, c. 1970 BCE, and continues for 2200 years. I find that far more real, far more significant than the occurrence of Egyptian names that may have become completely deracinated among the Hebrews--evidence that is tenuous at best.

Now there is one further item that requires at least some attention and that is the question of what Professor Copher refers to as Asiatic Cush. Its putative existence depends almost entirely upon evidence--says Professor Copher--drawn from ancient Greek writers and modern historical works. His paper on "The Black Man in the Biblical World" deals only with Cush=Nubia. I have no idea of what that evidence is, but it seems to me the whole matter of

"Asiatic Cush" is highly speculative and again is based upon the genealogies of Gen.¹⁰. There we read in vv.8-12 an addition to the genealogy of the sons of Cush reported in v. 7:

And Cush--begot Nimrod: he was the first to be a mighty man on earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord; therefore it is said, 'Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the Lord.' And the beginning of his kingdom was Babylon, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh in the land of Shinar. From that land he went to Assyria, and built Nineveh, and Rehoboth-ir and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah; that is the great city.

It is, of course, quite possible to equate the Cush mentioned in v. 8 with that mentioned in v. 7 and thus argue the African origin of Mesopotamian civilization. Indeed, that is what Professor Copher says: "...blacks including Negroes...inhabited parts of Asia from the Indus River valley westwards into Elam-Persian, Mesopotamia, parts of Arabia, Phoenicia, Canaan, Crete and Greece." I must assume that this^{is} more than a reference to the descendants of Cush, it is a spelling out in detail of vv. 7-20 of Gen.¹⁰ and is making the claim that every reference to the descendants of Ham is a reference to blacks defined in some way not at all evident to me. If Ham is a racial term or at least a color indication, then all one can say is that according to Gen.¹⁰ the inhabitants of the regions just specified, are by definition "black." But as I have indicated, the blackness of Ham is read back from the observation of the blackness of Cush or the Cushites and I do not find this evidentiary. Something more is needed than the

extrapolation of these verses in the manner I have indicated. Thus for example, it is quite possible to analyse the Nimrod material in another fashion--without getting involved in the problem of sources. ^{apparently} V.7 refers to Cush and "his" descendants. There was [^]in existence a sound historical tradition that Babylonia was founded by or developed by a people bearing the name Kaš or Kaššū--these are the Kassites about whom we do know something from Babylonian chronicles. It is quite possible that our author--perhaps working with oral traditions--equated Cush=Nubia with Kaš or Kaššū, a people apparently from the Caucasus region, and conflated a tradition about Babylonian origins with that of the places of the nations. It seems to me that this evidence must be taken into consideration before we can claim an Asiatic Cush descending from Ham and therefore physically black, since we have argued that the blackness of the inhabitants of Cush=Nubia is taken to prove the physical blackness of Ham and all his descendants, a doubtful procedure.

At long last a concluding comment: It seems to me that we just cannot continue to be poshim al shte ha-se'upim "to hop back and forth from one branch to another." We have to move toward some more precise meaning of our terms. When Professor Copher writes: "...blacks including Negroes" I just don't know how to handle the material. My own perception of our question is that of the presence of people perceived as black, i.e., of a darker hue than my own presumed Asiatic ancestors who were doing the perceiving. I think that the introduction of the further qualification Negro as a scientific or quasi-scientific or pseudo-scientific term referring to other modes of definition, e.g. skull types, is in

the biblical context without value. All it does is becloud the issue. My suspicion is that when Heinisch-Heidt or Nartin Noth reject the presence of Negroes, they are caught up in the net of cranial measurements. But our question is not Brachycephalic Chamaecephalic, Platyrrhine, or Dolchicephalic, Chamaecephalic, Platyrrhine, or Dolchicephalic, Hypsicephalic, Platyrrhine, or Brachycephalic, Hypsicephalic, Platyrrhine; our question is, were there people perceived by their contemporaries as black, i.e., darker than their own far from "pinkish "white" color? To that question, the answer cannot be but, yes--most certainly. And ^{AS} to the role they played in the history of the ancient world we need turn only to the 2200 year history of Cush. But to the proposition that the genealogy of Ham in Gen. ¹⁰ provides us with the specifications of the geographic distribution of blacks and allows us to make any statement whatsoever about their role in Mesopotamia or the Indus Valley or Elam-Persia--~~finding~~ ^{finding,} at the moment, the kind of evidence available for Nubia, I must end by quoting the Talmudic warning: taphasta merubbah lo taphasta

"If you grasp hold of too much, your grasp fails!"

Blacks and Jews in Historic Interaction:
The Biblical-African Experience

As an historian, I find myself in a quandry. I have been asked to discuss the biblical-African experience at a colloquium on Black-Jewish relations as though it had some meaning for the contemporary issues that have brought us together. Such meaning, however, is not easily discerned in the historical record. There were, to be sure, connections and inter-relationships between the Israelites and Africa. (Abraham sojourned in Egypt; Joseph ruled in Egypt; the Israelites were first settlers and then slaves in Egypt. Likewise the people of Israel wandered about in the wilderness of Sinai for forty years under the leadership of Moses who had, according to biblical tradition, been reared and nurtured in Egypt, and who gave the people the Tablets of the Law on Sinai's mount. And then there was Solomon's marriage to an Egyptian princess along with his acquiescence in building a throne for Egyptian deities, and his lavish hospitality to the Queen of Sheba. There were also efforts to align with Egypt against the Babylonian menace.) But how much vital meaning can be drained from such bare bones without recourse to homiletical ingenuity?

The biblical-African experience thus does not lend itself to a facile transfer from the ancient Near East and Northern Africa, to a contemporary forum of Blacks and Jews. The chasm is far too wide to be bridged by a few biblical mementos, because it is not a chasm carved out by time but a chasm carved out by structure. The biblical experience was within the parameters of a pre-industrial society while our contemporary experiences as Jews and

Blacks are taking place within the world's first post-industrial society-- a society grappling not only with the problems of a novel stage of economic, social, political and human development, but with all those stark, unresolved problems of the age of imperialism: economic underdevelopment, political turmoil, and ravished identities.

~~My quandry as an historian is thus clear. Is there some way of filtering out the biblical experience elements which are neither time-bound nor structure-bound or is this possible only by manipulative distortion of the extant sources?~~ It was only after I had mulled over this question for many hours that I discerned that there might indeed be a way. If one focused on the biblical experience as a sequence of effective problem-solving systems, then one might indeed elicit some principles which are as applicable in a post-industrial society as they were in the pre-industrial society of biblical days.

II

The Bible is no simple record, because Israel's history was no simple history. The Bible is a vast repository of highly contradictory, highly conflictive, and highly confusing materials, since it is the distillation of Israel's extremely complex interaction with the civilizations of the ancient Near East. This interaction, complex enough in its own right, was further compounded by the major structural transformations which radically altered what Israel herself was at any given moment. The Patriarchs interacted with the civilizations and cultures of their day as tribal chieftains sojourning

in the land of Canaan, while centuries later their descendents were desperately striving to maintain their territorial independence in the face of massive imperial onslaughts. No less stark is the contrast between the Israelites who wandered in the wilderness and the Israelites who reconstituted a community in Judea after years of exile and under the auspices of the Persian emperors. Little wonder, then, that experiences so varied and so complex yielded a cornucopia of diverse and frequently incompatible law, lore, and dicta--all equally bearing a biblical imprimatur.

How, then, is one to thread his way through this maze and, without distinction, come up with the biblical view of anything--much less the biblical teaching on Black-Jewish relationships? Surely not by citing the beautiful prophecy attributed to Isaiah:

"In that day there will be a highway from Egypt to Assyria, and the Assyrian will come into Egypt and the Egyptian into Assyria, and the Egyptians will worship with the Assyrians.

"In that day Israel will be the third with Egypt and Assyria a blessing in the midst of the earth; whom the Lord of hosts has blessed, saying

"Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel my heritage."

Isaiah 19: 24-25 *

* Cf. also Amos 9: 7-8:

"Are you not like the Ethiopians to me
O people of Israel?" says the Lord
Did I not bring up Israel from the land of Egypt
And the Philistines from Caphtor
and the Syrians from Kir?

but suppressing the violent vision likewise attributed to Isaiah (19: 1-10):

"See how the Lord comes riding swiftly upon a cloud,
 he shall descend upon Egypt;
 the idols of Egypt quail before him,
 Egypt's courage melts within her.
 I will set Egyptian against Egyptian,
 and they shall fight one against another,
 neighbour against neighbour,
 city against city and kingdom against kingdom.
 Egypt's spirit shall sink within her,
 and I will throw her counsels into confusion.
 They may resort to idols and oracle-mongers,
 to ghosts and spirits,
 but I will hand Egypt over to a hard master,
 and a cruel king shall rule over them.
 This is the very word of the Lord, the Lord of Hosts.

"The waters of the Nile shall drain away,
 the river shall be parched and run dry;
 its channels shall stink,
 the streams of Egypt shall be parched and dry up;
 reeds and rushes shall wither away;
 the lotus too beside the Nile
 and all that is sown along the Nile shall dry up,
 shall be blown away and vanish.
 The fishermen shall groan and lament,
 all who cast their hooks into the Nile
 and those who spread nets on the water shall
 lose heart.
 The flax-dressers shall hang their heads,
 the women carding and the weavers shall grow pale,
 Egypt's spinners shall be downcast,
 and all her artisans sick at heart."

"Behold the eyes of the Lord God are upon the
 sinful kingdom,
 And I will destroy it from the ground;
 Except that I will not utterly destroy the
 house of Jacob, says the Lord."

and Deuteronomy 23: 7b:

"You shall not abhor an Egyptian, because you were
 a sojourner in his land. The children of the third generation
 that are born to them may enter the assembly of the Lord."

Rather must we look to a method which acknowledges and even points out these contradictions but, at the same time, reveals the operation of principles which not only account for the contradictions but transcend them.

Such a method begins with the assumption that biblical Israel refracts a sequence of structures, each one of which was the outcome of an effective solution to a cluster of problems with which the previous structure was no longer able to cope. The leadership elites in each structure, in turn, grappled with ongoing problems in their own unique way, processing both internal and external stimuli in such a way as to sustain and preserve the integrity of the structure which allocated decision-making powers to them. Thus an identical problem would be resolved quite differently if the structure was a semi-nomadic one led by Patriarchs or an agricultural-urban one governed by a coalition of kings, prophets and priests. Yet, insofar as the Biblical record is concerned, each structure and each leadership elite is accorded sacred status if they were believed to have functioned in accordance with Yahweh's will. Such a benchmark accounts for the equanimity with which the Bible juxtaposes incompatible structures and mutually exclusive leadership elites, most blatantly in the account of the wilderness wanderings recorded in the books of Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy.

As an historian, therefore, one must first unravel the structures, align the structures with the appropriate decision-making elites, and then interconnect the structures in a sequence from the earliest structure which functioned during the Patriarchal Age to the final structure which functioned under the Aaronide priests sometime after 445 or so B.C.E.. Having separated

the structures and having interlinked them sequentially, he is in a position to determine the internal and external problems that each of these structures and their leadership elites faced; the manner in which these problems were grappled; the degree of success or failure that followed on their problem-solving efforts; and the alternative solutions that were offered by those who were dissatisfied in one way or another with the leadership elites and their mode of resolving the vital issues confronting the people.

Such a method yields the following structures in the order of their appearance and the leadership elites which were conjoined with them:

1. Semi-nomadic / Patriarchs / hereditary principle
2. Wilderness-nomadic / Charismatic / selective principle
3. Transitional (semi-nomadic to agricultural-urban /
charismatic / selective
4. Agricultural-urban / Prophetic (Samuel) / selective
5. Agricultural-urban / Monarchical / Prophetic / Priestly
hereditary / selective / hereditary
6. Agricultural-urban / Divided Kingdom / Monarchical-Priestly /
polytheistic / Prophetic-Priestly
7. Agricultural-urban / Divided Kingdom / Imperial challenge /
Monarchical / Prophetic / Priestly / independent Prophetic
polytheistic / Priestly-Prophetic
8. Agricultural-urban Exilic-post exilic till 445 B.C.E.:
Monarchical / Prophetic / Priestly / independent Prophetic
dissolution of polytheistic prophetic-priestly

9. Agricultural-urban Post exilic

Priestly (Aaronide) Pentateuch

dissolution of monarchical, priestly Levitical, prophetic

A glance at this table will quickly convey the point that I am making: the resolution of any problem during the biblical period depended on the way in which the leadership elites evaluated it as affecting the structure which sustained them, and the way in which other elements in the population reacted to the policies advocated by the decision-makers. Some concrete illustrations will confirm the truth of this generalization.

Problem: The Phillistines are threatening Israelite territory at a time when the prevailing structure is agricultural-urban and when the decisive leadership figure is a prophet, Samuel, selected by Yahweh to function as His spokesman. Samuel, however, lacks military know-how; the Ark as a military weapon has failed; the enemy is pressing. Solution: select a military leader, crown him king, but retain ultimate authority as Yahweh's spokesman should the newly crowned king seek to extend his power beyond the military sphere. Samuel selects Saul to be king and the people approve. Snag: Saul makes several policy decisions without Samuel's approval; e.g., he sacrifices an offering on his own authority when Samuel is delayed, and he decides to spare the King of Amalekites along with the women, children, and booty. Resolution: Samuel turns against Saul, anoints a rival king, David, with the hope that Saul's example will keep David in line. This hope was, by and large, fulfilled, since David was careful to remain on excellent terms with Samuel's successor,

Nathan. Indeed the latter succeeded in having Solomon rather than Adonijah declared king. Snag: Solomon pressed for royal absolutism by ignoring the prophets, elevating the priests, and sanctioning polytheistic shrines.

Reaction: Prophets split the kingdom by supporting Jeroboam against Solomon's son, Reheboam. Consequences: an ongoing leadership crisis as kings, prophets, priests, and polytheistic spokesmen jockeyed for power-- a leadership crisis which was not resolved until the promulgation of the Pentateuch around 445 B.C.E. and the take-over by the Aaronide priests.

This schema clearly reveals that the same kind of problem, namely, given the need for military-political leadership, how much power and authority should the king exercise vis-a-vis the prophets who laid claim to ultimate authority by virtue of their direct access to Yahweh? To reconfirm publicly this absolute claim, Samuel himself slew the king of the Amalekites and ordered the people to massacre the women, children, and cattle. To erode this claim, Solomon not only built a magnificent Temple to center attention on the priesthood but allowed polytheistic shrines to be built in Jerusalem. Indeed, the kings of the North again and again lent support to the prophets and priests of baal to undermine prophetic authority, while the kings of the south vacillated between working out a modus vivendi with the prophets and priests and giving sanction to polytheistic shrines.

Let us now consider another illustration. Problem: the Babylonians are threatening the Kingdom of Judah, what policies should be advocated. The structure is agricultural-urban; the leadership elites are at this time a coalition of the king, prophets, and priests. How is independence to be

maintained and the coalition sustain itself in power.

Proposed solution: Seek an alliance with Egypt and break with Babylonia. Such a policy was encouraged by the fact that Josiah's reformation had aligned the monarchy with Yahwist prophets and Yahwist priests against polytheism and had trumpeted the Temple in Jerusalem as Yahweh's divinely appointed residence.

Snag: Prophets, such as Jeremiah, would not go along with the coalition. He denounced any alliance with Egypt; advocated submission to Babylonia; and prophesied that if he was not heeded, Yahweh would have no compunction about destroying His house in Jerusalem. Since the coalitions spoke in Yahweh's name and Jeremiah spoke in Yahweh's name, how were the people to decide between them.

Resolution: Since effective decision-making was in the hands of the coalition, the Babylonians were resisted, the land was overrun, the Temple destroyed, and a godly segment of the population was taken into exile.

Here again we see that the evaluation of Egypt vis-a-vis Babylonia was dependent on the way in which the leadership elites calculated their chances for preserving their independence and the continuity of their leadership roles, and on the way in which other prestigious leaders reacted to the coalition in power and the wisdom of their decisions.

Now let us consider a somewhat different set of examples:

Problem: How can Israel and Judah preserve their independence in the face of imperial powers on the magnitude of Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia.

Projected solution: Fight back, since Yahweh will not abandon His people.

Outcome: Israel overwhelmed in 721 by the Assyrians; its capital Samaria is laid waste; the people are taken off into exile, scattered, and to all intents and purposes are lost.

Judah overrun by Babylonians, Jerusalem destroyed, the Temple burnt, and many carried off to Babylonia.

Evaluation: The projected solution was a failure because it was impossible for such minuscule nations to retain independence in the face of coercive power of such magnitude.

Alternative solution: Abandon illusion that independence is possible and seek out a modus vivendi with the imperial power which will preserve autonomy but forego coercive sovereignty.

Prerequisites for such a solution:

(1) Imperial policies favoring autonomy without coercive sovereignty as an effective mode of governing a wide-spread empire.

(2) Dissolution of leadership elites with a vital stake in preserving some degree of coercive sovereignty, in this instance primarily kingship.

(3) Dissolution of leadership elites with shifting goals and objects, in this instance prophecy.

(4) Centralization of autonomous power in elites who have little or nothing to gain from coercive sovereignty, but who are likely to flourish in a framework of religious and cultural autonomy, in this instance priesthood.

Realization:

(1) Persian imperial policy favored priestly systems enjoying religious and cultural autonomy, but deprived of coercive sovereignty.

(2) A priestly class, the Aaronides, willing to collaborate with Persian emperors in setting up a system of priestly absolutism with a concomitant phasing out of kingship and prophecy.

(3) The promulgation of the Pentateuch which accorded this priestly class absolute authority over an unmutable Law which could be challenged only on pain of death.

(4) This take-over was justified on the grounds that it was simply a restoration of the system that had operated in the wilderness with the full blessing of Yahweh and Moses.

(5) God's singular sovereignty was reaffirmed; His selection of Israel was reproclaimed; but the reconstituted community did not need coercive sovereignty to function as a kingdom of priests and a holy nation.

Evaluation:

The priestly solution proved to be an optimal one. The Aaronide priests exercised hegemony for more than two hundred years with only one major challenge, the Samaritan schism, which was resolved without civil war when the schismatics took off to Samaria and built their own temple there. They successfully maintained their religious and cultural autonomy under the Persians, under Alexander the Great, under the Ptolemies, and under Antiochus III. During their ascendancy, there was both economic

prosperity and spiritual and cultural creativity. This was the age in which most of the Psalms were composed; the book of Job written; and the pursuit of Wisdom encouraged. It was also under the aegis of the Aaronides that the Jewish community in Alexandria worked out an impressive fusion of the teachings of the Pentateuch with ripe fruits of Hellenistic civilization. To be stressed above all is that the lack of coercive sovereignty in no way affected the highly differentiated life style, belief system, and corpus of Law which were rooted in the Pentateuch and not in Persian life styles, belief systems, or legislation.

If, then, it is evident that problems and projected solutions were dependent on the particular and its particular structure and the decision-making elite or elites, in what sense can we speak of a single people Israel at all? The answer to this question is to be found in the paradoxical fact that each successive structure and each successive elite persisted in seeing the problem as a problem for the same deity Yahweh. With the exception of those kings who toyed with a polytheistic alternative, both the decision-making elites and those challenging them insisted that they were carrying out Yahweh's mandate. However mutually exclusive the assessment of the problem and the projected resolution, it was attached to the God of the Patriarchs. The self-same God validated all structures, all elites, all dissidents. And nowhere is this paradoxical validation more pronounced than in the book which became the revelation nonpareil, the Pentateuch. The thread that binds Israel's history is the thread of unity heeding not only divinity, but contraries and incompatibles.

III

Is, then, the upshot of this analysis to be that Israel's experience teaches that since any structure went, any structure goes? The answer to this question is both yes and no.

"Yes" because the record fully documents that structure displaced structure and ruling elite displaced ruling elite. "No" because of what I shall call the "spiritual surplus." By spiritual surplus I mean those values which were churned up by the problem-solving process but which at the time were inoperable, i.e., they were not realizable because there was no way that they could be implemented. This spiritual surplus became a repository of transcendent values continuously drawn upon to measure temporal structures, temporal elites, and temporal values and to nurture hope for that day when they might be realizable.

Let us look at how this spiritual surplus was created.

Problem: Since the awesome power of Assyria, Babylonia and Persia gave little hope for sustaining independence, was there some way out of this impasse.

Projected solution: "A time would come when peoples would beat their swords into plowshares and wage war no more."

Similarly, a time would come when Egypt, Assyria and Israel would all be equally God's chosen.

Another equivalent solution was that envisioned by the Second Isaiah: Israel would be a light unto the peoples, a beacon unto the nations, hence an object of affection, not hostility.

Evaluation: "An unrealizable solution since imperial and nation-state rivalries were not susceptible to dissolution nor are they yet fully susceptible.

Outcome: Spiritual surplus drawn upon through the ages to lament man's failure to solve his conflicts peacefully and to nourish dreams of eventual fulfillment at the end of days.

Another example.

Problem: The monarchical structures in Israel and Judah bred extreme economic and social inequities. These inequities were abetted even by Yahwistic priests and Yahwistic prophets.

Projected solution: Elimination of economic and social exploitation and elevation of social justice above cultic, liturgical, and ceremonial rectitude.

Evaluation: Economic and social equality was not a real possibility in pre-industrial societies. Slavery, for example, was recognized as a legitimate institution in the Pentateuch, and even in the Mishnah and Talmud, although the utilization of Jewish slaves seems to have been phased out during the period of Aaronide hegemony. At no time, it should be stressed, did color or race play any role.

As for social justice towering above institutionalized religious forms, the subsequent history of Judaism and Christianity reveals that such a hierarchy of religious values has never gotten very far.

Outcome: This spiritual surplus throughout the ages proved to be a wellspring of discontent, stirring reformers and revolutionists to criticize and to challenge established institutions for their callousness, their disregard for the plight of the masses, and their manipulation of sacred symbols and noble visions.

Perhaps the most vivid example of spiritual surplus is the first chapter of Genesis. Here, at the very beginning of the saga of Israel's odyssey is a proclamation that the one and only God created heaven and earth and not simply the land of Canaan. And He capped His creative activity with a single individual--male and female. He created them--shaped in His own image. An individual--not white, not black, not Jewish, not Christian, not pagan, not even exclusively man--"male and female He created them," and this single individual was charged with the care of God's creation.

This is spiritual surplus indeed. That God was one, the universe one, and the individual person one--with all the implications rooted in these notions--was not translatable into the real world of the ancient Near East any more than it was to be translatable in any of the real worlds that were to follow. Yet these notions are there, as a spiritual surplus which neither Jew nor Christian could ever totally surpress, however inoperable these notions proved to be. Standing pivoltally at the very beginning of the Pentateuch, these teachings cannot be bypassed--every Jew and Christian must read this chapter before he gets to Abraham, Moses, the people of Israel or the promised land:

The biblical record is thus clear: Although Israel's history reveals

itself to have been a sequence of differentiated structures, and a succession of leadership elites grappling with the problems of survival in very different ways, it nonetheless created spiritual surpluses which became a repository of transcendental values.

Among these values, three stand out for us:

- (1) Peace and harmony among nations;
- (2) Economic equity and social justice;
- (3) The precious worth of each individual man, woman, white, black, yellow, Jew, Christian, Buddhist, pagan.

IV

Does the biblical experience have any carry-over for this conference of Blacks and Jews? I would suggest that it has carry-over in two spheres.

Firstly, it compels us to focus on structures and leadership elites; for, no less than in biblical days, operational decisions are likely to follow from the perception of how concrete objectives can be most expeditiously attained, and not from elevated principles or noble words. And when we turn to the Black and Jewish worlds, we are struck by the fact that neither world displays a monolithic leadership or a monolithic leadership elite.

There are a bewildering array of structures and a bewildering array of leadership elites, since Blacks and Jews are spread widely throughout the world; are structured within highly contrasting economic, social and political systems, systems which themselves are situated on very different levels of the spiral of development; and are exposed to varying pressures of the winds of change. . . . Black interests, no more than Jewish interests, can escape the highly specific way in which problems are posed to them, depending on where they are and what they are and why they are. If, then, the biblical experience be paradigmatic, then leadership elites whether Black or Jewish will follow through on the objectives and goals which are dictated by the specific setting and by the perception of how within this setting such objectives and goals can be attained. Israelis defend their borders with arms; they counter terror with terror; they cling to their nationalism, lest a premature altruism leave them homeless and corrode their impressive achievements. Blacks, in turn, are not likely to remain passive in Rhodesia or Mozambique or South Africa--or for that matter anywhere in the world--so long as they see themselves barred from attaining those objectives which they visualize as both legitimate and attainable. The fact that such commitments frequently pit black against white, black against black, Jew against Arab, Jew against Jew, and nation against nation is as yet still as much a fact of life as it was when the Israelites conquered Canaan, fought off the Phillistines, rose in revolt against the house of David, and strove to maintain their independence in the face of Assyrian and Babylonian onslaughts. That these facts of life have tragic consequences is perhaps nowhere more vividly evident than in

the bitter struggle of Israel--one of the first fruits of national liberation from British imperialism--with liberated Egypt, Syria, and Iraq. Instead of a joint venture against the common foe, underdevelopment, a series of bloody confrontations.

But there is another carry-over from the biblical experience and that is the spiritual surplus of transcendent values which, as we have seen, were somehow pressed out of the facts of life. What bearing, if any, have these values for our contemporary situation?

You will recall that the spiritual surplus was that repository of biblical values which proved to be inoperable at the time and which have been inoperable since. These values were three:

1. Peace among nations.
2. Economic equity and social justice.
3. The unique worth of the individual person.

The historical record is hardly ambiguous with respect to the "transcendental" quality of these values, even as the contemporary world seems dedicated to keeping these values out of this world. Yet there is a qualitative difference that may yet transfer these values from the "impossible" to the "necessary," from the spiritual to the operational. What are these qualitative differences?

Firstly, the emergence of the European Common Market has demonstrated that economic pooling and sharing can dissolve nation-state rivalry and nation-state hostility without the loss of national and cultural autonomy. France and Germany, it now seems clear, will not wage war against each other again. It should also be noted that the two states which have forsworn

their sovereign right to have nuclear weapons, namely Germany and Japan, have enjoyed an economic growth far beyond that enjoyed by Great Britain who built a nuclear arsenal and who refused to join the Common Market when it was launched.

Secondly, the prodigious growth of the world economy; the emergence of the United States as the first post-industrial society in the history of the world; the breakthrough of new technologies, raising industrial and agricultural productivity dramatically; the spread of trans-national economic systems; the rapid development of communication, weather and earth resources satellites; the proved ability to solve managerial scientific and technological problems of extraordinary complexity as demonstrated by NASA; the spread of higher education among the middle and lower classes-- all these happenings prove conclusively that the impossible of yesterday is the operational of tomorrow. Economic equity and social justice are now expectations, not prophetic whimsies.

Thirdly, the potential mastery of economic scarcity holds forth the realistic hope that a day will come when each individual person will be regarded as both unique and worthy. Such persons are already bursting out of the womb of affluence, persons who see others as persons, not pigments, not aliens, not category this or stereotype that, but as persons.

Could it be that this Conference of Jews and Blacks will recognize that in our day the spiritual surplus of biblical Israel, stored for centuries high above this world because there was nowhere else to preserve it, is now the major resource if there is to be any this-world at all. At a time

when tools exist for spreading peace and harmony among nations, economic well-being and social justice among the wretched of the earth; and the gospel of the unique and worthy individual among the whites, the blacks, the yellows, and all those beautiful shadings in between--and among men and women and children--and among Americans, Japanese, Israelites, Tanzanians, Egyptians, and Syrians--and among Jews and Christians and Moslems and Buddhists and Hindus, can we Blacks and Jews fail to find them--and use them.



BLACKS AND JEWS IN HISTORICAL INTERACTION:
THE BIBLICAL/AFRICAN EXPERIENCE

By Charles B. Copher

The subject before us for consideration is part of a larger one, in the light of which it must be studied and only in the light of which it can be understood. That larger subject is: "Blacks and Jews in Historical Interaction: The Biblical/Black Experience." But having stated the larger subject of which the immediate one is only a part takes us short distance in dealing with it. Before real treatment can be given it is necessary first of all to establish a foundation upon which a superstructure can be erected. The foundation consists in confirming the existence of Black peoples in the Biblical world with whom Jews could have interacted; it cannot be taken for granted that there were. Once such a confirmation is made, then and then only may the presentation proceed. For this reason the paper consists of two parts, the foundation and the superstructure.

The existence of Black peoples in the Biblical world, especially of so-called Negroes, with whom ancient Jews could have interacted, is a matter of great interest, discussion, debate, and of confusing, contradictory opinions. Within modern times, in Western civilization, two diametrically opposed views have developed, with several sub-views between two extreme positions. From the introduction of Blacks, especially those who came to be called Negroes, into the consciousness of Western Europeans around 1450, C.E. until roughly 1800 C.E. there was one view

rather commonly held in both the popular and scholarly mind. This view was that the Hamites referred to in the Bible were peoples black in color, and generally regarded as what ^{came to be} ~~now~~ called Negroes. It may be called the old, traditional Hamite view; and was based upon the Genesis account of Noah's sons,¹ particularly Ham-Canaan, and upon the so-called Table of Nations in Genesis 10 and I Chronicles 1, which lists Ham and his descendants. At times the view was associated with Noah's curse of Canaan, interpreted more frequently to be a curse of Ham and his descendants, at times not, on the basis of which curse the Hamites were destined to be slaves of the families of Shem and Japheth, and to be black in color--despite the fact that in the Biblical accounts Ham is not cursed, nor is color mentioned or even implied unless of course the word Ham in Hebrew meant black at the times the stories and the Table originated.

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Additionally, although a rival view came into existence around 1800 C.E., this traditional Hamite view continued to be held; and associating Hamites with Blacks/Negroes especially, and further associating these peoples with Noah's curse of (Ham)-Canaan, it was employed to justify the enslavement of black Africans. This use was made to the fullest between the year 1800 and the American Civil War. But the emancipation of Blacks from slavery did not terminate the usage. The practice has continued in America and elsewhere, at times receiving greater emphasis than at others, as in the United States of America during the years immediately after the 1954 Supreme Court decision in regard to segregation in education. Some traditionalist, conservative

1. Genesis 9

"Christians" resurrected the view and employed it as a divine justification for the continued segregation of Blacks. Twenty years later the view is still adhered to by many.

Dissociated from the curse of (Ham)-Canaan, and/or in spite of the association, the traditional Hamite view was and still is used in favor of Black peoples including the so-called Negroes.² According to this usage which has been made by some Whites and by numerous Black individuals and groups, the Biblical Hamites were Negroes and included the Hamites listed in the Biblical Table of Nations, notably: Egyptians, African Cushites (Ethiopians), and Asiatic Cushites of South Asia, Mesopotamia, Phoenicia, and Canaan. These peoples, taken to be black in color, are regarded as the founders of the great ancient civilizations of the ^{near and} Middle East. And, to be sure, according to the Biblical accounts, Jews were in interaction with all of them, *and they were in interaction with Jews -- possibly according to Jewish accounts.*

Over against the traditional view, whether or not associated with the curse of (Ham)-Canaan, there came into being around 1800, as has been stated, a new Hamite hypothesis or view.³ It dissociates the so-called Negroes from the Hamites, removes color from the criteria for determining racial identity, and regards black non-Negroids to be white--Caucasoid or Europid blacks. It is this view or hypothesis which came to characterize the so-called sciences of anthropology, ethnology, and kindred studies, but also critical historical-literary Biblical studies. And just as anthropology and ethnology removed Negroes from the Biblical

2. See the book Yaradee: A Plea for Africa, by Frederick Freeman (Philadelphia, 1836), and also histories of the Afro-Americans written by Black authors from 1840 to the present.

3. For a discussion of the new Hamite hypothesis, see Edith R. Sanders, "The Hamite Hypothesis," Journal of African History, X (1969), pp. 521-532.

world so did critical study of the Bible remove Negroes from the Bible and Biblical history--except for an occasional Negro individual who could only have been a slave. Thus today in critical Biblical studies, as in anthropology and ethnology, the ancient Egyptians, Cushites, in fact all the Biblical Hamites, were white; so-called Negroes did not figure at all in Biblical history, and there could not have been interaction between Blacks and Jews if by Blacks is meant so-called Negroes.

He who would build the superstructure called for by the title of this paper is thus faced with the further task of choosing between Scylla and Charybdis, between two diametrically opposed views: one that allows for an interaction, one that does not.

In an endeavor to find the truth of the matter the reader undertook research which now permits of rather well supported conclusions.⁴ Making use of what he regarded to be tenable supports for the traditional Hamite view; and supports supplied by adherents to the newer view, including critical Biblical scholars, he assembled several categories of evidence that testify to a Black including Negro presence in the Biblical world. This Black presence was to be found in Egypt, African Cush, Asiatic Cush, and in eastern Mediterranean lands.

For Egypt-African Cush the categories of evidence are: archaeological data, consisting of Egyptian-Cushite written records, paintings, sculptures, and skeletal remains; modern historical works; critical Biblical scholarly works; personal names and adjectives; opinions of modern travelers, archaeologists and anthropologists; ancient Greek-

4. See the essay by the reader entitled "The Black Man in the Biblical World," published in the Spring issue 1974 of The Journal of the Interdenominational Theological Center. *(Copy attached)*.

Roman legends and historical writings; works of early Christian commentators; and ancient Jewish writings, including the Bible, Babylonian Talmud, Midrashim, and legends. Categories of evidence for Asiatic Cush are: writings of ancient Greeks; modern historical works; archaeological data; and ancient Jewish works, the same as above. And for the Mediterranean lands, archaeological data and modern historical works are the categories.

The evidences testify that, according to American sociological definitions of Negro, the ancient Egyptians were Negroes; that according to modern anthropological and ethnological definitions the ancient Egyptian population included a large percentage of so-called Negroes, possibly 25% as an average across the long period of time that was ancient Egyptian history. They indicate that the African Cushites (Ethiopians) were predominantly of Negroid identity; and that Blacks, including Negroes, during Biblical times inhabited parts of Asia from the Indus River valley westwards into Elam-Persia, Mesopotamia, parts of Arabia, Phoenicia, Canaan, Crete and Greece. Further, the evidences indicate that, in the main, wherever in the Bible Hamites are referred to there were peoples who today in the Western world would be classified as Black, and Negroid. Additionally, they establish a Black element within the ancient Hebrew-Israelite Jewish population itself.

With respect to the superstructure that may now be erected, it may be done in several ways. This essay proceeds by pointing to interactions across the years of Biblical history in chronological sequence, beginning with the prehistoric period. Materials used will be mainly conditions and events of history as these are set forth in the Bible, supplemented by archaeology, and "Legends of the Jews."

First of all, it is to be noted that in prehistoric times, before the coming of the Hebrews to Canaan, and also during the time of Hebrew-Israelite-Jewish occupation, Negroid peoples lived in the land, apart from any Black element in the Hebrew-Israelite-Jewish population.⁵ Shortly after 2000 B.C.E., a time when even new Hamite hypothesis advocates claim the so-called Negro first appeared in history, the Patriarchal period began. At the beginning of this period, according to one Biblical tradition, the patriarch Abraham migrated from what later came to be called Chaldea, a land occupied by Cushites. Jewish legend has it that Abraham and his people suffered persecution at the hands of none other than Nimrod, the Cushite founder of Mesopotamian civilization and culture.⁶ According to another tradition which is not necessarily in conflict with the other, Abraham's starting place was Haran in northwestern Mesopotamia. From this region he migrated into Canaan where he moved among Hamites and non-Hamites, remaining aloof from all, and refusing to permit intermarriage. From predominantly Hamite Canaan he moved to Egypt where despite the designs of a Hamite pharaoh upon Sarah the tribal blood remained pure. Nevertheless the patriarch himself produced a son by an Egyptian woman who herself later on obtained an Egyptian wife for the son. Under Isaac and Jacob, according to the prevailing tradition, there was no regular intermarriage with the Hamitic Canaanites. But in Canaan Esau and Judah engaged in marriage with Canaanite women;⁷

5. See Anati, Emmanuel, Palestine Before the Hebrews, page 322; and McCown, Chester C., The Ladder of Progress in Palestine, pages 130, 142 f., 166.

6. See, for example, The Talmud, by H. Polano, pages 30 ff. for one such story.

7. Genesis 36, 38.

and, whatever were the Hebrew tribes that migrated to and settled in Egypt during the patriarchal age, in that land occurred a significant infusion of Black blood. Joseph married an Egyptian wife to whom were born two of the more important Hebrew tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh. Apart from and in addition to the interactions occasioned by such a marriage as that of Joseph, there were interactions arising from the Hebrew state of affairs during the period of Egyptian sojourn. Whether or not the Hebrew settlement was related to the Hyksos invasion and occupation of Egypt, the first years saw a favorable position. The latter years saw a state of oppression, with concomitant reactions, and it was these that the Jews best remembered. But more remains to be said about the infusion of Black blood into the Hebrew tribe or tribes in Egypt, through Moses and his family, with all the implications ^{for} Black/Negro-Jewish interactions. The book of Exodus records Moses' escape from Egypt to Midian where the daughters of Jethro, on the basis of his appearance, mistakenly identified him to be an Egyptian, and where Moses married Zipporah, one of Jethro's daughters. Then the book of Numbers states that Moses had married a Cushite woman who could very well have been none other than a Cushite Zipporah herself, Cushites having been inhabitants of Arabia and adjacent regions as well as Africa. Josephus, and Jewish spinners of legends were later to say much about Moses' marriage to a Cushite woman in spite of some rabbinic explanations to the contrary.⁸ Furthermore, there are good grounds for believing that the tribal family of Moses was of black Cushite origin. Support for the

8. Josephus, Flavius, Antiquities of the Jews, Book II, Chapter 10, translated by William Whiston. For a contrary view see Ginzberg, L., Legends of the Jews, VI, 90, as referred by Henry S. Noerdlinger, Moses and Egypt, page 70.

opinion comes in the form of Egyptian names carried by members of the family as well as by other Hebrews: Moses, Phinehas, Hophni, Merari, Pashur, etc., especially Phinehas, which means Black, Negro, Nubian, etc.⁹ This last name it is to be observed was the name of a grandson of Aaron, and was carried by members of the priesthood through the period of the Babylonian exile.

Still further, indications of interactions between Black Africans and possibly Hebrew tribes in Canaan during the patriarchal period lie in the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence. According to one communication Black/Negro troops in the Egyptian army were plundering the community because they had not received their pay.¹⁰

During the period of the conquest and settlement of Canaan, the period of the judges, interactions between Hamites-Jews are to be seen in the several Biblical accounts that have to do with relations between Hebrews and Canaanites and between Hebrews and other ^{Hamites} Cushites. In these accounts there are directives against intermarriage and to exterminate, contrary to which there were co-existence, intermarriage, and the beginnings of amalgamation of the Canaanites. There is also the recounting of an invasion and oppression by a Mesopotamian ruler with the name Cushanrishathaim--the "Cushite of double infamy." And toward the end of the period pristine Hebrew religion was Canaanized-Africanized, and thus polluted, by fertility practices instituted by Elis Egyptian-Cushite named priest-sons, Phinehas and Hophni.¹¹

9. ^QAbright, W. F., From the Stone Age to Christianity, pages 193 f.; Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, page 165.

10. Pritchard, James B., Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, page 232.

11. I Samuel 2.

For the period of the United Monarchy interactions are to be noted in the accounts of relations between the Israelites-Judeans and Canaanites and Phoenicians; in the account of the Cushite messenger in David's army;¹² in the accounts of Solomon's dealings with the king of Egypt and marriage to an Egyptian princess; in the narrative about the Queen of Sheba; and in the accounts of Hadad's and Jeroboam's flight to protection under the King of Egypt.

References to interactions during the hundred-year history of the two kingdoms are in the several narratives of Jeroboam's return from Egypt, Shishak's invasion of Judah-Israel, and the invasion of Zerah, the Cushite. Additionally, they appear in the narratives and oracles of the 8th century B.C.E. recorded in Kings-Chronicles and in the books of Amos and Hosea. Within the prophetic books are Amos' comparison of Yahweh's equal regard for Israelites and Cushites (Ethiopians, Negroes);¹³ and Hosea's castigation of Israel for her wishy-washy trust in Assyria and Egypt instead of trust in Yahweh. Possibly also interactions are to be seen in the account of the repopulation of Israel with outsiders by the Assyrians.¹⁴

For the remainder of the 8th century, that is, from 721 B.C.E. to the end of the century, interactions between Blacks and Judeans may be viewed in clearest light. This period was that of the early years of the 25th Egyptian Dynasty, the Cushite or Ethiopian. In the Bible itself the view is provided by the book of Isaiah song of Amoz, with its

12. II Samuel 18.

13. 9:7.

14. II Kings 17:24 ff.

several references to the Egyptians-Cushites.¹⁵ In content the references range from complimentary descriptions of Cushites to warnings against trust in Egyptian-Cushite military strength, and prophecies that the Assyrians will make of the Egyptians-Cushites captives of war. Also indicative of Black-Judean interactions is the narrative of Chaldean intrigue in Judah toward the end of the century by Merodach-baladan; and the other anti-foreigner oracles in the book.

Interactions between Blacks and Judeans during the period 700-582-570 B.C.E. were both internal within the Judean community, and external outside the community. These interactions may be seen especially in the books of II Kings and II Chronicles, and in the prophetic books of Zephaniah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. Zephaniah himself is said to have been the son of one Cushite,¹⁶ and his family tree is traced back to a certain Hezekiah whom some Biblical scholars identify with Hezekiah the Judean king.¹⁷ Assuming, as do several Biblical scholars of note, that Zephaniah was a black Judean,¹⁸ and that his ancestry included King Hezekiah, Blacks were among the population, and black blood flowed in the veins of Judah's kings.


The book of Jeremiah makes mention of a Jehudi, great-grandson of one Cushite, who was sent by the princes of Judah to Baruch, Jeremiah's

15. Chapters 18, 19, 20, 30, and 31.

16. Zephaniah 1:1.

17. A survey of Biblical Introductions reveals the following: E. Sellin wrote in 1923 that Zephaniah is generally held to have been a prophet of royal blood; among those who support the view are J. A. Bewer, R. K. Harrison, E. A. Leslie, R. H. Pfeiffer, and Charles L. Taylor, Jr.

18. Some who identify the prophet as a "Negro" are: Aage Bentzen, J. A. Bewer, Curt Kuhl, E. Sellin and A. Weiser, but not the contrary view of Georg Fohrer in his revision of Sellin's Introduction.

scribe,  who read Jeremiah's oracles dictated to Baruch in the hearing of King Jehoiakim.¹⁹ Additionally it contains an adage with respect to the Cushite's color as being unchangeable; narratives concerning a Cushite friend and helper of Jeremiah, Ebed-Melech; oracles against foreign nations including Egypt and other Hamites; and narratives about the fall of Judah to the Chaldeans and about Judean communities in exile in various parts of Egypt. It may be noted that the references to Blacks in the book of Jeremiah indicate that there was a Black element in the Judean population; that black Cushites were sufficiently well known that they could furnish an analogy between unchangeable color and behavior; and that members of the court included black Cushites. Further, and interesting to note incidentally, is the name of one of the places where Judean exiles settled in Egypt--Tahpanhes, "Fort of the Negro."

The book of Ezekiel, as does the book of Jeremiah, contains oracles against Hamites, including Phoenicians, Egyptians, and Cushites. Like the book of Jeremiah also, it permits a view of Judah in exile, in Chaldea, where the Judeans lived under rather favorable circumstances. At the same time it asserts that Judah's origins were mixed, and criticizes Judah for her whoredoms with the Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Egyptians.

And the historical books of Kings-Chronicles narrate the fall of Judah, the capture of Jerusalem, the destruction of the Temple--the most tragic experience for Judeans-Jews in Old Testament history, at the hands of the Chaldeans. These events made for the most hostile interactions between the Judeans-Jews and a people regarded as black--not only at the time, but for times to come, whenever they were remembered.

19. Chapter 36:14 ff.

With the entrance of the Persians into Judean-Jewish life in 538 B.C.E., a new era of interactions began. In the Persian-Elamite population, and in the Persian army were Blacks.²⁰ Relations between the two peoples were good; so good in fact that someone has remarked that only in the instance of the ancient Persians did the ancient Jews have only good to say. But the Bible, supplemented by extra-Biblical materials such as the Elephantine papyri and Jewish midrashim and legends provide still more insights into Black-Jewish interactions during the Persian period which for Jews may be said to have lasted from 540 B.C.E. until the beginning of the Greek Period under Alexander the Great in 332 B.C.E. There are the hopes and aspirations for a going forth from Babylon back to Palestine, and the general universalism voiced by a Second Isaiah; there are the lofty universalistic passages of a Trito-Isaiah that envision a time when Assyria and Egypt will be accepted on par with Israel by Yahweh, and when Yahweh's temple shall be a house of prayer for all peoples. At the same time there are passages such as the anti-Chaldean Psalm 137, and the Trito-Isaianic passages that envision the day when Blacks and others shall serve Israel.²¹ There are also the interactions revealed by the Elephantine papyri with their record of a Jewish community in Upper Egypt that has suffered at the hands of native Egyptians. Perhaps most significantly of all, there are the anti-Black traditions and legends that began to come into existence at least by the time of Ezra, around 400 B.C.E., many of which were recorded in the Babylonian Talmud

20. See, for example Childe, V. G., The Most Ancient East, page 144; Olmstead, A. T., History of the Persian Empire, pages 238 ff.; M. Dieulafoy, The Acropolis of Susa (English title); J. A. de Gobineau; and the ancient histories of G. Maspero, and George Rawlinson.

21. Isaiah 60, 61.

and in the Midrashim. These are the "Ham" stories, and legends about the origin of black Jews whether in Palestine or in Africa. And here it is to be noted that the stock of "Ham" stories continued to grow, after the Biblical period, on beyond the time when a historical gap between East and West was created by Islamic hegemony over the Near and Middle East, and westward over parts of the Mediterranean world.²²

Not to be excluded for insights into Black-Jewish relations during the Persian period are the numerous particularistic and universalistic passages in the prophetic books of Joel, II Zechariah, chapters 9-14 of the book, and Malachi. Generally speaking, Jewish attitudes in these books include extremes of both particularism and universalism.

Between the end of the Persian period and the writing of the latest books in the Bible interactions between Blacks and Jews are to be seen in the books of Maccabees wherein Jewish history during the Greek period is recounted; in the Gospel according to Matthew, with its narrative of the "Flight into Egypt;" in the book of Acts with its accounts of Jews present from all the world in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost, of Niger among the followers of Jesus at Antioch in Syria, and of Philip's conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch; and in the writings of Josephus. The books of Maccabees show Jewish relations with Egypt. Matthew depicts Egypt as still a haven for Jews persecuted in the homeland, yet tying residence in Palestine with coming out of Egypt. The book of Acts lists adherents to Judaism from countries inhabited by

22. On the dates for the Talmud and Midrashim, one may consult I. Epstein (in The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible), who gives a brief bibliography. An excellent discussion is presented in White Over Black by Winthrop D. Jordan; and there are numerous collections of interpretations and legends in L. Ginzberg's Legends of the Jews, and in books by S. Boring-Gould, H. Polano, and Samuel Rapaport.

Blacks, and indicates that Black people were among the early members of the Christian Church. And Josephus, who recounts the history of his people, including much about Moses⁴⁷ and Cushites, goes into lengthy dissertations about the provenance of the Jews and their affinities with the Egyptians.²³

Reviewing and summarizing, there were Black-Jewish interactions during the entire course of Biblical history. These interactions may be seen in the Bible, supplemented by archaeological data, the works of Josephus, and by extra-Biblical Jewish traditions, Biblical interpretations such as appear in the Babylonian Talmud and Midrashim, and legends. In the main, except for the relatively few universalistic passages in the Bible, the reactions, which are from the Jewish side only, are negative in nature. And in the Babylonian Talmud, Midrashim, and legends the reactions are wholly anti-Black, despite the conclusion that Blacks formed a part of the ancient Hebrew-Israelite-Jewish community.

23. Against Apion (Whiston's translation).

ADDENDUM

For the period 727-700 B.C.E. attention should have been called to the fact that the Hebrew kingdoms were allied with Egypt-Cush and for the period 609-586 it should have been noted that the Egyptians were alternately antagonists and protagonists with respect to the kingdom of Judah.

BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS IN EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY, 1654-1865

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Harold Isaacs, "Back to Africa," New Yorker, May 13, 1961, quoted by Horace Mann Bond, "Howe and Isaacs in the Bush: The Ram in the Thicket," Apropos of Africa (compiled and edited by A. C. Hill and M. Kilson), (London, 1969), p. 288:

"I had the small but faintly consoling thought that my ancestors, whatever other sins they might have been committing at the time, were sequestered in some Eastern European ghetto, and could not have been among the slavers who waited out there [beyond Elmina] on those ships."

Rabbi I. B. Koller, Congregation B'nai B'rith, Santa Barbara, Calif., in a letter to the Jewish Post (Indianapolis), May 3, 1974:

"Why should Jews be made to pay the price for past and present black disadvantages? After all, how many Jews owned slaves? How many Jews, after arriving in the USA between 1900 and 1920, displaced blacks, made fortunes at their expense or became party to Southern Jim Crowism or Northern neglect?"

Maxwell Whiteman, "Jews in the anti-slavery movement," The Kidnapped and the Ransomed, The narrative of Peter and Vina Still after forty years of slavery (Phila., 1970), p. 41:

"... a small number of Southern Jews were involved in slaveholding [in 1853]."

I COLONIAL PERIOD

- a. Jewish slave-owners in New Amsterdam as early as 1656; the inventory of the estate of the outstanding New Amsterdam Jew (Asser Levy) reports his ownership of "one negro boy".
- b. Almost every stable Jewish household of any substance, North or South, possessed at least one slave.
- c. Newport, R.I. census of 1774 lists only two Jewish families without slaves.
- d. Of forty-one wills of Jews probated in New York, 1704-1799, only fourteen refer specifically to slaves, three providing for manumission — but this does not prove the others did not own slaves.
- e. Jacob Rodrigues Rivera of Newport owned 12 slaves; Levi Sheftall of Savannah 44; Francis Salvador of South Carolina, 40.
- f. Jews in the slave-trade: Isaac DaCosta and Moses Lindo of Charleston; Simha de Torres, Isaac Levy and Jacob Franks of New York; Aaron Lopez of Newport — the most distinguished Newport Jew, perhaps of all the colonies: at least one slave ship on the seas each year for ten years; staff of Negro workers in textile plant; black customers, both slave and free.

- g. Shearith Israel of New York City hired two slaves from a widow and used other blacks in the building of a new synagogue in 1729.
- h. No record of ideological opposition to slavery on the part of Jews during the colonial period.

II NATIONAL PERIOD

- a. 1790 census: in South Carolina, of 73 identifiable Jewish heads of households, 34 owned one or more slaves, to a total of 151. Abraham Cohen of Georgetown held the most, 21.
- b. 1820 census: over three-fourths of the Jews in Richmond, Charleston and Savannah, owned slaves; only one out of three in Baltimore; only one out of 18 in New York. Of 74 identifiable Jewish houses in New York, 21 included free blacks, to a total of 29. One of those who did not own any in 1820, Jacob Levy, Jr., had manumitted six slaves in 1817.
- c. 1840 census: 62 identifiable Jews in New Orleans — although there must have been several hundred households in the city: only 7 held no slaves, 55 owned 348.
- d. 1850 census: Mobile — 31 out of 72 identifiable Jewish heads of households owned 90 slaves.
- e. 33 of 129 wills of Southern Jews (1790-1865) in the American Jewish Archives collections refer to the ownership and disposition of 132 slaves; it is likely that others owned slaves without enumerating them.
- f. Jews in business frequently had dealings in slaves — as storekeepers, auctioneers, commission merchants. A few Jews were slave-traders, including Solomon Cohen of Atlanta and Augusta, Ga; B. Mordecai of Charleston, who purchased \$12,000. worth of slaves in a single sale in 1859; Levy Jacobs of New Orleans and Mobile; and the Davis family of Petersburg and Richmond, Va., the only Jews mentioned by Harriet Beecher Stowe in A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin.
- g. Surinam was the only place in the Western Hemisphere where enslaved or free blacks were regularly converted to Judaism. The constitutions of congregations in Richmond, Charleston and New Orleans restricted membership to white Jews. A black girl, Lucy Marks, was buried in the Mikveh Israel cemetery of Philadelphia in 1838 as a full member of the congregation. One Jewish black, "Old Billy," regularly attended services in Charleston until his death in 1860. Rabbis, cantors, presidents of congregations, owned slaves, even participated in the slave-trade within the U.S.

- h. A few Jews were active in the Pennsylvania and New York City abolition societies from their founding. Moses Judah was a member of the Standing Committee of the New York Society for the Manumission of Slaves in 1806-1809; Rebecca Hart was an officer for many years of the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia; 24 Philadelphia Jews sent a petition to the Senate in 1838, favoring the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In 1835 Henry Hyams of Donaldsonville, La., was a leader at an anti-abolitionist meeting and served on a vigilante committee to oppose anti-slavery activity and propaganda.
- i. Few Jews active in the strongly Protestant-flavored abolitionist movement of the 1850's, but some Jews were strongly in favor of abolition: Rabbi David Einhorn of Baltimore; the '48er Michael Heilprin; Lewis Naphtali Dembitz of Louisville; Isidor Bush, another '48er and Missouri politician. Jews like Rabbi Isaac Mayer Wise protesting at the apparent indifference of abolitionist leaders to Jewish suffering.
- j. The famous sermon The Bible View of Slavery by Rabbi Morris J. Raphall of New York City, Jan. 4, 1861, and its refutations by Heilprin and Einhorn.
- k. No uniform Jewish view expressed by the Board of Delegates of American Israelites or the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, the only national Jewish organizations of any significance.

III JEWS IN THE PERCEPTION OF BLACKS

- a. Jews as owners and/or husbands of black women and mulattos, and fathers of black/mulatto children, of whom the most notable was Francis Cardozo.
- b. Jews as receivers of stolen goods from blacks, as peddlers supplying used clothing and notions to blacks.
- c. Jews as aliens/non-Christians.

IV SOME FACTS OF JEWISH EXISTENCE

- a. Jewish "liberalism" detached from Jewish teaching until late 1880's (Emil G. Hirsch, then Joseph Krauskopf, Stephen S. Wise etc.,) other than David Einhorn. No "social action" references in reports of Philadelphia conference of Reform rabbis, 1869.
- b. Jewish congregations in Amsterdam, London, New York, still contributing to the redemption of Jewish slaves and captives on Malta, in Eastern Europe and in North Africa until late 18th century.
- c. Were Jews able to achieve higher recognition in South prior to the Civil War partly because of the victimization of the blacks?

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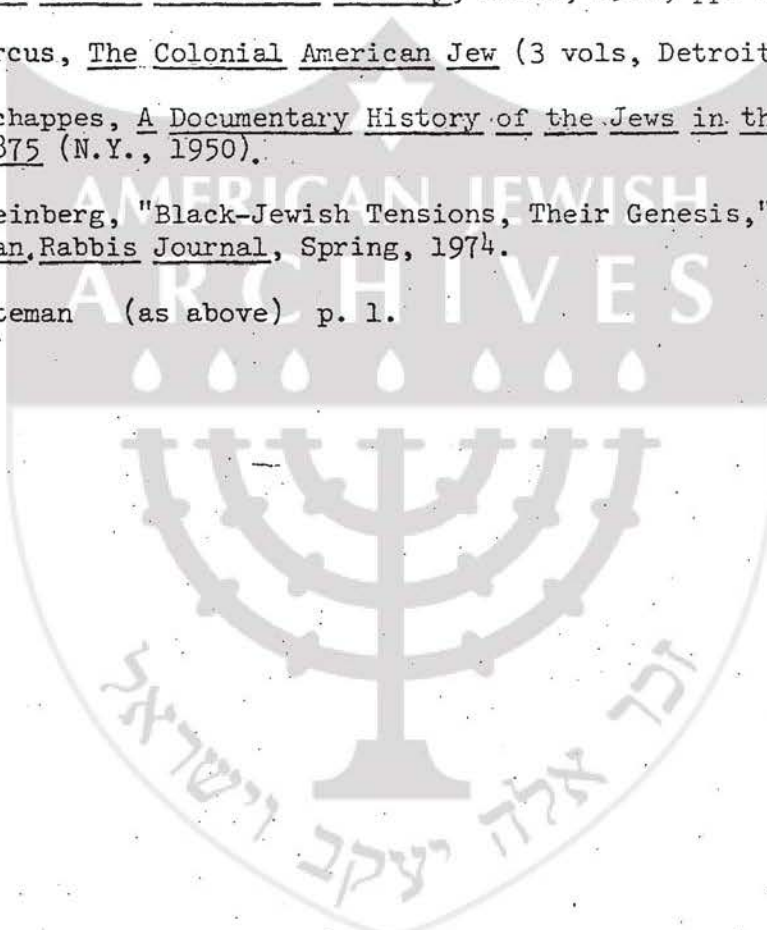
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Maxwell Whiteman (as above) p. 1.



BLACKS IN JEWISH RELIGIOUS THOUGHT AND EXPERIENCE

Classic Jewish thought invariably begins with Scripture, then threads its way through Rabbinic commentary. With regard to "Blacks in Jewish religious thought and experience", two passages in Scripture--Moses' marriage to a Cushite woman and Noah's cursing Ham and Canaan his son--are the principal sources of information pertinent to the theme of the day. The first passage is, to use current terminology, free of racism, and the second is charged with racism. We shall begin by dealing with the first.

Moses--so chapter 12 of the Book of Numbers tells us--married a Cushite or an Ethiopian woman, and thus made himself guilty of miscegenation. His sister Miriam and his brother Aaron were critical--Miriam especially. God was even more critical of the two critics. And being God, made His displeasure sharply and dramatically clear. Miriam who had been lily white became leprous white; and might have remained so for the rest of her life, had not Moses interceded in her behalf with a peremptory prayer: "Heal her now, O Lord, I beseech Thee" (Num. 12:13).

Thereupon she was healed, and the people of Israel journeyed from Hazeroth, a word which might mean "cozy enclosures," to pitch their tents in the wilderness of Paran, a word which can be taken to mean "growth, fruitfulness"--moved, so to speak, from racial narrowness to a broadly human pattern of living.

Such is the superficial sense of Miriam's and Aaron's attack upon Moses for having married a Cushite woman. But the Jewish, more precisely, the Rabbinic mode of reading texts, endeavors to probe beneath the outer surface. Such a probe as it examines the ^{incident} several facets of ~~the incident~~, demonstrates that Miriam and Aaron were not at all concerned by the fact that the wife of Moses was a Cushite woman. As a matter of fact they championed her, and criticized Moses for reasons which had nothing to do with her being black.

The Rabbinic probe of the incident of the Cushite woman

gives by noting

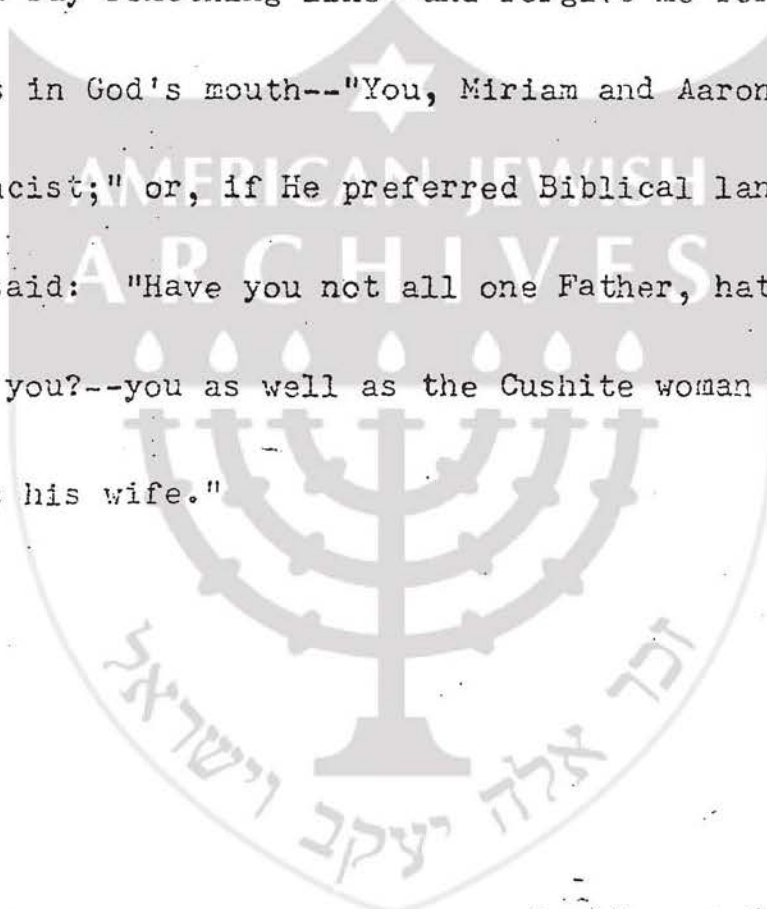
~~that~~ the text does not tell us what Miriam and

Aaron actually said as they criticized Moses for daring to marry

a Cushite. Instead we are told of their complaint: We--said *Miriam*

and *Aaron* ~~they~~--are Prophets as well qualified as is Moses. And God who

of all interlocutors should have been relevant responds: No, as a Prophet Moses is greatly superior to you: "With him I speak mouth to mouth, manifestly, not in dark speeches." Why in the particular circumstances where plain speech is required does not God say something like--and forgive me for presuming to put words in God's mouth--"You, Miriam and Aaron, are outrageously racist;" or, if He preferred Biblical language, God might have said: "Have you not all one Father, hath not one God created you?--you as well as the Cushite woman whom Moses had taken as his wife."



Then, too, why were the Jewish people in the wilderness silent about this early occurrence of miscegenation? When they chose to, they were not only vocal but strident. And here at this juncture after their leader had taken unto himself a Cushite wife, not a word from them.

More: There are traditions both in Josephus (Antiquities II, x, 2, Loeb, p. 275) and in Rabbinic literature (Ginzberg, Legends of the Jews 2, 287) concerning a liaison or marriage between an Ethiopian princess and Moses. That happened earlier in the life of Moses, when the Egyptian king sent him as head of an expeditionary force to fight the Ethiopians. During the siege of their capital city, an Ethiopian princess captivated by the sight of Moses fell in love with him and the two were married. But that marriage had taken place long, long before Moses married Zipperah, daughter of a priest or prince of Midian, long before he had become leader of his people. Why then should Miriam and Aaron have chosen to pick a quarrel with Moses now in the wilderness, instead of years ago when Moses had first taken unto himself the Cushite woman?

Moreover, if the target of attack was not the first Cushite in the life of Moses, but the present one, Zipporah, then Miriam and Aaron were again late in being critical. For by the time of this incident, Moses and Zipporah his Cushite wife already had two grown up sons. Here let me add that Zipporah being a native of Midian lived in an area where swarthy Cushites spread, and she herself may well have been on the swarthy side like a true daughter of Cush (see *Hab. 2:7*).

In either event, whether Miriam criticized Moses' first wife or his second wife the timing of the criticism is baffling. So, too, are certain details in the story: Why is it necessary to say "Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Cushite woman whom he had married?" and then add the superfluous words "for he had married a Cushite woman?" What relevance to the incident ^{has} ~~does~~ the description of Moses' being "very meek, above all the men that were upon the face of the earth"? On the contrary, his decision to marry a Cushite woman bespeaks not meekness but assertiveness.

~~Finally~~ in our report of the probe, we ^{finally} approach the ^d unerly-

⁸ in reason for Miriam's and Aaron's anger. Their anger stemmed from

unawareness of how difficult it was to be a prophet, particularly how

like Moses, difficult it was for such a prophet to continue normal marital life.

Here is the interpretive process whereby the true reason for Miriam's

and Aaron's anger is brought forth: The story of Moses and the Cushite

woman, it is noted, seems to have no connection with what ^{de} precedes or

follows in the text of Numbers, except for one incident involving an

unexpected burst of prophecy--prophecy which came upon two young men,

Eldad and Medad, who went at it and ^d id not cease. Joshua ran to re-

port to Moses that rivals had appeared on the scene. And Moses' response:

"Would God that all the Lord's people were Prophets" ~~xxxx~~ (Num. 11;29).

With great perspicacity, the Rabbinic probe dares to fill, to flesh

in, so to speak, the gaps in the narrative: When Zipporah, the wife of

Moses--so tradition on basis of the probe surmises--heard of two new

Prophets, she muttered to herself, "I pity their wives who will now be

neglected as I have been." These words she spoke softly, so that no one,

except Miriam and Aaron who stood nearby, heard her. What, said they,

in criticism of Moses and on behalf of Zipporah, that Cushite woman--for, ~~said that~~ ^{--They went on to say--} he married a Cushite woman, which, in ^{their}

^{parlance,} ~~according to tradition,~~ means a woman extraordinary in beauty and character--such a woman should not be neglected, no matter how important her husband may be. What right does Moses have to act thus? We, too, are Prophets, and we do not neglect our spouses. Now Moses, being a meek man, did not speak up in his own behalf. But God said: With Moses do I speak mouth to mouth. And since I do, Moses rightly has given up his spouse; but you, prophets of a more lowly order, have not been called upon to give up your spouses.

In this incident the term Cushite, as already stated, is applied to Zipporah the wife of Moses. Not only was Zipporah kind and gentle, bearing quietly the neglect by her husband. She was also beautiful. By means of a play on words Cushite is equated with Iscah "one who is gazed at with admiration"--Iscah, the other ^{(Gen. 11:29 and Rashi).} name for Sarah, wife of Abraham, ~~is~~ Cushite here, and in every significant occurrence in Scripture as interpreted in Rabbinic

tradition, is thus an epithet of praise. Let me list the others. David sang a Psalm (Ps. 7) concerning Cush the Benjamite. And Cush the Benjamite is identified as Saul head and shoulders taller than any of his fellow-countrymen (1 Sam. 9:2). When the prophet Amos asks, Are ye not as the children of the Cushites unto Me, O children of Israel? (Amos 9:7), the Aramaic Targum translates the question: "Are you not greatly beloved unto Me?" So, too, when Jeremiah was cast into the pit where he would have died, it was a servant of the king described as a Cushite, which, in the context means a man of great valor, who dared the king's anger and extricated Jeremiah (Jer. 38:11). As a reward, this particular Cushite is said to be one of nine who merited entering the Garden of Eden alive (See Derek Eres Zuta, Soncino tr. 570; Kalah Rabbati 460-62; and Ginzberg, Legends, 5, 96).

In sum, in four passages in Scripture, as interpreted in Rabbinic tradition, the term Cushite is associated with beauty, character, purity of heart, belovedness and valor.

I don't know who is responsible for the expression "Black is beautiful." But, believe it or not, the original may stem from the Talmud. King Solomon is said to have had two scribes-- Cushites who were very beautiful (1 Kings 4:31 and B.Suk 53a)-- so beautiful were they that when Solomon saw hovering over them the angel of death with a sad expression on his face, Solomon thought that the beauty of these two Cushites affected even the angel of death who felt sorry that he had to take their lives. As it turned out--and the story has an Appointment in Samaria^r touch--the angel of death was sad not because he was affected by their beauty but because he unexpectedly saw them in a place where he had no authority to proceed against them. Leaving the story, what is important is that in Jewish texts, the term Cushite is all but a synonym for beauty when used of persons. It retains the literal sense when applied to objects. Thus black skin is described as Cushite; a black citron is described as Cushite. But a human being who is called a Cushite is extraordinary in beauty, in purity, in valor, or in belovedness.

But if, as you say, Cush the man of black skin is identified in Jewish lore with beauty, with belovedness, why is Cush's father Ham, the second son of Noah, identified with ugliness? You will recall Ham as a principal actor in a puzzling incident in Genesis which, as seen in Jewish tradition, I shall briefly summarize: "Noah, tiller of the soil, was the first to plant a vineyard. He drank of the wine, and he uncovered himself within the tent"--within his wife's tent, commentators suggest, Ham "the father of Canaan, saw his father's nakedness, and told his brothers outside" (Gen. 9:20-22). What did he tell them? "Did they, grown-up men that they were, not know that their father could be naked? And if by "nakedness" is meant a man's privy parts, did they not know that he had them?"

One explanation: Noah, like most of us, failed to learn from the past. Though he had been told that the forbidden fruit Adam had eaten was the grape, Noah ~~drank wine~~ ^{also ate it} and became drunk. In his drunken condition, Noah betook himself to the tent of his wife, where his son Ham saw him and ^{promptly} complained to his brothers:

"The first man had but two sons, and one slew the other; our father Noah has three sons, yet he desires to beget a fourth."

Nor was Ham content with uttering such disrespectful words. He added to his sin of irreverence the still greater outrage of attempting to perform an operation--a pioneer vasectomy--upon his father, designed to prevent his capacity to beget more children (Gen. Rabbah 36:5; and Ginzberg, Legends, 1, 168).

"When Noah awoke from his wine and became sober--here legend takes over--he pronounced a curse upon Ham in the person of his youngest son Canaan. To Ham himself he could do no harm, for God had conferred a blessing upon Noah and his three sons as they departed from the ark. Therefore he put the curse upon the last born son of the son who had prevented him from begetting a younger son than the three he had. The descendants of Ham through Canaan therefore have red eyes, because Ham looked upon the nakedness of his father; they have misshapen lips, because Ham spoke with his lips to his brothers about the unseemly condition of his father; they have twisted curly hair, because Ham turned and

twisted his head round to see the nakedness of his father; and they go about naked, because Ham did not cover the nakedness of his father. Thus he was requited, for it is the way of God to mete out punishment measure for measure" (Ginzberg, Legends, 3, 168-69).

What are we to make of the statement just cited? Is it what we now call "racism?" It is and it isn't. In fact, the statement reflects not a racial but a political confrontation, prototype, if you will, of the present confrontation between Jews and Arabs. You see, according to classic Jewish thought, God assigned to each of the nations its particular country as inheritance, even fixing the borders thereof (Deut. 32:8).

The land of Canaan as it is called in the Bible; or Palestine, meaning the land of the Philistines as with characteristic arrogance the Romans designated it; or the Land of Israel as we Jews call it--had been allotted to the children of Shem. Shem, oldest son of Noah and forebear of Semites, is identified with Melchizedek who was king of Salem, king of Jerusalem

(Gen. 14:18) and Rashi on Gen. 12:7). Now Canaan violated the divine order. Though a son of Ham, and though his father and his brothers Cush and Mizraim pleaded with him not to cross the national boundaries God had ordained, Canaan deliberately invaded a land which was not his (Jubilees 10:28-34). And so the animus in Jewish texts is directed primarily not at Ham, the man of black skin and forebear of Cushites, men of black skin, but at Canaan, interloper and usurper. Indeed, so these Jewish texts assert, Canaan's father Ham and brothers Cush and Mizraim imposed their own curse on Canaan for daring to invade the land which properly belongs to Shem.

In passing it should be pointed out that Rabbinic texts do not speak of Hamites as a class to be deprecated. Only Ham is spoken of in deprecatory terms because he was the unfortunate father of the brazen Canaanites who wilfully flouted God's will in crossing into a domain that was not theirs.

By way of summary: In Rabbinic texts which encompass roughly the first millennium of the Common Era the term Cushite is

associated with "beauty, character, purity of heart, belovedness, and valor." The deprecation of Canaan, son of Ham, and brother of Cush must be construed as resulting not from racial disdain but from rivalry over possession of land.

Outside of Rabbinic texts, so my friend Professor Salo Baron wrote me recently, Jewish literature either ancient or Medieval, has little to say about Cushites or Blacks (1 May 1974).

In Rabbinic literature which has had a profound effect upon the Jew's daily liturgy, one senses delight in human variety, whether the variety be in a man's size or in his skin. Thus at the sight of a black man, a man with white spots on his face, a man whose face is unusually red, a man who is very short or very tall, a special blessing is prescribed: "Blessed art Thou, O Lord, who variest the aspect of Thy creation" (Tos Berakot 6:3, Lieberman TKE 1, 34. Cf. ^{B.} Ber 58b). The blessing, it seems to me, indicates that ^{at} in the heart of Jewish tradition, race, like other phenomena, evokes not disdain but wonder at the infinite variety in God's creation.

M. Panerbaum

Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

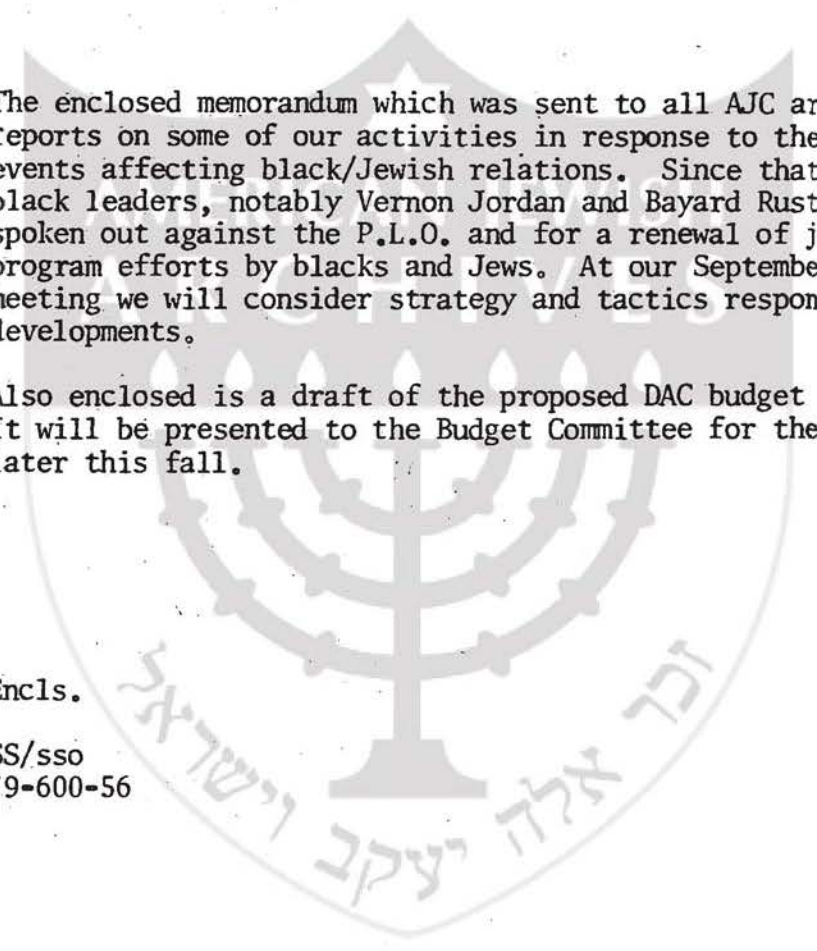
date September 6, 1979
to Domestic Affairs Commission Members
from Seymour Samet
subject September 13th DAC Agenda

The enclosed memorandum which was sent to all AJC area offices reports on some of our activities in response to the recent events affecting black/Jewish relations. Since that time some black leaders, notably Vernon Jordan and Bayard Rustin, have spoken out against the P.L.O. and for a renewal of joint program efforts by blacks and Jews. At our September 13th meeting we will consider strategy and tactics responses to these developments.

Also enclosed is a draft of the proposed DAC budget for 1980. It will be presented to the Budget Committee for their approval later this fall.

Encls.

SS/sso
79-600-56



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

"BLACKS AND JEWS: A NEW RELATIONSHIP"

Remarks by Robert S. Jacobs
at the Midwest Regional Meeting

Chicago, Illinois
September 10, 1979

For the past four weeks, the press has been saturated with reports of growing antagonism between blacks and Jews - as if this were something that began precisely on the very day Andrew Young resigned as our Ambassador to the United Nations.

If Andrew Young, the PLO and the United Nations never existed, American Jews and the American Jewish Committee would still be vitally concerned about the state of black-Jewish relations. In fact, when we planned today's agenda and included this topic, the entire Young episode lay in the future.

Because simply put, black-Jewish relations are bad and getting worse - and this was so long before Andrew Young.

Let's talk about what's happened in the past ten or fifteen years and then about the opportunity we have to improve the situation.

* * *

Public opinion polls have established what the Jewish community has long known subjectively: that anti-Semitism among blacks, and particularly among young blacks, better-educated blacks and black leaders, is increasing; it is increasing absolutely and it is increasing at a time when white anti-Semitism is generally decreasing.

There may be many causes, including despair and frustration arising out of unemployment and other social and economic ills, but the fact of black anti-Semitism is there and it isn't going away.

At the same time, one must admit that anti-black attitudes on the part of Jews are more prevalent than in the past - and this too is before the heightened tensions arising from the Young affair. No one group has a monopoly on prejudice.

Concurrently with this increased prejudice between blacks and Jews in the past ten to fifteen years, there has been a divergence in our agendas. Think back to the height of the civil rights movement, exactly sixteen years ago, in the late summer of 1963. The black-Jewish alliance for social justice and racial equality was strong and, we thought, about to be triumphant. The march on Washington

had been the hallmark of non-violent action to bring about equality before the law; the close relationship growing out of the civil rights movement had not yet been affected by the shock and despair of the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King and Bobby Kennedy, by the development of the "black power" concept, the divisiveness and horror of Viet Nam, the great success of Israel in the Six-Day War but the growing disapproval and isolation of that country -- all these still lay ahead.

At that time, blacks and Jews shared an agenda of important goals: an end to racial segregation and discrimination, the extension of equal opportunity for all in employment, housing and education. These were universal goals that fulfilled the political and emotional needs of a black community struggling to pull itself up, up to the bottom of the ladder - the top could wait until there was at least a foothold on the bottom. There were universal goals that fulfilled the political and emotional needs of a Jewish community feeling somewhat secure as to Israel and still living out the "assimilationist" or "melting pot" theory that there really wasn't a Jewish culture or ethnicity in this country, that all Americans were basically the same.

Well, what went wrong? Nothing as such! But circumstances changed, agendas and priorities changed, tensions which existed sub rosa came out, all of which gave us a new situation with which to deal.

Instead of common, or at least parallel, agendas devoted in large part to broad political and civil rights, blacks and Jews moved in different directions: blacks in the direction of concern over employment problems - how to create jobs, how to get a fair share of jobs, how to reduce the devastating rate of unemployment among blacks, particularly black youth; Jews in the direction of concern over Israel - how to safeguard the very life of that country - concern over Soviet Jews and Jewish identity in this country.

The agendas of our two groups diverged as they became more particularistic, as they became less concerned with broad universal problems in our society.

Many people have decried this parochial tendency, but - like it or not - it has in fact occurred and we have to live with it.

And so we see two trends in the past decade and a half: first, the pulling apart of blacks and Jews in their agendas, and second, heightened tensions and antagonisms be-

tween us, founded partly on plain old-fashioned prejudice and partly on different perceptions by each group of what is in its best interest and this country's best interest.

Let's take a brief look at two examples of this: first, Israel and South Africa, and second, affirmative action and quotas.

For years, most Americans - white and black, Christian and Jew - gave solid support to the State of Israel. But sometime in the late 1960's, after Israel's dramatic victory in the Six-Day War, we see the first substantial expressions of anti-Israel attitudes: sympathy for Palestinians, a view that Israel is militaristic, imperialist, and so on. There were many causes for this shift in attitudes: neo-isolationism resulting from Viet Nam, a feeling that Israel, a Jewish state, is somehow "too aggressive" - these were some. In addition, among blacks, there was a growing feeling of shared experience with the emerging nations of Africa and the third world - including the Palestinians - against the white - and in the case of Israel, Jewish-- establishment.

Another sore point was South Africa. We don't have to describe our repugnance with its racial policies. But for Israel, there are few countries in the world with which it can trade - unfortunately, South Africa happens to be one

of them. In point of fact, a great many other countries, some of them black African, trade with and sell arms to South Africa, many in substantially greater volume than Israel. But Israel is often held to a higher standard of conduct than any other nation in the world - often a standard of conduct set so artificially high that it cannot be met, thus assuring international condemnation in advance. And so black Americans as well as others have been critical of Israel - and this undeserved, double-standard criticism hurts American Jews who care about Israel, and who see the survival of Israel at the top of their agenda.

Have we truly explained our position to blacks? I doubt it.

And the shoe fits on both feet. Thus, Jewish attitudes on quotas in employment and education are seen by blacks as opposition to legitimate affirmative action. It does little good to point out that Jews have very good historical and moral reasons for opposing quotas, and that AJC and other major Jewish organizations support affirmative action programs while opposing quotas.

Somewhere along the line, with or without reason, the black community has equated our opposition to quotas with opposition to affirmative action, not recognizing what we see as a clear distinction. Quotas are seen by blacks as

a passport to jobs, and jobs are what the black community desperately needs; opposition to quotas then is seen as opposition to help for blacks.

But have the blacks truly explained this to Jews? I doubt it.

Israel and affirmative action are examples of the way in which black and Jews are talking past each other, in which black and Jewish agendas have gone off in different directions, to such an extent that the differences now appear to surpass in importance the shared concerns.

And as we have seen, the divergence in real - or perceived - interests has been accompanied by increased prejudice and lack of understanding between the two groups.

* * *

Having said all that, what can we do? What should we do? I suggest that the first thing to do is reduce the level of emotionalism on both sides, cut back on some of the strident oratory that makes it so hard to work together. Then we can recognize - each group - our prejudice against the other and the fact of our differences with the other in the selection of priorities. Until these facts are acknowledged, no matter how unpleasant, and until responsible leadership of each group condemns those of its lead-

ers who are anti-Semitic or anti-black, little of lasting value can be accomplished.

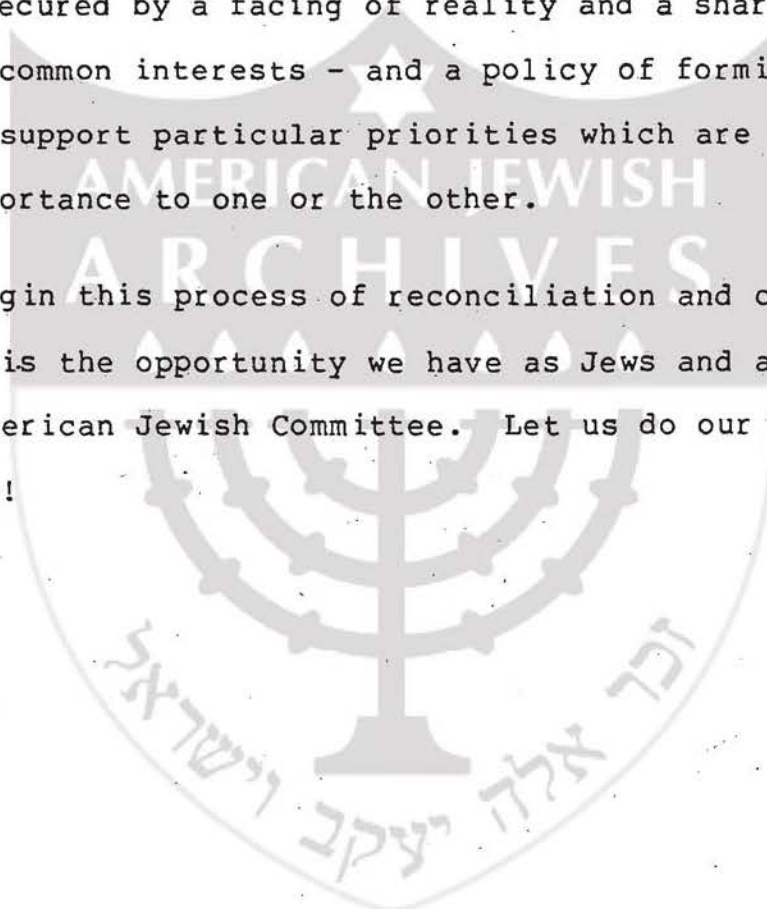
But once the air has been cleared, each group can and must reexamine its own priorities and, in a dialogue that may continue for longer than we imagine, explain and try to understand respective priorities and the reasons they have been selected.

Then comes the difficult task of coalition-building, of sharing agendas, of working together on matters of common concern. And occasionally, in the give-and-take of logrolling, we may seek support that is important to us, while giving support to black groups that is important to them - even if each of us may not be completely satisfied with the positions we take.

We won't trim our principles any more than we would ask blacks to do so, but if we Jews give a little on our public opposition to "quotas" - by which I mean not publicizing our opposition, not filing briefs in "quota" cases - remember we stayed out of Weber - to get black support for Israel, and if blacks give a little on their public positions on Israel and South Africa to get Jewish support for jobs, won't we all be better off? And won't this lead to reconciliation and mutual support between two groups with a common history of suffering at the hands of the majority?

We can never forget our emotional ties based on the Selma March, Schwerner and Goodman, Martin Luther King and much more - but our new relationship with black America will be more mature, founded not only on emotion - it will also be secured by a facing of reality and a sharing of specific common interests - and a policy of forming coalitions to support particular priorities which are of critical importance to one or the other.

To begin this process of reconciliation and coalition-building is the opportunity we have as Jews and as members of the American Jewish Committee. Let us do our part - and then some!



A BLACK AND WHITE ISSUE

"ALMOST MIDNIGHT," the late news programme struck gold on Monday night, at least from the point of view of providing dramatic, immediate news, although what happened was disastrous from the point of view of Israeli sport.

The sports team was giving us some cursory, run-of-the-mill shots of the contestants in the Maccabi Tel Aviv-Hapoel Tel Aviv basketball match as they left the court at the end of the match. Suddenly, Shmuel Nahmias ran up to Aulcie Perry, Tel Aviv Maccabi's black star, and launched a great gob of spit into his face. Perry and Maccabi's other black ace performer, Earl Williams, then ran after Nahmias, who was caught and knocked down. Then the police and other players tackled Perry and Williams.

All this happened so suddenly that Yoram Arbel, the sports commentator, was obviously caught quite unawares — he could hardly believe what he was seeing. But even when he gave the incident some subsequent coverage, he did not seem to be sure what position to take. He did mumble something about the Hapoel players using language to the two black players so obscene that he was not prepared to repeat it. Viewers were left to infer, as I infer we did, that these obscenities related to the colour of the skin of the two Maccabi stars. Later, we learned that the crowd had been hurling similar racial abuse at the two blacks throughout the game, and had attacked them afterwards as they tried to leave the stadium. One Hebrew-language newspaper criticized the two men for their provocative effrontery in trying to leave the stadium without a police escort, thereby inciting the Israeli crowds to try to lynch them.

The Tel Aviv Hapoel management, which has been trying to get rid of Perry by fair means or foul for some time now, announced that they would launch criminal proceedings and would move to have the two blacks deported.

On Tuesday night's nine o'clock news, an effort was made to redress

the balance by presenting the view of Perry and Williams.

Arbel interviewed Perry, after first showing us, several times, slow-motion shots of the incident. These made it almost clear what had happened. Nahmias went up to Perry, said something, appeared to offer to shake hands, and then walked past. When he was a few metres away, Perry, who was carrying the ball, threw it behind him, without looking where it was going. If he intended the ball to hit Nahmias on the face, as it did, it was an extraordinary shot to bring off without looking, but then Perry is an extraordinary player. Nahmias, obviously assuming that the ball had been deliberately thrown at him, then turned, rushed at Perry, and hurled his spitball into Perry's face. The reaction of Perry and Williams was inevitable and understandable. They were standing up for human dignity, an attitude Israelis should respect, despite Maccabi's published apology.

In the interview with Arbel, Perry said that he was very nervous because the crowd and the Hapoel team had repeatedly insulted him and his mother during the match. We were left to guess what the exact insults were; I think we can work out what was said.

WHAT IS very disturbing is not the fact that an incident took place after a fiercely contested basketball derby, but that racialism should have reared its revolting head in Israel. One cannot help but wonder how we Jews would feel if anti-Semitic abuse was hurled at our players at the Olympics in Moscow, and how we would expect our teams to react. Yet our Hebrew-language press has been unanimous in turning savagely on Perry and Williams. In fact, in justice to Arbel, he was the only reporter to put Perry's point of view at all.

It seems almost incredible that the world's most persecuted race, with the possible exception of the blacks, should practise racial intolerance in its own homeland. I have had occasion in the past to complain about the Voltairian jokes that the Almighty seems to be playing on us — this racial intolerance is the latest example of history's savage ironies.

In all the circumstances, I hope that Nahmias and the Hapoel management will drop their charges, which may well rebound, as did a previous Hapoel effort to get rid of Perry by invoking the Law of Return.

BY COINCIDENCE, we saw a much happier and healthier attitude to a black basketball player displayed in the youth sports programme, "Faster, Higher, Stronger," on Tuesday afternoon.

The hero of this programme Kendall Pinder, has brought Jerusalem Hapoel out of the doldrums and appears to be steering it safely towards a return to the National League. We saw him not only in action, but also being lionized by young adorners, who appeared to be completely colour blind.

The shots restored some of our faith that Israel will some day become the tolerant, liberal, ideal society that Theodor Herzl and the founding fathers and mothers dreamed about.

Pinder made some very good cracks — about the kind of courts on which our young have to learn, he said that he was worried about the baskets saying to themselves that they had been standing there so long it was time they had a rest, and came down on the heads of the

TELEREVIEW / Phillip Gillon

children. He also described Israeli drivers as being involved, like embattled basketball players, inoffensive defence tactics. He certainly seemed to be having a very good time in Jerusalem, which he described as a quiet city, especially on Friday nights. Which is a fair enough description.

STILL ON THE subject of blacks, "The Paper Chase" featured a hero this week who bore a remarkable resemblance to Aulcie Perry, although he lacked Perry's height. The theme was a moot court, which the black hero, a former West Pointer, was determined to win. To achieve this ambition he compelled his team-mate to run kilometres every day across country in order to attain the state of physical fitness that the black considered necessary in a good trial lawyer.

While I am all in favour of the principle of a healthy mind and a healthy body, I cannot recall that

any of the great trial lawyers I have met ever attained a peak of physical fitness. And I find Professor Kingsfield's teaching methods rather strange: his students seem to swot off cases like parrots, and then regurgitate them word for word. But I must say that the worthy professor gave a superb lesson to the black hero in how to give advice without actually giving it in order to comply with the rules of the competition.

The series is a fascinating one, and I suppose it should be described by the appellation "adult," to distinguish it from some of the other series we see. It is sufficiently gripping to hold me, although it competes with Jordan's "Kojak."

Generally, Television House should look at its times. Many people complained to me that they could not see "Disraeli" because it was screened so late. Since the programme was run a second time to give religious viewers a chance to

see it, the lateness of the hour was rather taking back with the left hand what had been given with the right — our religious friends are known to go early to bed.

But I endorse again the policy of ending evenings with shows like "Soap" and "Love, American Style." More of the same might make us forget the news shots as we settle down to sleep.

IN THE NEWS, I was delighted to be reassured by Professor Mervyn Gotsman that Prime Minister Menahem Begin — may he live to be 120 — was in very good physical and mental health. Professor Gotsman was rebutting the charges levelled by Dr. Yisrael Peled, the mayor of Ramat Gan.

The professor said that Mr. Begin was as fit to serve as prime minister as he has ever been, and that there was no reason why he could not carry on for another four years.

Of course, there are some of us who think that he was never fit to be prime minister, and that he is certainly not fit to remain at the post for four more years, Heaven forbid, but these views have nothing to do with the state of his health.



Aulcie Perry

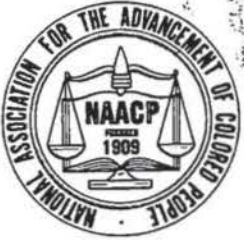
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Date: 12/27/79

From: Inge Lederer Gibel

To: MHT

For your information



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

SEVENTEEN NINETY BROADWAY

NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

September 5, 1979

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum
National Interreligious Affairs Director
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Dear Rabbi Tanenbaum:

This is to acknowledge receipt of your recent communication in which you shared your views on Ambassador Andrew Young's resignation.

Those of us who appreciate the contribution which Ambassador Young made in his capacity as United States Permanent Representative to the United Nations are hopeful that his departure will not mean a de-emphasizing of America's commitment to human rights and peace around the world.

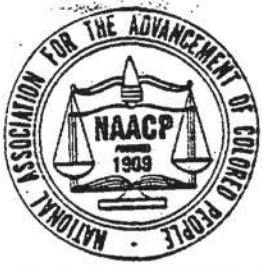
I am enclosing herein a copy of statements adopted by Black leaders at the August 22nd Conference held at the NAACP National Office.

Once again, thanks for your comments.

Yours for peace and progress,

Benjamin L. Hooks
Executive Director

BLH:klb
encl.



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
1790 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

August 24, 1979

Dear Friend,

As a result of the unhappy circumstances surrounding the resignation of Ambassador Andrew Young as U.S. Permanent Representative to the United Nations, the NAACP felt it imperative to convene a meeting of black leaders to study the issues involved and attempt to arrive at a consensus. Such a call was issued by the NAACP and several supporting organizations on August 16, 1979.

Meeting at the NAACP national headquarters, these persons considered the following issues: Ambassador Young's integrity and the double standard by which he was judged; black/Jewish relations, blacks and the conduct of U.S. foreign policy and support for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

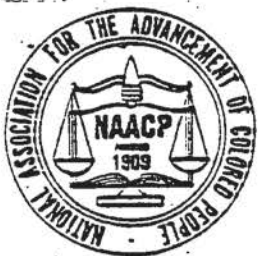
Approximately 200 people representing the leading civil rights organizations, churches and some of the most prominent fraternal and civic groups attended that meeting on August 22, 1979. We are proud that, given the diversity of the group and intensity of feelings that Ambassador Young's resignation aroused, history will judge that day as one of the most significant in the quest by black Americans for full respect as citizens of this nation.

We trust that you will have some interest in the statements which were unanimously adopted at that meeting and which are herein enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

Benjamin L. Hooks
Executive Director

Enclosures
BLH/1h



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
1790 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

Opening Statement by Benjamin L. Hooks,
NAACP Executive Director, at Meeting of
National Leaders on Implications of
Ambassador Andrew Young's Resignation
as U. S. Permanent Representative to the
United Nations, Wednesday, August 22,
1979, NAACP National Office, New York,
New York.

This meeting was called for the purpose of dealing with
the fallout surrounding the circumstances of the resignation of
Ambassador Andrew Young as Permanent Representative of the
United States to the United Nations.

Over the past week, events have been moving so fast that
it has been difficult to consider the whole issue in a compre-
hensive manner. Many of the issues which we have planned to
discuss have been dealt with in other forums. But, there are
still many questions unanswered by Mr. Young's resignation.
These issues demand that we express our concerns and attempt to
give some direction to the search for an ultimate resolution of
this crisis.

We strongly believe that in the national interest, the
U. S. government has a responsibility to provide its citizens
with the truth while taking every precaution against besmirching
or destroying the credibility of so worthy a diplomat and states-

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Page Two
August 22, 1979

man as Mr. Young.

In our meeting today we plan to do four things:

- Issue a statement holding up to light the double standards by which Mr. Young has been judged.
- Call upon this nation to live up to the ideals of decency and candor that Mr. Young established as ambassador.
- Call for continuing dialogue with the Jewish community in an effort to lessen the deep polarization which has been worsening between them and black Americans.
- Underscore the historical involvement of blacks in developing U. S. foreign policy.

We at the NAACP have already expressed our dismay at the resignation of Ambassador Young. We have made known our views that he has contributed immeasurably to elevating U. S. relations with Third World countries, and, with regard to the incidents leading to his resignation, we are convinced that he acted in the best interest of this nation.

It seems necessary and appropriate now, that we comment

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further on the situation which precipitated the Young controversy.

Because of our background, heritage and tradition, there is a natural tendency for many black Americans, historically, to have tremendous sympathy with people who are deprived wherever they are.

This is true of the Jewish people, the Arab people, the Palestinian people, native Americans, Viet Nam boat people, Haitian refugees, European peoples who have come to this country in search of a better life, as well as many others.

In the difficult problems of inter-cultural relations, we must take into consideration forthrightly, the human component. There is no way that there can be sides where simple humanity is concerned. Moreover, the key to a peaceful world is a resolution of the profound differences that separate and divide peoples for whatever reason.

In our view, this is what the enlightened foreign policy of the United States under this administration is all about. It equates the Israeli child, the Palestinian child, the Egyptian child, the Vietnamese child, the Nicaraguan child with our own children, particularly in this International Year of the Child.

We, therefore, applaud all efforts to have people talking, conferring, and understanding one another, and it ought to be

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the function of our government as a leader of the free world to bring people together for this purpose.

We believe that what Ambassador Young did was aimed at this objective. We further believe that this search for ways to be evenhanded and fairminded must be pursued, because by doing what is best for everybody, we do what is best for America.

What we hope to do here today is to achieve a broad consensus. Obviously we do not intend to circumscribe the ability of any group to pursue these objectives in its own way at its own pace.

This is not the time for arrogance or intransigence, but a time for a mutuality and tempered dialogue. We believe that all thoughtful Americans of all faiths and persuasions concur in these views.



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
1790 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

STATEMENT UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED
BY BLACK LEADERSHIP MEETING,
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1979,
NAACP NATIONAL OFFICE, NEW YORK,
NEW YORK.

BLACKS AND U.S. FOREIGN POLICY

Given the history of racial discrimination in the United States, it should hardly be surprising that the forthright conduct and candor of Ambassador Andrew Young would be cause for so much consternation throughout our government and the nation. Readily acknowledged by friend and foe alike are Mr. Young's historical contributions in advancing United States foreign policy in areas of the world that are crucial to this country's interests.

Ambassador Young was a spearhead in opening doors that were previously closed to the United States. He was immensely successful in a role in which so many others were colorless or dismal failures. As a black person in an establishment controlled by whites and which historically has functioned for the advancement of whites only interests, he was color blind. He pursued his mission as an American representing all people, not as a black American. His universal approach to some of the most difficult problems that increasingly have hampered this nation's

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foreign policy was refreshing.

Ambassador Young conducted his office knowing fully well the interests that are at stake in the pursuit of peace around the world, especially in this instance, in the Middle East. In every war since the founding of this nation, black citizens have borne arms and died for their country. Their blood was spilled from Bunker Hill to Vietnam. It is to be expected that should the United States become drawn into a war in the Middle East, black Americans will once more be called upon to sacrifice their lives.

Nevertheless, the involvement of blacks and their concern in foreign policy questions is repeatedly questioned. Black American citizens deplore the arrogance that is implicit in this attitude. As a result, the treatment that was accorded Mr. Young by the U. S. government, especially by the State Department, was totally abhorrent. Black Americans strongly protest the callous, ruthless behavior of the United States State Department toward Mr. Young.

We deplore the history of racism and the bureaucratic recalcitrance that is so endemic to that agency. Black Americans protest the history of employment discrimination at the State Department and call upon the President and Secretary of State to exert their full authority in pressing for the desegre-

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Benjamin L. Hooks
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gation of that institution. Every effort must be made to place and advance blacks in positions of authority there.

We hold the State Department fully accountable to the American people for events surrounding Mr. Young's resignation and call upon President Carter and Mr. Vance to make public the complete details surrounding the Ambassador's meeting with the P.L.O. and the circumstances pertaining to the public disclosure of that encounter.

We demand once more to know why was the American Ambassador to Austria given a mere reminder about U. S. policy prohibiting meetings with the P.L.O. while Mr. Young was harshly reprimanded. We call upon the Carter Administration to account for this gross double standard.

Clearly, the stakes for minorities in the conduct of American foreign policy continue to be high. In energy, the Middle East represents one of the primary areas of supply. As we have seen in recent years, any disruption or uncertainty of supply can have a disastrous impact upon the U. S. economy and that of its principal trading partners as well as throughout other areas of the world.

Africa, likewise, provides the United States with the bulk of many scarce minerals that industry needs. Black people furthermore, have historical and cultural roots in that conti-

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ment. The moral aspects of the gross violations of human and political rights by the white minorities in southern Africa constitute a direct affront to black Americans. So, it is imperative that we who have so much to contribute to the further improvement of relations with countries on that continent continue to be even more involved in developing U. S. policy on Africa as well as the rest of the world.

Finally, as Americans, black people very strongly resent having the right of their involvement in the development and conduct of U. S. foreign policy questioned.

Neither Jews, Italians, Germans, Irish, Chinese, British, French or whatever other ethnically or nationally identifiable group has any more right to be involved in the development and conduct of United States foreign policy than Americans of African descent. If there is any single area where the melting pot concept applies, it is with foreign affairs. For we either all pursue the common interests of this nation together or help it sink separately.



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
1790 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

STATEMENT ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY
BY BLACK LEADERSHIP MEETING,
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1979,
NAACP NATIONAL OFFICE,
NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

In support of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference we affirm the right of black citizens and organizations to engage in dialogue with individuals and groups whose actions have serious consequences for them. We applaud the initiative of those individuals and organizations that have come to the defense of Ambassador Andrew Young, our colleague and brother.

We respect and affirm the right of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and any other individual or organization to express their views on international and domestic issues.

We join with Ambassador Andrew Young in rejecting the notion that any foreign nation should dictate the foreign policies of the United States. We summarily reject the implication that anyone other than blacks themselves can determine their proper role in helping to shape and mold American foreign policies which directly affect their lives.



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STATEMENT UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED
BY BLACK LEADERSHIP MEETING,
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1979,
NAACP NATIONAL OFFICE, NEW YORK,
NEW YORK.

BLACK/JEWISH RELATIONS

Since the beginning of this century, some American Jews and Jewish organizations have openly joined with black Americans in the struggle against religious bigotry and racial hatred. They saw in the treatment that was accorded blacks a reflection of their own sufferings extending back over thousands of years. The interests of blacks and Jews in seeking an end to the destructive and irrational hatreds were mutual.

However, the key question before us as representatives of the black community in America is the more immediate problem of the extent to which the successful demand for the resignation of Ambassador Andrew Young has in fact further damaged an already unhappy relationship between the American Jewish organizational spokesmen and the rank and file and the leadership of American blacks.

Since it is clear that the resignation of Ambassador Young has seriously intensified tensions in black-Jewish relations, then any attempts to seek to relieve these tensions must be based upon contemporary realities. At this time attempts to deal with this

problem by emotional rhetoric, past defenses and denials can only exacerbate the problem.

There is no question that individual Jews and Jewish organizations and their leaders have worked as part of a liberal coalition with blacks and organized labor to form a powerful political force for social and economic reform in the United States. It is also clear that Jewish organizations and leadership have done so when it is in their perceived interest to do so as we do. It is reasonable to believe that they will continue to work with blacks when they believe that it is in their interest to be allied with blacks and our aspirations.

However, it is a fact that within the past 10 years some Jewish organizations and intellectuals who were previously identified with the aspirations of black Americans for unqualified educational, political and economic equality with all other Americans abruptly became apologists for the racial status quo. They asserted that further attempts to remedy the present forms of discrimination were violative of the civil rights laws.

Powerful organizations within the Jewish community opposed the interest of the black community in the DeFunis, Bakke and Weber cases up to the United States Supreme Court.

Beyond that, some Jewish intellectuals gave credence and policy substance to such concepts as "reverse discrimination" and "quotas" as reasons for restricting further attempts to continue

Statement on Black/Jewish Relations
Benjamin L. Hooks
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to seek remedies for present discrimination against blacks. The term "quota" which traditionally meant the exclusion of Jews was now being used by many Jews to warn against attempts to include blacks in aspects of our society and economy from which we were previously excluded. To many blacks this seems to be a most perplexing Orwellian perversion of language.

Black America is also deeply concerned with the trade and military alliance that exists between Israel and the illegitimate and oppressive racist regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. That relationship, in our view, imposes upon Jewish organizations in this country an obligation to insist that the State of Israel discontinue its support of those repressive and racist regimes.

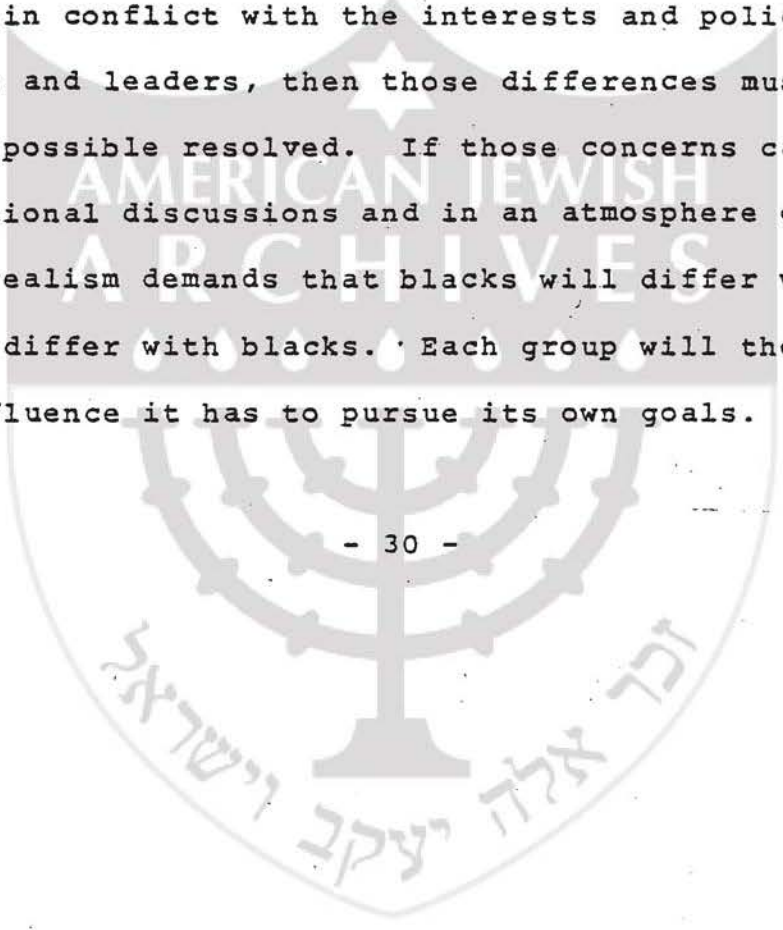
These causes of black-Jewish tension could only give aid and comfort to those who previously were as anti-Semitic as they were anti-black. It is also possible that it completed the circle of black separatism and bitterness.

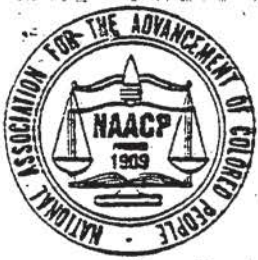
Realism demands that the burden of resolving the black-Jewish tensions which have been brewing for years cannot be placed disproportionately on the backs of already overburdened blacks; Jews must show more sensitivity and be prepared for more consultation before taking positions contrary to the best interests of the black community.

Realism demands also that all discussions seeking to ameliorate or resolve fundamental differences between American blacks

and Jews be conducted in terms of specific issues and problems rather than in terms of emotions, supplication, subtle or flagrant threats and coercion or arrogance.

Whenever the legitimate concerns of blacks are or are perceived to be in conflict with the interests and policies of Jewish organizations and leaders, then those differences must be made clear and if possible resolved. If those concerns cannot be resolved by rational discussions and in an atmosphere of mutual respect, then realism demands that blacks will differ with Jews even as Jews will differ with blacks. Each group will then use whatever power and influence it has to pursue its own goals.





NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
1790 BROADWAY • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10019 • 212-245-2100

STATEMENT ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY
BY BLACK LEADERSHIP MEETING,
WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 22, 1979,
NAACP NATIONAL OFFICE,
NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG

WE ARE PROUD OF YOU

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

It is an accepted fact of American mentality that for any black person to attempt to speak for this country on international matters invites the wrath of those who have assigned unto themselves the role of world leaders. Naturally, this attitude is directly tied to the 400 years of Western colonialism which saw whites as the subjugators of the darker races.

Within the context of this master-servant relationship, Europeans extended their dominance thousands of miles away from their home bases to lands as distant as the Far East. They had near-total control of the principal sea lanes around the world as well as of much of the underdeveloped territories and countries in Africa, the Caribbean and Asia.

With powerful navies, their new technologies and the resultant need to find an abundant supply of cheap raw materials as well as markets for their expanding industries and commerce, they fashioned ways to control the minds and bodies of those over whom they had assumed control.

Given this history -- and nostalgia -- it should therefore

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come as no surprise that so many white Americans would regard with great alarm the initiatives of such a superb diplomat as is United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young, the first black to hold that post. The old colonial empires are dead. But the mentality, undergirded by racism, still lingers on in the minds of too many whites.

It follows, therefore, that the singular contributions of another great diplomat, who also was black, Ralph Bunche, have been all but written out of American history. He was, among other things, Under Secretary for Special Political Affairs at the United Nations shortly after World War II. It was he who fashioned the details for the Middle East peace in 1949 which resulted in the creation and recognition of Israel as a nation. For these efforts, we are sure, the world is grateful although so little recognition is given to the man who fashioned the settlement for war-torn Palestine.

Against this background, it is somewhat ironic 30 years later that we find the Middle East question now bringing an end to the brilliant tenure of Andrew Young as the American Ambassador to the United Nations. Ambassador Young has been mercilessly assailed for having met with representatives of the P.L.O. He has been made a sacrificial lamb for circumstances beyond his control. Pointedly overlooked, however, is that he was exercising his best judgment, first in carrying out the wishes of his

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government in getting a postponement of an issue coming up before the Security Council that could have forced the United States into an embarrassing stance.

Second, as president of the Security Council, it is his duty to meet with all parties involved in questions scheduled to be considered by that body. And the P.L.O. was at the center of the question. Ambassador Young, in the manner in which he met with the P.L.O. on a procedural issue, demonstrated great maturity and skill. The overreaction by the national news media, some of the Jewish community, the Carter administration and some congressional leaders was a regrettable consequence of the double standard by which this nation judges its black leaders.

Pointedly and tragically overlooked in the hysterical reaction to Ambassador Young's meeting with the P.L.O. is that the encounter did not change -- neither was it intended to alter -- U. S. policy regarding United States dealings with that group. Furthermore, Ambassador Young did succeed in his mission. He won an agreement on postponing the upcoming debate on Resolution 242 and the Palestinian homeland issue.

The question of black-Jewish relations being worsened by Ambassador Young's resignation, not surprisingly, has flared into the open even more heatedly than in the past. It must be emphasized that for blacks, the issue is not one of anti-Semitism

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or irrational hatred of Jews. Historically the object of bigotry, Jews easily empathized with the traditional victims of racial hatred in this country.

Blacks, however, were deeply affronted by the inherent arrogance in the attacks upon Ambassador Young by certain Jewish groups and the news media for his having dared to place the interests of the United States above all other considerations.

To his inestimable credit, Ambassador Young has warned about inciting black-Jewish tensions in his support. That certainly was appropriate. The Ambassador's gentlemanly response to the circumstances leading up to the premature curtailment of his United Nations tenure cannot mask the double standard by which he has been judged. He has been excoriated and pilloried by the nation's media, sundry people and organizations. Yet rare is such a giant of a man who has served his country with such outstanding success.

Because of this double standard, we find that the American Ambassador to Austria met with the P.L.O. in that country three times; yet he was only "reminded" of his government's policy. No public explanations, however, have been given about the full nature of Mr. Wolf's meetings.

We fear, however, that at this stage, not much more will be revealed about those encounters. It really matters little. For the whole history of the treatment that was meted out to

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Ambassador Young demonstrates that it will be a long time before this double standard of judging black people will be brought to an end.



American Jews are troubled by the tensions arising out of Andrew Young's resignation as ambassador to the UN. We are particularly concerned that black civil-rights leaders committed to the cause of racial justice should appear to be expressing sympathy with the band of murderers known as the PLO.

The PLO's chief supporters are the oil-rich sheikdoms of the Arab world like Saudi Arabia where slavery is still practiced and blacks are regarded as inferior beings. There is no connection between American blacks and the oil billionaires of the Middle East. Nor is there a connection between the terrorist PLO and the American civil-rights movement founded on the non-violent principle of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The PLO was created 15 years ago not to liberate the West Bank — which was then occupied by Jordan, not Israel — but for the sole purpose of destroying Israel. That is still its purpose. Terror is still its tactic. Among the PLO's thousands of innocent victims have been American diplomats, Olympic athletes, international airline travelers, children at school and Palestinian Arabs wishing to live in peace with Israel.

The Jewish community did not ask for Ambassador Young's resignation. Our differences are with the State Department and its Middle East policy. That policy has been to find a way to bring about PLO recognition of Israel's right to exist and of UN Resolution 242 so that the Palestinians will feel free to engage in peace negotiations. Thus far, the Palestinians have declined all invitation to take part in the peace negotiations. There is only one reason for this refusal: the PLO threatens to gun them down if they do.

The PLO itself cannot produce anything worthwhile for the Palestinian Arabs. If, by some miracle, the PLO relinquished its designs on Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem and accepted the legitimacy of a Jewish state in the Middle East, it would still absolutely insist on a PLO state on the West Bank. If by some greater miracle, the PLO was willing to accept not statehood but autonomy, it would still insist on a PLO presence in the West Bank. Israel quite rightly regards even a presence as a form of national suicide.

Considering what the PLO has done to Arabs — not only its terrorist acts and assassinations of Palestinian moderates, but its attempts to destroy Jordan in 1970-71 and its actual destruction of Lebanon more recently — can anyone imagine what would be in store for Israel? That is why Israel refuses to negotiate with the PLO. And that is why we believe black Americans and their leaders will reject any attempt to create a constituency for the PLO in the black community.

American Jews were and remain the greatest allies in the struggle for racial justice for which Martin Luther King gave

the struggle for anti employment, decent housing, national health insurance and all the other human rights that must be met if there is to be true racial equality in our country.

We shall continue to work toward these goals because they are fundamental to our vision of America and to our own Jewish commitments.

"Ambassador Young, Blacks And Jews"

By Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

In an otherwise confused and deeply upsetting episode surrounding the resignation last week of Ambassador Andrew Young, the prompt declaration by a group of major national Black leaders who sought to prevent the outbreak of further misunderstanding between Blacks and Jews was an act of genuine moral courage and authentic statesmanship. The nation at large owes a debt of gratitude to Vernon Jordan of the Urban League, Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP, Mrs. Coretta King, and Bayard Rustin among others for their refusal to allow demagogues and PLO representatives to distort a complex Middle East political issue into a confrontation between the Black and Jewish communities.

Black and Jewish leaders have since made clear that the source of this distressing happening has been elements within the State Department who with clumsy stealth have sought to legitimize the PLO in clear violation of American policy not to deal with a group that continues to preach and practice terrorism and massacre of innocent human beings in Israel and elsewhere. Any ambassador, white or black, who was made the agent of that unauthorized policy and was caught at it, would have — and should have — suffered the fate of resignation. It needs to be made clear that no Jewish group nor leader held Andy Young personally responsible for this policy, but rather demanded that President Carter and the State Department adhere faithfully to their commitments made at Camp David not to baptize the PLO. In the present situation, a PLO state will inevitably become a Soviet satellite, and a Soviet dominated state will threaten every single oil supply in the Middle East on which the United States and other nations depend. That's the central issue, and nothing should be allowed to divert us from that critical understanding.

The Skullcap Case In Court

Dear Editor

Shocked to read in newspapers about Rabbi Joshua Sackett, a teacher of Judaic Studies and Hebrew at the Hebrew Academy of Norfolk, who was ordered by Traffic Court Judge Vernon D. Hitchings, to remove his skullcap (Yarmulka). The Judge said that nobody wears a hat in his court.

Maybe its time for this Judge to take a good look at the Statue of Liberty and read the inscription by E. Lazarus.

Betty D. Edlavitch
Baltimore, Md.



From AFRO-AMERICAN WEEKEND

September 4 - 8, 1979

Letters to the Editor

COURAGEOUS AMBASSADOR
New York

It would appear that Ambassador Young's having to resign over this matter is out of proportion to the historic contribution he has made towards improving relationships with nations for the USA at the United Nations.

A mbassador Young should be applauded for the courageous manner in which he has chosen to resign, and for the clarity he has given to the inadequacy of US foreign policy in the MidEast, particularly as it relates to the Palestine Liberation Organization. Perhaps this will be Ambassador Young's legacy.

The whole world will be waiting to see who will replace Ambassador Young. We will know then whether his leaving will mean a reversion of US presence at the UN to the more staid, traditionalist mode of the past. This will only thwart our movement toward open relationships with the non-Western nations.

Reverend M. William Howard

President, National Council of Churches

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022 • Plaza 1-4000

date January 19, 1979
to See List Below**
from Haskell L. Lazere
subject Koch, The Rabbis and The Minorities

CONFIDENTIAL

On January 18, the attached article appeared in the New York Times. I had deep misgivings when I read it, and therefor was somewhat prepared for what developed during the day. A call came in from Jack John Olivero asking if I had read the article and telling me that it seemed to him that the clear impact was that the minorities who were critical of Koch were anti-semitic. Jack, who is an officer of AT&T is also president of the Community Service Society and former President of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund. We had a long conversation in which he apologized for calling me to complain, but I was one of the few he knew well and could be candid with. (He thanked me for what I had done in the Post editorial matter and told me that the Post in its negative way had done a service to the Puerto Rican community since it had brought so many diverse groups together.) I assured JJ that I was pursuing the news item with the Board of Rabbis.

During our conversation JJ also expressed concern that in all the rhetoric of the current fiscal crisis he was getting the feeling that all fiscal ills were being blamed on the poor and all cuts would be made at their expense. He expressed concern that in the process that we would (if we had not already) develop a climate in which "welfare" and other similar services would be dirty words and change the public attitude toward taking care of those who could not care for themselves. He noted that his people were "new immigrants" and needed a hand up. He deplored that "climate" that was developing, and at my suggestion said he was going to say something about it at the annual meeting of CSS. I hope his comments will be published.

Following Jack's call, I called Malcolm Hoenlein to call his attention to the article and to convey Jack's conversation. I then called Paul Hiat, Executive Director of the New York Board of Rabbis. Paul assured me that the Times story was the Times, not Rabbi Silverstein, who had geared his remarks toward having better Black-Jewish relations. He is sending me a copy of Silverstein's remarks. I suggested that he do a cover note with it laying the blame for the distortion on the Times. I also asked him to have Silverstein send a letter over to the Times re the story which appeared.*

Late this afternoon I had a call from Arthur Barnes and spoke with him about the Times story, spelling out what had happened. Barnes said he had met with the Times to call attention to similar distorted stories, but it seems to no avail. He complained that the Times was becoming like the Post in regard to "coloring" stories and said that the News had improved in that regard measurably.

Still later I got a call from Congressman Charles Rangel....
subject: the Times story and later on the Mayor. Charlie was relieved to know the story was not accurate and appreciative of my taking it up with the Board of Rabbis. Later in the Rangel conversation, he shared some inside information with me as to how he had been contacted by Badillo when the King Day invitation to the Mayor was cancelled, asking Charlie's help in linking up with another Black church for the Mayor to go to. The suggestion Herman made for a substitute appearance cracked him up....it was in re the Black Minister who has been causing such a furor re Dimona, Rev. Kinlock! The guy doesn't have a church and Charlie told Herman if the Mayor did appear with the guy it would be going from frying pan to fire. Charlie said that the Mayor and his people not only don't know who to contact, they don't even know who to call to get the lead. He also said that he had spoken to LoCicero, who virtually always agreed with him, but seemed never to influence any kind of a change....a nice guy, but. Charlie will be back in touch again soon because I think another broader coalition is beginning to take shape and he doesn't want it to be with "the bombthrowers". He named one I know well, but the name shouldn't be in any memo.

All in all, the forecasts I got today are anything but cheerful for future months.

- * 1/19/79: I spoke early today with Hiat again to ask how the Times had an exact quote from Silverstein in view of our previous conversation. Hiat then told me that at one point Silverstein laid his prepared text aside to make a couple of impromptu remarks, and that he had indeed expressed himself as quoted in the Times! Evidently the full "impromptu" went something like this. 'Just as Blacks have said that they doubted whether Koch would have gone to Boro Park if the crowd had been Black, so do "I wonder if Mr. Koch were not Jewish if the same disrespect would be shown to him?" '

I urged Hiat to help Silverstein prepare a letter to the Times immediately seeking to put the proper emphasis forward. Hiat admits Silverstein made a bad mistake and he (and I) is holding his breath that the Jewish Press, who also had a reporter present, doesn't sensationalize the impromptu remarks.

- * Messrs. Samet, Ellerin, Gold, Greenberger,
Tanenbaum, Fleischman



ENC.

increases.

'Sniping' at Mayor Criticized by Rabbi

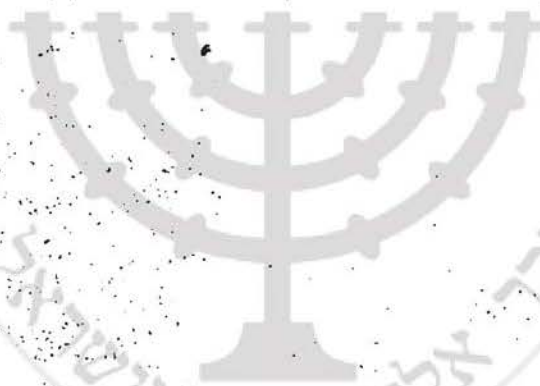
N.Y. TIMES JAN 18, '79

Rabbi Baruch Silverstein, president of the New York Board of Rabbis, yesterday assailed the "continuing rift between the black and the Jewish communities" and defended Mayor Koch against what he called "persistent sniping" from some minority group spokesmen.

Rabbi Silverstein suggested that attacks on the Mayor were motivated in part by animosity toward Jews. "If Mr. Koch were not Jewish," he said, "I wonder if the same disrespect would be shown to him?"

The latest incident in a period of strained relations between blacks and Jews came last week when the Baptist Ministers Conference of Harlem, withdrew an invitation to Mr. Koch to take part in services honoring the late Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



זכור אלה "עקב" ישראל

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date January 25, 1980
to Evan Bayer, Hyman Bookbinder
from Leland B. Cohen *JBC*
subject CONGRESSMAN CLAY'S ADDRESS TO ST. LOUIS BOARD

Congressman William Clay of the First Congressional District of Missouri, Democrat and member of the Black Caucus spoke at our recent Chapter board meeting. The attendance was outstanding with between 45 and 50 people present including some members of the National Council of Jewish Women, spouses and non-board members. This meeting was a result of our October meeting with Clay at the height of the Andrew Young furor and was his way of responding to our concern for better communication. We asked him to address himself to issues of the 80's, particularly urban issues, and to comment on anything else he wanted to.

He was candid and to the point on most issues and emphasized what he sees as the increasing insensitivity of the rank and file American public to issues which effect the poor and minority group members. He spoke of middle class wage earners who are tiring of high taxation, venting their anger, and supporting such measures as Proposition 13 which will remove those programs that insure the basics of life to poor people. He acknowledged that government was also unresponsive to many of these issues and was unable to effect change. Another issue that he raised was the general public malaise which allows the news media to chose the "number one problem of the week".

He spoke of the need for moral leadership in the community, particularly from religious leaders. He directed most of this ire at the Catholic Church, particularly the St. Louis Archdiocese and by implication suggested that Jews could play a role in this needed moral force to address the issues of the day.

In response to specific questions raised from the floor, he spoke of the importance of lobbyists and saw that their larger numbers and greater diversity had had an impact on long standing interest groups as they began to influence the competition for legislative attention. He felt that increases in defense spending would not improve military capability, vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. Also mentioned that defense contracts do not produce great numbers of jobs and may in fact limit economic growth. He was asked about the possibility of redistricting, putting him out of office, based on the 1980 census and responded that he foresaw no change since the Democrats would probably continue to control the Missouri State Legislature in 1981.

In response to the question about Iran and Afghanistan, Clay was candid in suggesting that we need to exercise great patience, not jump into armed conflict that can be avoided and not to sell sophisticated weapons to Pakistan or China. Clay emphasized his lack of trust for the Chinese and while he said he had no great love for the Russians, he was much more concerned about

the Chinese than the Russians.

Clay is a co-sponsor along with 70 or so others of a bill to restrict condominium conversions for two years. During this moratorium there would be a presidential commission to study the impact of condominium conversion on the elderly and the poor. Clay would support this bill which would deny communities certain community development funds and housing assistance if they converted apartments to condominiums during this moratorium. The shortage of rental units was considered by Clay to be one of the most serious issues facing poor people and members of minority groups in the 80's.

With respect to public education, he mentioned that not every child in the United States should go to college and that we should recognize this fact and stop embarrassing kids by trying to set this as an educational goal for everyone. We should provide for the bright and not so bright, but recognize the needs of those with middle levels of ability and realistically plan a curriculum to meet those needs. He also commented on the need for increasing teachers salaries and a means of increasing the status of that position.

Clay would support the notion that the government should be the employer of last resort and that government policies could be used to fight inflation without increasing unemployment. He further implied that government policies are responsible for the high rates of unemployment in targeted groups, minority young adults specifically.

His remarks about the nature of Congress were amusing to a number of people at the meeting. Clay suggested that most Congressmen are not leaders but follow the consensus which is presented to them by their hometown newspapers and by their major supporters. He felt that as long as this is the case, Congress would not be the body to which we could look for leadership. Again he emphasized the need for more leaders to begin speaking out on issues of what should be the correct course for the country to pursue. He emphasized this again by saying that the labor movement, in the past an advocate group, was no longer speaking for poor people because union members have become middle class taxpayers who have a "Proposition 13 mentality."

While Clay did not address the question of a crisis in Black-Jewish relations during his opening remarks, one of our board members asked about this and Clay responded that there was no crisis in Black-Jewish relations. He said that had the media not given excessive coverage to Lowery, Jackson and Fauntroy there would have been no real concern with their contacts with Arafat. He asked the group if they were aware that just the day before six Congressmen had met with Arafat in Lebanon and wondered why there was no uproar over this in the news media.

There was general agreement following this meeting that having Clay speak was a very good idea and that members were very impressed by his delivery and his ability to respond to questions. We will continue to maintain contacts with the Congressman and his local office and probably meet with him periodically. I will try to arrange meetings with Clay and members of the chapter's executive committee at intervals during the year. I'm not sure at this time of the need to have him annually to address the board although that is something I will explore with them.

page three
January 25, 1980
Evan Bayer, Hyman Bookbinder

At the end of the meeting an announcement was made of the upcoming program (February 5) that our chapter is sponsoring on the Falashas. Clay and his two assistants expressed a great deal of curiosity on the plight of the Jews in Ethiopia and asked a couple of questions before the meeting was adjourned. I was able to give a brief rundown of recent events and speak on the conditions in Ethiopia and relations with the Mengistu government which seemed to satisfy his curiosity. I made no mention of the concerns expressed by the Falashas and their supporters with hesitation on the part of the Israeli government or the Jewish Agency but discussed the issue in terms of difficulties within Ethiopia. Clay's curiosity about this issue and his apparent concern may represent an area for future follow-up should the issue of the Falashas become a central concern of AJC.

LBC:pw
cc: Harold Applebaum
 Marc Tanenbaum
 Martin Plax





PROTEST THE DISMISSAL OF AMBASSADOR ANDREW YOUNG BY RACIST AND ZIONIST!

MONDAY - August 27th, 1979
12 Noon - Israeli Embassy - 800 2nd Ave. & 43rd St.

BMT & IRT Trains to Grand Central

YOU'LL FIND OUT...

1. Why Ambassador Andrew Young is the latest victim of the racist and Zionist forces who have attempted to destroy independent and outspoken Black leaders?

(Remember Judges William Booth and Bruce Wright, Percy Sutton)

2. Why blind U.S. support of Israel will mean cold winters for Black people and other poor people in America?

3. Why U.S. Black leaders continue to support Israel? Israel supports dictatorships like The Shah of Iran, Somoza, Nicaragua, racist South Afrika, racist Rhodesia.

4. Why Black leaders did not rally to support Ambassador Andrew Young BEFORE he "resigned"?
Who controls Black Civil Rights Organizations in the U.S.?

★ INVITED SPEAKERS INCLUDE ★

ALL RECOGNIZED LOCAL AND NATIONAL SPOKESPERSONS OF THE AFRO-AMERICAN COMMUNITY WHO ARE UNAFRAID TO SPEAK OUT ON THE ISSUES STATED ABOVE.

HERE IS YOUR CHANCE TO STATE YOUR POSITION WHERE DO YOU STAND?

*Sponsored by the National Organizing Committee of the Black United Front

For Information call: 625-8292

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*September 22nd, 1979 the Black United Front will sponsor a National Conference on the history and future of Afrikan-Jewish relationships.

ADOPTED RESOLUTION OF THE 3RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
THE BLACK THEOLOGY PROJECT, INC., IN CLEVELAND, OHIO
ON AUGUST 4, 1979

As Black Christians committed to the fight for liberation of the oppressed whether they be in South Africa, Israel, the occupied Arab territories or in the U.S., we see the essence of struggle of the Palestinian people as the same as the struggle for freedom of our Black Brothers and Sisters in Southern Africa.

In fact, we perceive South Africa and Israel as twin regimes of racism and imperialism. The indigenous people of both lands have been displaced by violence or forced to live as oppressed people in their own countries. The human rights of the indigenous people of Southern Africa are violated because of apartheid and the human rights of the indigneous Palestinian Arabs, Christian and Moslem are violated because of Zionism.

Therefore, as Black Christians in the U.S.A. we are opposed to the United States providing aid to South Africa and Israel as long as these two regimes violate human rights, international laws and those basic ethical principles enunciated in the Holy Scriptures of Christian, Jewish and Islamic faiths.

We strongly condemn Israeli/South African military and economic cooperation and alliances, and we condemn Israel's supply of weapons to racist regimes in Southern Africa. By its wedding to apartheid, the Israeli government tragically and violently confirms the long-standing accusation that racism is an essential element of the Zionist political ideology as espoused by the State of Israel.

We support the just struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination, national independence and right of return to their homeland. There can never be peace in the Middle East until Palestinian people can regain their inalienable rights and live as a free people in their homeland.



Metropolitan Area

BLACK UNITED FRONT

415 Atlantic Avenue

Brooklyn, New York 11217

(212) 596-1991

August 22, 1979

Rev. Herbert Daughtry-Chairperson
Central Committee

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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Leon Modeste
Sam Pinn
Don Rojas
Segun Shabaka
Min. Orande Takuma
Delcenia Turner
Jitu Weusi
Ira Williams

Contact: Min. Michael Amon-Ra 596-1991
625-8292

The Black United Front vigorously protests the Zionist racist pressure which resulted in the dismissal of Ambassador Andrew Young. It should be clearly understood that Andrew Young was not a hero to Blacks, who for years, have argued for a Palestinian state or at least fairness in the Middle East. His commitment to President Carter and the State of Israel, even to the very end, confused some Blacks, irritated others and alienated still others but there is agreement that he was the victim of a collusion involving the Carter Administration, racist elements, American Zionists and the Israeli government and that somehow every Black person shared the fate of Andrew Young.

Ostensibly, the American Zionists and racists went for the Ambassador's scalp because he met with the P.L.O. yet the Ambassador to Austria, Milton Wolf, met with the P.L.O. several times, once for three hours in the private plane of the Prime Minister of Austria and although Mr. Wolf informed the State Department about the meetings, there was no cry for his blood.

Moreover, the Washington Post reported several other meetings. U.S diplomats in Beirut met with P.L.O. representatives repeatedly during the Lebanese civil war in 1976;

Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia brought a paper from the P.L.O to a White House meeting with President Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance in May, 1977;

P.L.O. official Shafik Al Hout, director of the Beirut office spoke to several U.S. officials at the Syrian National Day reception in Washington four months ago.

Additionally, many Israeli politicians have met P.L.O. representatives and Israeli governments are believed to have passed messages to the P.L.O. on numerous occasions.

It now appears that the C.I.A. had information that Young might meet with the P.L.O. and conveyed this information to the State Department four days after the meeting took place. Mr. Young stated that the State Department had a verbatim account of his meeting with the P.L.O. four days after he met, all of which hints of a conspiracy to get Andy and conjures up memories of the days of J. Edgar Hoover and Richard Nixon.

To protest this hypocrisy, the Black United Front, along with other organizations will stage a rally at the Israeli Embassy on Monday, August 27, 1979 at 12:00 Noon. We are demanding that the U.S. government reconsider its Middle-East policy with a view toward recognizing the right of Palestinian people to self

determination and that as a show of good faith, Ambassador Milton Wolf be dismissed immediately.

The importance of a just and expeditious solution to the Middle-East problem cannot be overemphasized. The impact upon the U.S. economy incurred by the years of Middle-East conflict has been devastating, especially upon Black and Hispanic and other poor people.

For example, from 1948 to 1970 the U.S. government provided economic assistance to Israel amounting to \$1,286.2 (Billions) in loans and \$1,931.4 (Billions) in grants. Economic assistance for 1979 totaled \$260,000,000 in loans and \$570,000,000 in grants. From 1948-1970 military loans totaled \$3,152,000,000 and military grants totaled \$2,950,000,000. Military assistance for 1979 totaled \$500,000,000 in loans and \$500,000,000 in grants. By 1977 Israel had repaid only one quarter of its loans.

The so-called peace package will cost each family of four in America \$83.00 annually for the next three years.

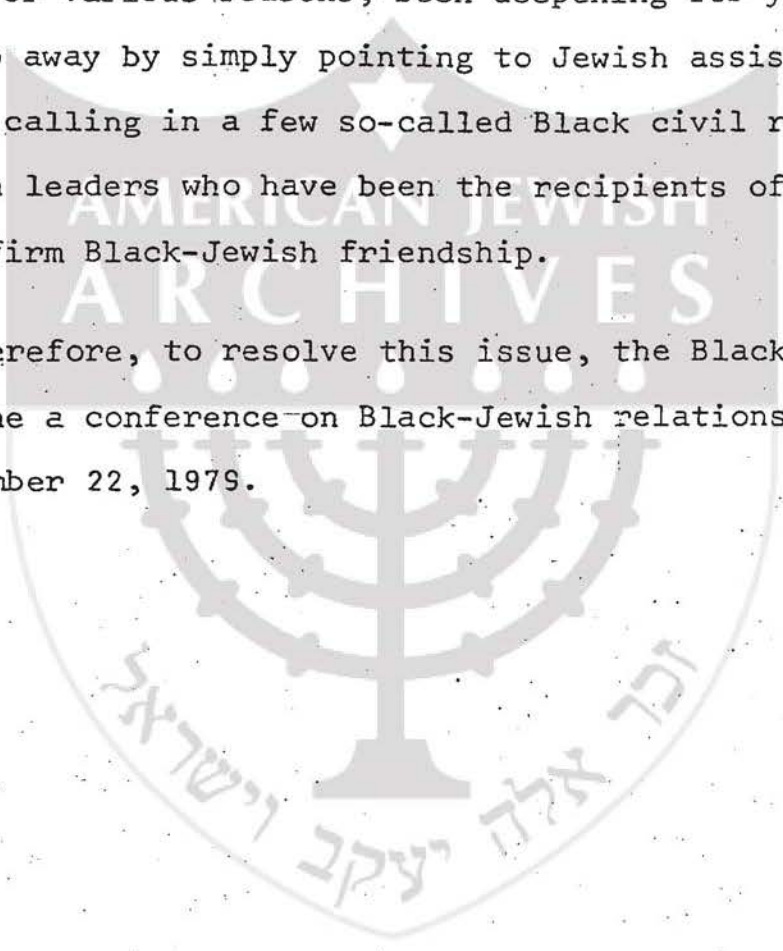
Precious oil, for which we waited so long in the lines a few weeks ago and who knows what the winter will bring, has been promised by the U.S.A. to Israel for the next 15 years. How much longer can this country carry Israel?

In addition to the strain on resources there is also a strain on U.S. credibility abroad. It is a known fact that Israel has been a supporter of dictatorial regimes throughout the world,

the Shah in Iran, from which Israel received 60% of its oil, Somoza in Nicuragua, Zimbabwe and South Africa, to name a few countries.

Moreover, Ambassador Young is not the first to have fallen victim to Zionist pressure. The tension between Blacks and Jews has, for various reasons, been deepening for years and it will not go away by simply pointing to Jewish assistance of yesterday or by calling in a few so-called Black civil rights leaders or church leaders who have been the recipients of Jewish generosity to affirm Black-Jewish friendship.

Therefore, to resolve this issue, the Black United Front will convene a conference on Black-Jewish relationships to be held on September 22, 1979.



ACTION MEMORANDUM

August 16, 1979

TO: AIPAC Key Contacts and Officers

FROM: Morris J. Amitay, Executive Director

Despite Administration assurances to the contrary, a tilt toward the PLO is taking place. With blatant oil pressure coming from Saudi Arabia and with the UN Security Council debate on "Palestinian rights" beginning next week, there is reason to fear a change in U.S. policy on UN Resolution 242 and on negotiations with the PLO.

RECENT EVENTS

1. While Carter reportedly told Israeli Ambassador Evron that the United States would veto a Kuwaiti-Nigerian draft change of Resolution 242, a draft calling for a Palestinian state, he would not rule out accepting other amendments to the resolution. The Administration may find acceptable, for instance, changes calling for the "legitimate rights" of the Palestinians or for allowing "Palestinian participation in determining their future." While this language was contained in the Camp David Agreements, it was accompanied by very firm definitions; in a UN resolution it would not be so defined and it would be open to any and all interpretations.
2. At the Israeli-Egyptian-U.S. talks on Palestinian autonomy, where the United States has refused to confine itself to the role of mediator, U.S. delegates have been pushing for a broad autonomy plan, one that also provides for the genesis of a PLO state. Special envoy Robert Strauss will travel to the Middle East this week where it is expected he will put additional pressure on Israel to grant judicial, legislative, land and water rights to West Bank Palestinians. U.S. delegates are also pushing for inclusion of Jerusalem's Arab population in West Bank elections, thereby denying any status for East Jerusalem other than as part of the West Bank.
3. The Administration will shortly give Congress official notification of its intent to sell Jordan 300 M60A3 tanks -- the most modern tanks in the U.S. arsenal. The sale of tanks comes despite Jordan's condemnation of the Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, its refusal to negotiate with Israel, and its rapprochement with the PLO.

4. U.S. officials have met with PLO officials directly and indirectly -- including Ambassador Andrew Young's meeting with the PLO's UN representative late last month. This violates written 1975 commitments to Israel that the United States "will not recognize or negotiate with the PLO as long as the PLO does not recognize Israel's right to exist and does not accept Security Council Resolution 242 and 338."
5. The State Department is continuing to grant permission to PLO officials to enter the United States. Last month, the wife of Fatah and Black September founder Khalil al-Wazir, Um Jihad -- a PLO official in her own right -- toured the United States. Other PLO officials may be attending the Palestine American Congress in Washington later this week.
6. The President's unfortunate analogy of the Palestinian issue with the U.S. civil rights movement, whether misinterpreted or not, nevertheless indicates a misunderstanding and a dangerous romanticization of PLO goals.
7. Administration pressure has been applied against Israel -- from the highest levels -- to stop its legitimate attacks against terrorist concentrations in southern Lebanon. The inadvertant death of civilians there is tragic, but the proximity of military targets to population centers is clearly PLO strategy. Secretary of State Vance declared last week that, by attacking these bases, Israel "may have violated" U.S. arms-sale provisions.

ACTION RECCMMENDED

Letters and telegrams protesting the direction of U.S. policy toward the PLO should be sent to the White House. A firm stand by the United States at the UN should be urged, in keeping with U.S. commitments not to deal with the PLO unless it recognizes Israel's right to exist and U.N. Resolution 242. This resolution, the basis for all Middle East negotiations since 1967, should not be amended, and any efforts to do so should be firmly met by a U.S. veto.

Many members of Congress are now in their home districts for the August recess. You should express your concerns to them directly or send them copies of the letters you send to the White House.

We enclose a copy of the week's New Republic editorial which accurately explains the Administration tilt and its dangers.

###

M. Johnson

AMERICAN-ARAB RELATIONS COMMITTEE

P. O. Box 416
New York, N.Y. 10017

(212) 682-1154
30.8.9

JIM WENT TO THE MEETING!!

Public Relations Director

FIRST ARAB-BLACK Mass Rally Supports P.L.O.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, N.Y. -- The First Arab-Black mass rally and demonstration in support of the human rights of the people of Palestine to return to their land of Palestine will take place September 5, 1979 and will be followed by a press conference at 1:30 P.M. Rev. Robert M. Kinlock, Chairman of the Council of Churches of the City of New York's Commission for the Elimination of Racism and Dr. M. T. Mehdi, President of the American-Arab Relations Committee will address the meeting along with other representatives of pro-Palestinian groups.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum of the American Jewish Committee who is an Observer at the National Council of Churches has also been invited to meet in the Arab-Black dialogue which will precede the rally and to join in the press conference to present his views on the recent developments and the new Arab-Black alliance.

The dialogue, rally and the press conference will take place at the Interchurch Center, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y.

On August 24, thirty prominent Black and Arab leaders met at the United Nations "to forge a new Arab-Black alliance in the interest of human rights in America, Africa and Palestine." The meeting on September 5th will be the first action of the new alliance. Some of the Black leaders who attended the August 24 meeting include: Rev. Herbert Daughtry, Dr. William Jones, James Lawson, and Black activist Attorney Flo Kennedy.

Members of the press are invited to cover the press conference, September 5, at 1:30 P.M. in the Interchurch Center, 475 Riverside Drive, NYC.

Contact: Miss Litia Namoura (212) 682-1154

Rabbi Frank...
for your...
Cressa...

EMUNAH WOMEN OF AMERICA



370 SEVENTH AVE. SUITE 11N. NEW YORK, N.Y. 10001 / (212) 564-9045

August 24, 1979

Mr. Joseph Lowery
Southern Christian Leadership
334 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

Because of the great respect and admiration we have felt for you and your colleagues, in your quest for the betterment of life among black people, we feel the need to write you at this time when so many saddening troubles have befallen our peoples.

Watching the day to day achievements gained in the black community with the fight for a better life through education, we in Emunah Women have taken heart in continuing with the insurmountable problems facing us daily.

First, we would like to acquaint you with our organization so you will have a more comprehensive understanding of the affinity we have shared with one another for so many years.

We are an organization dedicated to the advancement of education and social welfare for the disadvantaged throughout Israel.

To give you a better insight into where these people come from and how they came to be in the conditions we found them, we must go back over 2 generations (since we are still fighting an upward battle in helping these people).

Nearly all of these people are Jews who have come from Arab countries. Forced through generations of living in the most penurious conditions of economic and social servitude, these people have been taught that they are inferior beings and therefore they must live their lives as low individuals. In Arab countries, non-Moslems and Moslems not belonging to the ruling party are denegated to living in squalor or worse are imprisoned.

In the case of Arab Jews, after the State of Israel was declared in 1948, most or in some cases all of the Jews living in Arab countries were forceably ejected on penalty of death (although many were killed anyway).

They were only allowed to take the clothes on their backs and were sent to Israel by the hundreds of thousands. Many spoke no other language but Arabic. Huge tents had to be erected in the middle of the desert just to accommodate all of these people until builders could catch up with the number of houses needed for all these people.

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At this time we began teaching children as well as adults new ways of life, pride and and brighter outlooks for their futures through education and social welfare. Our social workers worked and still work with them to help them overcome the terrible drawbacks ingrained by the Arab countries they lived in. Throughout all of this, there was never a question of turning them away because they were too many, or too disadvantaged and poor, or not of one color.

In Israel today, live many Israeli Arabs who did not run away during the War of Independence, but stayed. They are well taken care of, live on a higher standard than Arabs in other countries and are represented in the Knesset (Israeli Parliament).

Israel looks forward to peace in the Middle East, so the area may become a model for human services and creative living patterns for all people. These goals can never be achieved by giving legitimacy to murder and hate groups as exemplified by the P.L.O. Palestinian Arabs are being denied a chance of working out their destiny because of fear of being murdered by the P.L.O. for stepping forward.

There are still many groups of people who do not believe in both our rights to exist because of our race and color, such as the KKK, P.L.O., The American White Party, etc. We will always succeed if we stand united. If we bow to any of these hate groups, our strength and ideals will be weakened.

We, Jews and Blacks have been the victims of short memories on the part of other people and nations. No one knows better than we the importance of remembering the Black slavery years and the Nazi extermination years. We must remind our children of past history so these things may never be repeated and out of our common suffering we can build a new and better world.

Sincerely,

Anessa Cohen

Anessa Cohen
National Life Mbrshp Chrmn
Emunah Women of America

Toby Willig

Toby Willig
Vice President
National Affairs
Emunah Women of America

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

cc: Meta Berger
Robert Jacobs
Stanley Newman
Will Katz
Seymour Samet
James Rudin

date September 14, 1979
to Eugene DuBow
from Andrew Baker
subject United Church of Christ--AJC (Black--Jewish) Meeting
September 13, 1979

Participants: Rev. Jimmy Sawyer, Conference Minister, UCC
Mrs. Jeanne Johnson, Regional President, United
Black Christians
Rev. Thomas Ellis, Pastor, Lincoln Memorial Church
Rev. James Mack, Professor of History, Elmhurst College
Meta Berger
Robert Jacobs
Stanley Newman
Eugene DuBow
Andrew Baker

The dinner meeting began with an expression of the need for dialogue between the two groups. The evening demonstrated the difficulty in holding such a dialogue. Conversation did not come easily, though a measure of uneasiness diminished in the course of the evening. It seemed that we not always understood what each other was saying, and that was perhaps as true for the end of the meeting as it was for the beginning.

An agenda was prepared for the session though it was not closely followed. Black participants stressed the importance of meeting as equals, and that expression included the idea that we must accept their sensitivity to Jewish concerns as well established. It was further implied that Jews and other whites as well are not fully appreciative of the role played by black Americans in a spiritual sense, as a people who has suffered and yet still pursues moral and social goals without vindictiveness.

Andrew Young's resignation was mentioned-- a topic primarily raised by the Jewish participants. However, it seemed that among these blacks at least the issue has shifted to the rightness or wrongness of open discussion with Palestinians and the P.L.O. Strong expression was given to the belief that blacks and black organizations have always recognized and continue to recognize Israel's right to exist in peace and security. Mention of the Palestinian cause and meetings between national black organizations and P.L.O. representatives are understood as part of an "even-handed" policy and a sincere concern

for an oppressed people. While it was understood that an interest among blacks in the Palestinians might never have emerged had Andrew Young's resignation not taken place, that interest has taken a life of its own, more than a simple defense of the former ambassador's actions.

Attempts were made to demonstrate the real fears American Jews and Israelis feel for Israel's survival and the extreme distaste they hold for the P.L.O. and its leader. On the whole, they were not fully understood or accepted. These black participants were willing to recognize a distinction between Palestinians and the P.L.O., but at the same time they clearly stated that no such distinction would be perceived by blacks "on the street." This issue of Palestinian rights, they pointed out, is fast becoming a topic of interest among many blacks.

Other issues, such as affirmative action, were not discussed at this meeting, though they may well be raised in the future. If the goal of this dialogue is to further mutual understanding and find fruitful areas of common concern, it may be a long time in achieving it. There still seems to be much that is misunderstood or unappreciated, and it is not at all clear what it will take to resolve it.

A single meeting may not lead to any definite conclusions; it is possible that a decision will be reached that such a dialogue is ultimately not of great help. However, a second session has been scheduled for October 10, hosted by the United Church of Christ. This session will include two additional participants, Ben Whitten, director of the Community Renewal Society, and Rev. James Hargett, a rather outspoken UCC pastor. Perhaps in time a certain ease in dialogue will develop. Though it may not be comforting, we will at least get a fuller sense of how blacks perceive American Jews and Israel.



THE YOUNG RESIGNATION — AN UPDATE ON JEWISH CONCERNS

MILTON ELLERIN

The fear, expressed by some Jewish leaders, that the Andrew Young incident would be the catalyst for a continuing and greater degree of anti-Semitism than previously manifested in the Black community, now appears to be unwarranted.

What has endured in the year since the Young resignation, which precipitated a disturbingly high outpouring of Black hostility against Jews and Israel, are differences over such issues as affirmative action, Black sympathy for the PLO in particular and the Arab world in general. Today's Black agenda, despite a flirtation with Middle East issues, consists primarily of "bread and butter" issues.

That American Blacks are concerned above all else with improving the Black condition was convincingly demonstrated by the deliberations of a four day conference in Richmond, Virginia where some 1200 Black influentials gathered at the end of March to define the Black agenda for the 1980s. Despite its proximity to the Young resignation — which most Blacks attributed to Jewish and/or Israeli pressure — and the participation of Jesse Jackson, Joseph Lowery and Rep. Walter Fauntroy, who all made overtures to Yassir Arafat and other Arab militants, the conference's focus was on economics, social concerns and politics. While there was some discussion on foreign policy, Israel was scarcely mentioned. The resolutions flowing from discussions on foreign policy urged economic and political sanctions against South Africa, increased aid to some African countries, and, in the only public reference to the Middle East, a plea for "concerted action to bring about a just and lasting comprehensive settlement of the Middle East conflict, including a resolution of the Palestinian homeland issue."

Overt manifestations of hostilities between Blacks and Jews are, apparently, a rarity. Having reached its apex in the 90 days following the controversy, since then there has been a gradual decline in mutual recrimination. By late September,

many Black and Jewish leaders sought to heal the breach between the two groups. Indicative of the trend, the Washington D.C. chapters of the NAACP and the American Jewish Committee issued a joint statement on September 26 denouncing "overtones involving racial and religious bigotry" arising from the "controversies swirling about Ambassador Young's resignation."

The Rev. Charles Kenyatta, a former aide to the slain, virulently anti-Israel and anti-Semitic Malcolm X, writing in the Amsterdam News of October 20, deplored the "hoopla some alleged Black leaders have created and the press has fanned" and lauded the "consistent ties between Blacks and Jews." Charging that "African and Arab states" used "Young, Jackson and other Blacks to champion the cause of the Palestinians," Kenyatta observed that Israel "has contributed more in foreign and technical aid to development of Black African nations than any or all of the oil rich Arab bloc."

Despite these and other efforts at reconciliation two months after the Young resignation, feelings continued to be taut. National Urban League leader Vernon Jordan evoked a widespread storm of protest in the Black press and from a large segment of the Black clergy when he indirectly but unmistakably attacked Black leaders who had opened talks with Arafat.

Speaking in Kansas City before the National Conference on Catholic Charities, Jordan insisted that the Black civil rights movement had nothing in common with groups whose sole claim to legitimacy was "compromised by cold blooded murder of innocent civilians and school children."

Jordan deplored the support of Arafat by Jackson, Lowery and Fauntroy, and observed, "In the past several weeks, we have seen more concern exhibited about Palestinian refugee camps than about American ghettos...more concern (about)

Arafat's future than about the future of the millions of Black kids growing up in poverty."

The response to Jordan's statement was swift, intense and harsh. Among other things, it precipitated charge and countercharge. Some Black Baptist ministers accused the Urban League leader of "selling out to the Jewish - Israel lobby." Rev. George Lawrence, speaking on behalf of the Progressive National Baptist Convention, which allegedly represents 1.5 million Black American Baptists, attributed Jordan's remark to fear of losing Jewish financial support. Said Lawrence: "Any civil rights organization that cannot take a stand without being worried about its white money being cut off doesn't deserve to be a civil rights organization. We understand where Vernon is coming from. He doesn't want his bread cut off...." Lawrence added, "We are no longer the boys doing what the Jewish community wants us to do in the civil rights movement."

Washington Post feature writer William Raspberry, in an October 17, 1979 column, labeled Jordan's remark as a "transparent attempt to mollify the (Urban) League's Jewish supporters" and accused Jordan of having "bought the American Jewish line that confuses efforts to break the Mideast logjam...with opposition to the state of Israel." Charging Jordan with rekindling the Black/Jewish rift just as "Black America was about to turn to its more pressing bread and butter agenda," Raspberry speculated that he did so in order to "keep intact Jewish support for his organization." This sentiment was echoed in an October 20 Amsterdam News editorial which in part stated, "It is regrettable that the statements made by Vernon Jordan...appear to be the result of pressure from Jewish contributors more than any real difference with the position taken by Jackson and Lowery."

A group of irate Blacks, self described as a "coalition of grassroots leaders," conducted a "sit in" at the Urban League offices in New York to register their disapproval. The African American Nationalist Union and the United Federation

of Black Community Organizations, purportedly representing a "coalition of 100 Nationalist Organizations and 310 National and Local organizations" respectively, called Jordan's remarks a "Jewish orchestrated attack." Apparently stung more by Raspberry's charges than any of the others, Jordan, Raspberry reported, telephoned to complain that the columnist had attacked his integrity, and to assure him that "only an infinitesimal portion of our money comes from Jews."

The tempestuous aftermath of the Jordan speech, by far the most serious threat to Black/Jewish rapprochement in the immediate period after the Young resignation, was soon followed by another attempt by some Blacks to fan the flame of racial discord. At a Black Leadership Forum dinner meeting held in Washington, D.C. on October 25, several unidentified spokesmen for what was described as a "top echelon" group by the New York Times, charged that "some Jews were now threatening to withhold financial and other support from Black organizations." A prepared statement issued to the press after a closed meeting stated that "we strongly resent and will collectively oppose punitive attacks upon any of our members who express honestly held convictions." According to the New York Times report of the meeting (10/26/79) the leaders at a post dinner news conference expressed solidarity on what they alleged was "intimidation from some Jews."

At a November 1 American Friends Service Committee sponsored forum at Emory University in Atlanta, Paul Smith, a featured speaker who was formerly affiliated with Morehouse College and Atlanta University but is currently pastor of the Hillside Presbyterian Church in South Dekalb County (Ga.), launched into what one observer described as an anti-Semitic tirade. Eschewing his assigned topic -- The Black Christian Connection in the Middle East--Smith insisted that Blacks and Jews had never been allies: that it was false to assume that "liberal Jews were the Blacks' best friends"; and that "Blacks have not cared too much for Jews" but "we've done a lot of accommodating" since it is "not good politics to act differently when the

Jew is your landlord and selling you food stamps."

The Rev. William Augustus Jones, Jr., head of a newly formed National Black Pastors Conference purportedly representing some 15,000,000 Black Christians, addressed a Detroit gathering of more than 500 Black Clergymen of every Black Christian denomination and charged that "recent events surrounding the resignation of Andrew Young...demonstrated the frailty and basic insecurity and instability of certain Black organizations in face of opposition from segments of the white community both Christian and non Christian." Jones, convener of the 5 day Detroit Conference of the National Black Pastors, which was attempting to become a functioning group, declared they could not be "intimidated by threats of economic sanctions from Jew or Gentile...." In announcing the organization's future agenda, Jones promised that the group would "monitor the activities of the Anti Defamation League...as they travel about the country in their desperate efforts to keep Blacks out of professional schools...and would work toward a 'just and lasting peace' in the Middle East." The Conference called upon the U.S. to recognize the PLO, affirmed the right of the Palestinian State and the internationalization of Jerusalem (in early February 1980 two prominent Black Ministers from the Washington D.C. area, representing the National Black Pastors Conference, were invited to and did visit Syria and Lebanon as part of a continuing Arab effort to win Arab support from the Black community).

Roy Carlton Howell, a Washington D.C. attorney who frequently writes legal and political articles of concern to Blacks, maintained in an Amsterdam News article (12/22/79) that the Jewish position on affirmative action was a stumbling block to Blacks in their quest for economic power. Jewish intransigence on this issue, he said, "made an old Jewish ally into a new Zionist enemy."

As the passions generated by the Young affair apparently dissipated in the ensuing months, it remains clear that one of the major obstacles in the path of restoring a

measure of harmony to Black/Jewish relations is this insistence of many prominent Blacks that Jews abandon what Blacks see as Jewish opposition to affirmative action. Thus, on January 22, 1980, Vernon Jordan, in a special appeal to Jews to help heal the breach, urged that they accept the Supreme Court Decision in the Weber case which he declared was "so precisely in favor of affirmative action."

The well publicized endorsement of Yassir Arafat and the Palestinians by such Black personalities as Jesse Jackson, Joseph Lowery and Walter Fauntroy, which was a significant source of concern to the Jewish community in the months following the Young resignation, continues to be troublesome.

Some prominent Black leaders, following a speech by Vernon Jordan on October 14 in which he described recent meetings of American Blacks with PLO leaders as sideshows that "endangered Black-Jewish relations" and detracted from "vital survival issues," charged the Urban League's leader and establishment Black groups with "selling out to the Jews."

The activities of Jesse Jackson, whose public outpouring of anti-Semitism in the immediate aftermath of the Young resignation far exceeded that of any other National Black figure in both volume and stridency, continues to be a source of concern to the Jewish community.

Jackson, more than any other head of a Black organization, sought Arab funds. He continues to castigate Israel, champion the PLO, and in at least one off-the-record meetings spewed forth crude anti-Semitism.

In a September 25, 1979 interview with Christian Science Monitor correspondent Christopher Swan, Jackson was quoted as having said that "by October 1 there will be no Black leader left willing to come to the aid of the Palestinian cause if there is not an immediate infusion of funds into the Black community from Arab states. We will all learn to spell the alphabet without three letters, P-L-O."

Perhaps, in response to Jackson's threat, or as is more probable, in recognition of a perceived opportunity, some Arabs apparently did come forth with contributions. A New York Times story datelined from Chicago on October 16, reported that Jackson had obtained \$10,000 from "an Arab-American Organization." Time magazine, in its October 29, 1979 edition, reported that Jackson received \$8,000 from the Association of Arab American University Graduates. It is not known whether this is the same contribution reported by the New York Times, or an additional contribution from a different Arab-American organization. Subsequently, Jackson addressed a group of 140 Arab businessmen and promised them help for "your cause" but warned that "you have to help my cause by supporting the civil rights movement."

Jackson, in a plea for United States recognition of the PLO, claims that the American public has not been told the "whole story." In a televised debate with William Buckley on December 17, 1979 he endorsed the PLO concept of a "secular, democratic state in Palestine." While admitting that the PLO does engage in terrorism, he insisted that its "central strategy" was "not terrorism, but diplomacy." In support of his argument for U.S. recognition of the PLO, he asserted that the PLO is now recognized by 116 nations; that "the U.S. must recognize its interests in the Middle East"; that there must be "justice for the Palestinians" and there must be "normal relations with the Arab world."

In a February 8, 1980 appearance at the Los Angeles World Affairs Council, Jackson, in an apparent defense of his visit to Arab countries, insisted that his People United To Save Humanity Organization indeed had "foreign policy experience and credentials" dating back to its inception. Jackson likened the plight of the Palestinians to that of the "Afro Americans" and advised that he had been invited by the governments of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to discuss "mutual development." He maintained that Saudi Arabia, through its oil pricing and production policies, "subsidises the United States to the tune of \$10 million per day while we subsidise

Israel to the extent of about \$5 million per day," a situation which he denounced as "absurd."

Jackson has publicly charged that the U.S.'s non recognition of the PLO is "hypocritical" for several reasons: the PLO helped us save American lives in Lebanon and "helped us get 13 hostages out of Iran"; they "support free enterprise and religious freedom"; and they "were not Soviet puppets."

Going beyond advocacy of PLO recognition, Jackson has urged that since the Arab World controls 65% of the world's oil supply, "they should be our friends, not our adversaries."

In a February 16, 1980 interview published in the Spring 1980 edition of The Journal of Intergroup Relations, Jackson commented on the recently increased tension between Black and Jewish leaders and maintained that it was "a culmination of differences over the years." He said, "Our interests at several points are in conflict.... Those of us who dialogue with the PLO must be respected as peace warriors." He insisted that the United States must normalize ties with the Arab world, support Jerusalem as an "international city" and protect "Lebanon's territorial integrity from pre-emptive strikes and the like." Jackson also said that there must be a homeland for the Palestinian people.

In a March 1980 talk before his PUSH followers, Jackson declared that "if we do not stand for Russia occupying Afghanistan, we cannot stand for Israel occupying the West Bank."

The extent to which Jackson has been the recipient of Arab government funds, has been a subject of considerable press attention. In the aftermath of the Billy Carter - Libyan connection story, the Washington Post of August 9, 1980 reported that Jackson had recently revealed that last December he received \$10,000 from the Libyan charge d'affaires.

There have been several reports of Jackson's willingness to resort to naked anti-Semitism in closed gatherings. One such situation developed last November when he and local officials of PUSH met with the editorial board and key executives of major American newspapers. While insisting that he was not an anti-Semite, Jackson spoke of "Jewish slumlords"; declared that "Jews are anti-Black"; attacked Jewish groups for their position on affirmative action; and insisted that he did not care about future relations between Blacks and Jews.

The degree of Jackson's influence in the Black community is, of course, a matter of some speculation (a nationwide poll of Black adults by Kenneth Clark's Data Black organization, released to the press on January 18, 1980, revealed that 67% of those responding approved the efforts of the Rev. Jesse Jackson and the Rev. Joseph Lowery to play a role in the Middle East process). There is, however, no gainsaying the fact that he does exert considerable influence, and his vigorous defense of the PLO, the Arabs, and his uncontroverted anti-Semitism are factors which will have a significant impact on the future course of Black/Jewish relations.

Beyond doubt, several Arab governments and some American pro Arab groups saw the Young controversy as an opportunity to win support in the Black community. In late September 1979, a group of 28 Blacks affiliated with Washington State University, including a professor heading the University's Black studies program, undergraduate and graduate students, visited Libya for the announced purpose of presenting Col. Khadafy with a Martin Luther King medal. It is not known who arranged for and financed the delegation's visit. It should be noted, however, that, in an August 1980 column, Dwight Schear, Chief editorial writer for the Seattle Times reported, a Libyan Foreign Liaison Bureau statement* on those

*The statement, carried in the Washington Post of August 8, 1980 reported that Libya had "established links with Black Americans and Black Muslim organizations."

American individuals and groups in addition to Billy Carter with whom that government has had close connections listed Washington State University as third. Schear, speculating on the September visit by the W.S.U. contingent, stated that "expenses for the trip probably were picked up by the Khadafy government."

In the Autumn of 1979, M.T. Mehdi, a strident long time Arab propagandist and founder of American Arab Relations Committee, unilaterally created an "Arab-Black Dialogue Committee" which to date has failed to attract any recognized Black leader. Organized with James R. Lawson, a known anti-Semite for several decades and self proclaimed president of the United Afro American Nationalist Movement, the Dialogue Committee proposed to meet monthly at the U.N. so that American Blacks would have the opportunity to listen to members of the Arab diplomatic corps.

At a December luncheon meeting, hosted by the government of Libya, Arab diplomats promised to cooperate with the Committee. A Saudia Arabian diplomat promised that his government "would open up channels of communication with Black Americans." According to the New York Voice, a Black publication, Harlem physician Dr. Charles Mabry announced at the luncheon meeting that he had been able to "borrow over \$4 million from Saudi banking interests" for investment in various business enterprises.

Mehdi's group also met again in January 1980 at a luncheon celebrating the birthday of Martin Luther King, hosted by the Kuwait representative to the United Nations. Subsequently, using the platform of his American Arab Relations Committee, Mehdi promised that his committee would use "economic pressure" to get American companies doing business in Arab countries to invest millions of dollars in Black businesses, colleges and community revitalization projects. To date there is no evidence that Mehdi's promise has been realized. It should be noted that the February 2, 1980 Atlanta Constitution reported that the government of Kuwait donated \$100,000 to the Martin Luther King Center for Social Change.

The underlying theme at the 12th annual convention of the Association of Arab American University Graduates, one of the most prestigious and influential of Arab American organizations, was relations between the Black American community and the Palestinians in "their struggle for self determination." The convention, held in Washington in mid November, was addressed by several such well known Black personalities as Congressman Walter Fauntroy, Jesse Jackson and Joseph Lowery.

A definite offer of economic assistance to Blacks came from Libya. Speaking at a December 17 PUSH-sponsored luncheon in Chicago, attended by 200 Black businessmen, Ambassador Ali Ahmed El Houderi expressed his government's willingness to "help Blacks help themselves" by investing in "Black owned enterprises, by supporting Black colleges, and establishing mutually beneficial business ties." In return, the Ambassador said Libya desired a "better understanding" of the country from American Blacks.

Jesse Jackson was and is not the only Black soliciting Arab investment. "Business in the Black," a column by Charles Belle in the March 29, 1980 California Voice, began with a lavish tribute to the late Martin Luther King and ended with a fervent plea for Arab money. Wrote Belle: "Let us hope that in the case of our foreign Arab cousins the cause is not lost for lack of funds....Surely some funds for Black American investments should be forthcoming....Some funds for the U.S. struggle are needed from our new found friends....Money is not the solution to every problem but it does ease the struggle, they are in a position to advance the cause. Periodically a person is given the opportunity to place his money where his mouth is."

Other Arab or pro Arab groups, unable or reluctant to offer outright financial inducements to Blacks, made other overtures. Jawad George, head of the Palestinian Congress of North America, a coordinating body for some 60 Arab groups in the United States, told the New York Times (10/30/79) that his group had sent telegrams "to every Black leader we could identify" in the hope of initiating a dialogue on issues

of mutual concern. The chairman of the Palestine Human Rights Campaign sponsored an interdenominational meeting with clergymen, many of whom were Blacks. The Association of Arab American University Graduates bestowed "humanitarian awards" upon several prominent Blacks including Congressman John Conyers and Detroit Mayor Coleman Young. In early November, PLO representatives joined with some 5,000 Black nationalists in celebrating Black Solidarity Day.

While perhaps not in the mainstream of the Black American community, the organization of Black Muslims, currently known as the American Muslim Mission, remains an ardent advocate of Arab political objectives. A shared faith, plus published reports of the receipt of substantial monies from Libya, Saudi Arabia, and other Arab governments suggests that they will continue in the foreseeable future.

While there is some basis for the belief that the Black Muslim movement has suffered a loss of membership and declined in influence in the ghettos, it still must be regarded as an important moulder of Black opinion.

Virtually since its inception, the Black Muslim movement has been hostile to Israel, and frequently overtly anti-Semitic. As recently as June 22, 1980 Bilalian News, the official Black Muslim newspaper alledged that "the State of Israel came about when Zionist Jews, using terror and deceit forced the Palestinians out of Palestine in 1948." Membership of the Mission is dedicated and loyal to Wallace Mohammed, its leader, who continues to deliver anti-Semitic speeches despite his promise to change the Muslim image.

There is no hard, current data, on the pervasiveness of Black anti-Semitism for the year following Andrew Young's resignation. There is little doubt, however, that the incident was a catalytic factor in bringing to the surface all the Black hostilities towards Jews that had been simmering for several years. It should be noted, however, that a degree of Black anti-Semitism persists, certainly on the part of those who displayed such hostilities in the past. Dr. Carlton Goodlett

and his newspaper, the California Voice, persist in their open anti-Semitism. The Rev. Herbert Daughtry continues his vitriol in the pages of the Amsterdam News ("Zionists support Black interests only when it served their interests to do so"; "Zionists have been supporters of the most reactionary organizations and governments in the world"; "It is the general consensus that Zionists have enormous control and manipulation of the media "). His Black United Front maintains a steady drumbeat of hostility towards Brooklyn's Hassidic Jews in particular, and Jews in general.

The Pittsburgh Courier appears to be more indulgent of anti-Semitism. The Courier and other Black newspapers continue to print letters replete with anti-Semitism ("Zionist Karl Marx subverted Christian Family life"; "Ages ago Zion World bankers enslaved China with opium production"). As recently as July 5, 1980 in the same letters-to-the-editor section which carried tributes to Vernon Jordan by the Anti Defamation League, the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress, the Courier published a diatribe critical of the then recuperating Vernon Jordan. Among other things, the letter said, "Jordan showed his true colors by supporting Israeli aggressions" and charged that the "Jewish community has a stranglehold on Black leadership," and that the Black civil rights organizations "have always been under control of the Jewish community."

Excerpts from the nationally distributed Afro American January 5, 1980 letters-to-the-editor column include the notion that "The Zionists have been clever in building the myth that the Israelis are our friends." The New York Voice (4/19/80) featured a lengthy letter by one Rev. Charles L. Norris, Pastor of the Bethesda Missionary Baptist Church of Jamaica, New York, which simultaneously illustrated the growing anti-Semitism on the part of the Black Baptist Clergy and the willingness of the Black press to print pure anti-Semitism: Jews "seem to be more concerned about their mother country and show absolutely none for the city in which they live and make their bread....Israel...is thousands of miles away from us yet U.S. dollars and individual Jewish dollars are sent there every day...If the Jewish economy is

controlled by the U.S. government, and the gold and diamonds in Africa are controlled by the Jews then who controls those mines in Africa?"

While the foregoing hardly constitutes a quantitative base for concluding that Black anti-Semitism is widespread, impressionistic data seems to suggest that the conclusion of the now 18 month old Harris poll data which indicated that educated Blacks and national Black leaders were more anti-Semitic than their followers is still valid.

On the basis of such data as is available, it is reasonable to conclude that the substantial upsurge in September and October 1979 of Black anti-Semitism that followed the resignation of Andrew Young, has peaked. Public expressions of Black anti-Semitism appear to be no greater now than before the resignation. With the possible exception of Jesse Jackson's now open anti-Semitism, no new sources of Black anti-Semitism have surfaced. Black intellectuals who identify with the Third World, Black student union members and Black nationalists continue to be anti-Semitic and anti-Israel, but the majority of the Black community continues to be absorbed in the problems of everyday existence, and the all out endeavor to improve the Black condition.

As the latest poll data suggests, most Blacks sympathize with and endorse the concept of a Palestinian homeland, and conversely with some notable exceptions, there appears to be little support for Israel in the Black community. If there has been any change in recent months, pro-PLO and pro-Palestinian sympathies are no more prevalent.

Arab promise of significant aid to Black organizations and substantial investment in the Black community, exclusive of a few well publicized contributions, has not materialized to any significant degree. Similar promises were made and largely unfulfilled in previous years. The courtship of Blacks by American Arab groups seems to have diminished in ardor and consistency. At this writing, the conclusion is that the high tension existing between the Black and Jewish communities in the summer of 1979, has abated.

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COMMUNITY RELATIONS COMMITTEE

6505 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD • LOS ANGELES, CA. 90048 • 852-1234

May 22, 1979

Mr. Bertram H. Gold
Executive Vice President
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York City, New York 10022

Dear Bert:

By now, you have heard from Dick Volpert and Richard Giesberg about the fantastic Black-Jewish Leadership Mission to Israel.

Even though I still have not had ample time to sort out my thoughts evoked and feelings experienced on our recent Mission to Israel, I wanted you to know that we viewed the program as an *overwhelming* success. The AJ Committee staff in New York and Jerusalem played a major role in this success in the planning, coordination and implementation of the itinerary.

Bouquets, applause and special commendations to *Inge Gibel, Bernie Resnikoff, Yaacov Pnini and Leah Spector*. *Inge* was an absolute pleasure with whom to work. She understood our basic concept for this mission and faithfully accommodated our requests and incorporated many of her own recommendations. *Bernie Resnikoff* is a professional's professional. The man is a great teacher and besides providing a truly marvelous programmatic vehicle, I found *Bernie* a source of personal and professional inspiration. And *Yaacov Pnini* -- it is very difficult to find the right words of appreciation for this man, whom we all came to love. His pride and love for Israel was contagious. In a very real sense, *Yaacov* represented the history of the people and their heroic struggle to regain and revitalize our ancient, yet new, homeland.

Emeritus Members
Sol Lesser
William Louchheim
Rabbi Edgar F. Magnin
Aaron Riche
Jacob Stuchen

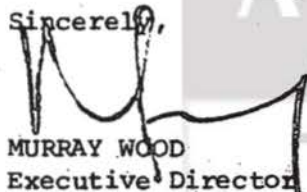
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Mr. Bertram H. Gold
May 22, 1979
Page No. 2

Whenever I speak about the mission and the assistance of the AJ Committee, I begin to wax superlative and credit Neil Sandberg on his recommendation and his offer to avail ourselves of the services of the Jerusalem office as one of the best decisions that we made.

Let me reiterate our gratitude to you and the American Jewish Committee staff for your marvelous cooperation with the Community Relations Committee in sponsoring this mission. Please believe me when I tell you that the trip was the experience of a lifetime for most of the participants.

Sincerely,



MURRAY WOOD
Executive Director

MW/s

cc: Richard A. Giesberg
Richard Maass
Benjamin Navon
Richard S. Volpert
Paul Ziffren
Ted Kanner
Albert D. Chernin
Inge Gibel
Yaacov Pnini
Dr. M. Bernard Resnikoff
Dr. Neil Sandberg

ADOPTED RESOLUTION OF THE 3RD NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
THE BLACK THEOLOGY PROJECT, INC., IN CLEVELAND, OHIO
ON AUGUST 4, 1979

As Black Christians committed to the fight for liberation of the oppressed whether they be in South Africa, Israel, the occupied Arab territories or in the U.S., we see the essence of struggle of the Palestinian people as the same as the struggle for freedom of our Black Brothers and Sisters in Southern Africa.

In fact, we perceive South Africa and Israel as twin regimes of racism and imperialism. The indigenous people of both lands have been displaced by violence or forced to live as oppressed people in their own countries. The human rights of the indigenous people of Southern Africa are violated because of apartheid and the human rights of the indigneous Palestinian Arabs, Christian and Moslem are violated because of Zionism.

Therefore, as Black Christians in the U.S.A. we are opposed to the United States providing aid to South Africa and Israel as long as these two regimes violate human rights, international laws and those basic ethical principles enunciated in the Holy Scriptures of Christian, Jewish and Islamic faiths.

We strongly condemn Israeli/South African military and economic cooperation and alliances, and we condemn Israel's supply of weapons to racist regimes in Southern Africa. By its wedding to apartheid, the Israeli government tragically and violently confirms the long-standing accusation that racism is an essential element of the Zionist political ideology as espoused by the State of Israel.

We support the just struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination, national independence and right of return to their homeland. There can never be peace in the Middle East until Palestinian people can regain their inalienable rights and live as a free people in their homeland.



Metropolitan Area

BLACK UNITED FRONT

415 Atlantic Avenue
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(212) 596-1991

August 22, 1979

Rev. Herbert Daughtry-Chairperson
Central Committee

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

- Min. Michael Amon-Ra
- Brenda Andrews
- Adeyemi Handele
- Bill Banks
- Charles Barron
- John Branch
- Min. Clemson Brown
- Paul Chandler
- Ernestine Cordray
- Ron Davis
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- Roger Green
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- Job Mashariki
- Leon Modeste
- Sam Pinn
- Don Rojas
- Segun Shabaka
- Min. Grande Takuma
- Delcenia Turner
- Jhu Weusi
- Ira Williams

Contact: Min. Michael Amon-Ra 596-1991
625-8292

The Black United Front vigorously protests the Zionist racist pressure which resulted in the dismissal of Ambassador Andrew Young. It should be clearly understood that Andrew Young was not a hero to Blacks, who for years, have argued for a Palestinian state or at least fairness in the Middle East. His commitment to President Carter and the State of Israel, even to the very end, confused some Blacks, irritated others and alienated still others but there is agreement that he was the victim of a collusion involving the Carter Administration, racist elements, American Zionists and the Israeli government and that somehow every Black person shared the fate of Andrew Young.

Ostensibly, the American Zionists and racists went for the Ambassador's scalp because he met with the P.L.O. yet the Ambassador to Austria, Milton Wolf, met with the P.L.O. several times, once for three hours in the private plane of the Prime Minister of Austria and although Mr. Wolf informed the State Department about the meetings, there was no cry for his blood.

Moreover, the Washington Post reported several other meetings. U.S. diplomats in Beirut met with P.L.O. representatives repeatedly during the Lebanese civil war in 1976;

Crown Prince Fahd of Saudi Arabia brought a paper from the P.L.O. to a White House meeting with President Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance in May, 1977;

P.L.O. official Shafik Al Hout, director of the Beirut office spoke to several U.S. officials at the Syrian National Day reception in Washington four months ago.

Additionally, many Israeli politicians have met P.L.O. representatives and Israeli governments are believed to have passed messages to the P.L.O. on numerous occasions.

It now appears that the C.I.A. had information that Young might meet with the P.L.O. and conveyed this information to the State Department four days after the meeting took place. Mr. Young stated that the State Department had a verbatim account of his meeting with the P.L.O. four days after he met, all of which hints of a conspiracy to get Andy and conjures up memories of the days of J. Edgar Hoover and Richard Nixon.

To protest this hypocrisy, the Black United Front, along with other organizations will stage a rally at the Israeli Embassy on Monday, August 27, 1979 at 12:00 Noon. We are demanding that the U.S. government reconsider its Middle-East policy with a view toward recognizing the right of Palestinian people to self

determination and that as a show of good faith, Ambassador Milton Wolf be dismissed immediately.

The importance of a just and expeditious solution to the Middle-East problem cannot be overemphasized. The impact upon the U.S. economy incurred by the years of Middle-East conflict has been devastating, especially upon Black and Hispanic and other poor people.

For example, from 1948 to 1970 the U.S. government provided economic assistance to Israel amounting to \$1,286.2 (Billions) in loans and \$1,931.4 (Billions) in grants. Economic assistance for 1979 totaled \$260,000,000 in loans and \$570,000,000 in grants. From 1948-1970 military loans totaled \$3,152,000,000 and military grants totaled \$2,950,000,000. Military assistance for 1979 totaled \$500,000,000 in loans and \$500,000,000 in grants. By 1977 Israel had repaid only one quarter of its loans.

The so-called peace package will cost each family of four in America \$83.00 annually for the next three years.

Precious oil, for which we waited so long in the lines a few weeks ago and who knows what the winter will bring, has been promised by the U.S.A. to Israel for the next 15 years. How much longer can this country carry Israel?

In addition to the strain on resources there is also a strain on U.S. credibility abroad. It is a known fact that Israel has been a supporter of dictatorial regimes throughout the world,

the Shah in Iran, from which Israel received 60% of its oil, Somoza in Nicuragua, Zimbabwe and South Africa, to name a few countries.

Moreover, Ambassador Young is not the first to have fallen victim to Zionist pressure. The tension between Blacks and Jews has, for various reasons, been deepening for years and it will not go away by simply pointing to Jewish assistance of yesterday or by calling in a few so-called Black civil rights leaders or church leaders who have been the recipients of Jewish generosity to affirm Black-Jewish friendship.

Therefore, to resolve this issue, the Black United Front will convene a conference on Black-Jewish relationships to be held on September 22, 1979.

