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FARRAKHAN IS A THREAT TO AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

WINS RELIGION COMMENTARY

RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM\* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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The latest scurrilous attack by the Reverend Louis Farrakhan on the Jewish religion and Israel has outraged just about every decent, fair-minded American citizen.

Black Muslim leaders such as Muhammad Ali last week joined Christian and Jewish leaders in condemning his demonic rantings of hatred. Muhammad Ali rightly said that Farrakhan's "terrible" statements betray true Muslim thinking about Judaism and Jews, from whom the Islamic faith derives.

But the leader of the American Muslim Mission, Warith Muhammed, zeroed in on the true threat Farrakhan represents to all Americans. Warith Muhammed said it bluntly last week: "Farrakhan represents the same kind of thing that Hitler taught."

While the press has treated Farrakhan's obscenities mainly as a black-Jewish issue, the plain fact is that his verbal violence and his separatist ideology are a clear-cut attack on basic American democratic values and institutions. When Farrakhan said that "Hitler was a great man, wickedly great," that was not just a rhetorical flourish. Farrakhan's ideology, which is subsidized by Libya's Qaddafi -- is closely linked to Hitler's Mein Kampf.

The Nazi feuhrer preached an inevitable conflict between the pure white Aryan race and the inferior, non-Aryans, meaning Jews and ironically also blacks. Farrakhan preaches the same violent conflict between black separatists and the so-called Satanic white society. The real danger to America is that a depraved ideology almost inevitably leads to depraved behavior.

To their credit, Muhammad Ali and responsible black Muslim leaders recognize that threat and have reacted to it with moral courage.

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\*Rabbi Tanenbaum, who is director of the international affairs department of the American Jewish Committee, presents a weekly religion commentary over WINS-Westinghouse Broadcasting System.

June 1984

THE PORNOGRAPHY OF LOUIS FARRAKHAN

COMMENTARY

DR. MARC H. TANENBAUM\* OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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The recent assertions by Louis Farrakhan, controversial leader of the Nation of Islam and aide-de-camp to Jesse Jackson, that "Hitler was a great man...wickedly great" is nothing other than a piece of pornography -- dangerous pornography at that.

An authority on the subject, Dr. Geoffrey Goren, has written that it is possible to engage in pornography other than sex. Pornography, according to Dr. Goren, is the description of tabooed activities with the purpose of inciting hallucinations or delusions for private enjoyment. Such hallucinations are always represented in forms that are grotesque, distorted, exaggerated, ugly and sadistic.

Since the defeat of Nazism at the end of World War II, anti-Semitic hatred of the Jewish people became a universal taboo. Except for the lunatic fringe, few people wanted to be associated with anti-Semitism which conjured up the sick and demonic mind of Adolf Hitler and death itself.

Like Farrakhan and Jesse Jackson, Arab speakers at the UN deny that they are anti-Semitic; that is, they are reluctant to lift the death-tainted taboo. But that repression results inevitably in a proliferation of fantasies which is made to stand in for anti-Semitism. In their violent attacks on Zionism and Israel, they create grotesque fantasies about Judaism and the Jewish people, filled with distortions, exaggerations, and sadism.

Such fantasies function as a substitute form of gratification which corrupts the imagination, and the real danger is that a depraved imagination almost invariably leads to depraved behavior. And that is why the Farrakhan-Jackson-Arab pornography must be as thoroughly scourged as the New York police are trying to wipe out the sickening porno blight in Times Square.

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\*Dr. Tanenbaum is director of the International Relations Department of the American Jewish Committee.

ARE JEWS HYSTERICAL OVER FARRAKHAN?

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

Are Jews being hysterical or paranoid about the Jesse Jackson-Louis Farrakhan statements about Jews, Judaism, and Israel? Are Jewish reactions inappropriate -- overreactions to what Jesse Jackson has explained away as "casual remarks?" Why is there so much upset throughout the Jewish community -- not just among Jewish leaders but in "the Jewish streets" of America?

Former vice-president Mondale and Jewish <sup>Muslim and Christian</sup> leaders have correctly denounced the fulminations of both Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan. But those repudiations, justifiably indignant, are spoken in the language of bureaucracy and social science. The words tend to be abstract and categorical and do not get at the guts of what Jews really fear over what has been happening in this election campaign.

What Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan have unleashed is a campaign of verbal violence. And Jews know in their historic bones that there is an inextricable link between verbal violence and physical violence.

Ironically, the deepest insights about the fatal connection between verbal violence and its destructive physical consequences come from a landmark study on the lynching of blacks in the South. In his classic work, "The Nature of Prejudice," Prof. Gordon Allport of Harvard University, examined case histories of mob lynchings and concluded:

In virtually every instance, the physical violence that exploded in lynchings of blacks was invariably preceded by days and, in some cases, weeks of verbal abuse of blacks viciously stirred up by the Ku Klux Klan, the White Citizens Councils, and assorted racists. For days on end, before lynchings took place, the atmosphere was charged with hate-filled images of blacks as "niggers, coons, black apes."

The effects of that verbal violence was to dehumanize blacks, to transform them into contemptible caricatures. They were emptied of their humanity and hence ceased to be personalities worthy of sympathy and compassion. And, as Prof. Allport states, once blacks ceased to be human beings in the perceptions of the white society, it was a short distance from ~~dehumanizing~~ <sup>degrading</sup> them to lynching them. White racists callously felt they were stringing up debased cartoons, not human beings. "There is an inevitable progression," Dr. Allport wrote, "from verbal aggression to violence, from rumor to riot, from gossip to genocide."

For Jews, that study was far more than an academic treatise. The same social pathology was experienced by Jews in its ultimate madness under the bestial regime of the Nazis. Hitler began his demonic campaign for the "final solution" of the Jewish problem with a systematic, programmed strategy of verbal violence. Building on nearly two millenia of Western Christian demonology of the Jews -- "Christ killers," Judases, the synagogue of Satan, the anti-Christ -- Hitler and his Nazi ideologues succeeded in portraying Jews as "Untermenschen" -- subhumans, vermin, infectious bacilli.

A vast psychic numbing then pervaded the whole of German society. With the dehumanization of Jews, it became possible to slaughter them wholesale; to shove millions of human beings into crematoria and to suffer no pangs of conscience, no human affect.

Jesse Jackson has sought to trivialize the Nazi holocaust: "I am sick and tired of hearing about the Nazi holocaust. Jews have no monopoly on suffering." Jackson is saying to the Christian world and to the black people, "Why do you continue to have sympathy or compassion for these Jews? Their holocaust is not important." He is contributing to the dehumanization of the Jewish people: turn away your human feelings from Jews; they have no special claim on your empathy.

Farrakhan goes even further. He deprecates Judaism as "a gutter religion" and says Jews are "members of the synagogue of Satan." His rhetoric, his demonological images of Jews are indistinguishable from the horrendous cartoons of Jews in Streicher's "Der Sturmer."

The fact that Farrakhan has a close "buddy" relationship with Libya's Qaddafi -- the patron of international terrorism -- underscores the seriousness of what Farrakhan is about. Together with other fanatical Arabs and Muslims, Qaddafi has for years been promoting an international campaign of anti-Semitism under the guise of anti-Zionism. Farrakhan speaks of the "outlaw" state of Israel born out of "criminal conspiracy." That is another aspect of his verbal violence designed to delegitimize the state of Israel, to dehumanize the Jews of Israel, to render them pariahs, "Untermenschen." Farrakhan's extolling of Hitler as "a great man...wickedly great," is seen by Jews not as a rhetorical flourish, "a casual remark", but as a self-revelation of his identification with the Nazi vocabulary and ideology.

All of that is cultural imagery, social atmospherics. What activates these symbolic messages into genuine fears in the Jewish community is the political meaning of this ideological violence against Jews and Israel.

The American democratic political system -- whose keystone is pluralism and mutual respect -- is unprecedented in human history. It is also unique in the Jewish historic experience. For the greater part of the past 1,900 years, every country in Western Europe incorporated anti-Semitism integrally into their ideologies and state policies. Kings, emperors, Popes, and princes officially sanctioned confining Jews to ghettos, excluding Jews from society, expropriating Jewish properties, and destroying Jewish lives. Jews suffered immeasurable tragedies from such politically-authorized hatreds and violence.

The United States is the first country of Jewish habitation, in nearly two thousand years, with a government pledged, in the words of George Washington, "to give to bigotry no sanction." The prospect of Jesse Jackson, a serious contender for national political power, bringing with him the baggage of anti-Semitism, PLO's anti-Zionism, and Farrakhan's demonologies into the highest political centers of our nation, is literally terrifying to the Jewish people.

Jewish fears are real -- and justified. But this is not just a Jewish problem. ~~In its ultimate meanings, this is an profoundly~~ <sup>It</sup> American problem. Unless the American political system finds ~~more~~ effective ways for screening ~~any~~ bigoted, verbal violence out of the electoral process, the ultimate victim will not be the Jews. It will be the fragile social compact that holds together this pluralist American democracy,

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Rabbi Tanenbaum is director of international relations of the American Jewish Committee. He has been a leader in the human rights field, and is the author of "Religious Values in An Age of Violence."

The president of the American Jewish Committee today denied a charge by the Rev. Jesse Jackson that Jewish leadership had been derelict in condemning extremist tactics directed against Mr. Jackson's presidential campaign.

Howard I. Friedman, the top officer of the 50,000 member organization, cited particularly statements by the American Jewish Committee and other Jewish organizations that sharply criticized the role of Rabbi Meyer Kahane and the disruptive tactics of the so called "Jews Against Jackson."

Mr. Friedman said, "We have in the past and we repeat now our denunciation of any undemocratic tactics, threats or other abuse that Mr. Jackson may have been subjected to. These actions do not in any way represent mainstream Jewish America, which has the highest respect for civility and the normal political process and which disdains extremism of any sort."

As to the Jackson candidacy itself, Mr. Friedman said, "Jewish leadership has been remarkably restrained and self inhibiting by not highlighting the numerous positions that Rev. Jackson has taken over the years that otherwise would have provided us ample ammunition for criticism."

"This restraint," Mr. Friedman said, "is a reflection of the deep concern the American Jewish Committee and other Jewish leadership groups have for doing everything possible to prevent the Jackson campaign from becoming a vehicle for injuring relationships between blacks and Jews, a relationship which in the past was a very good one and one which we feel we must constantly safeguard for the betterment of both groups and for the forging of a more harmonious and just society."

Mr. Friedman added, "Mr. Jackson still has not ended his own silence in not condemning the United Nations resolution equating zionism with racism and in not identifying the PLO as one of the major sources of terrorism in the world."



Oct. 4, 1985

REV. LOUIS FARRAKHAN, THE DEVIL AND THE JEWS

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

(Rabbi Tanenbaum, who served for 25 years as national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, is presently the AJC's director of international relations.)

The real danger posed by the recent, highly-publicized speeches of the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, I believe, is that he is beginning to be treated as media entertainment.

Audiences appear to be intrigued by the Farrakhan psychodrama - the bizarre scene of frowning bodyguards in bow-ties; the bravura rhetoric and its outrageous apocalyptic ~~theatrical~~ imagery; ~~That~~ the mindless, uncritical excitement of the media over another "happening." The danger is that mesmerized preoccupation with the theater obscures the content of what Farrakhan is <sup>really</sup> preaching - his precise ideology, his geo-political world-view, his propaganda warfare.

A study of Farrakhan's speeches and writings since the 1950s discloses that he has a coherent world-view that at its core is rabidly anti-white, anti-American, anti-Semitic and anti-Israel. Defenders of American democracy and certainly the Jewish community cannot afford to dismiss Farrakhan as if he were some minstrel act.

Should he continue to gain large audiences and increased media exposure - and should the PLO and Libya's <sup>Khadafi</sup> ~~Gaddafi~~ continue to pour in added millions of dollars into his coffers - Farrakhan might well become a significant source of poisonous pollution of the wells of American democracy. And he could certainly become a focal rallying point, especially among young blacks, for vicious anti-Semitic and anti-Israel ~~prax~~ hatred.

At the core of Farrakhan's ideology is a "white devil theory." First propounded by Elijah Muhammad, "prophet" and founder of the Black Muslim movement, this myth tells of an evil scientist named "Yakub" who worked for some 600 years in his laboratory on the lonely fortress island of Patmos in the Aegean Sea. After innumerable experiments and many generations of selective breeding of light-skinned blacks, Yakub created an entirely new race of man - "the degenerate white devil" who is the enemy and who must be violently destroyed.

In the 1950s, early in his career in the Black Muslim movement, when Farrakhan was known as Louis X. Wolcott, he wrote and recorded a song that became a smash hit among black nationalists. Its title - "A White Man's Heaven Is a Black Man's Hell." Farrakhan was a loyal and dedicated disciple of Elijah Muhammad, unswervingly committed to his black nationalist-separatist policies.

When Elijah Muhammad died, his son Warid D. (Wallace) Muhammad took over the movement and radically changed its outlook. He abandoned the nationalist-separatist ideology; he invited Caucasians, previously vilified and barred from membership, to join the newly-renamed American Muslim Mission; and he urged the faithful to support actively the American democratic system. He also advocated dialogue between Black Muslims and Jews.

In 1978, Farrakhan left the American Muslim Mission, strongly opposing Wallace Muhammad's integrationist views. He then formed the Nation of Islam and advocated a return to separatist, self-help policies of Elijah Muhammad. In his subsequent sermons, Farrakhan impassionedly called for the liberation of black people throughout the world and renewed Elijah Muhammad's call for violent retribution against whites: "The white man is our mortal enemy."

Thus, the first key to understanding the real Farrakhan is that he shares the ideological vision of other Islamic fanatics, notably Ayatollah Khomeini and Libya's Muammar Khadafy. Like them, he believes there will be an inevitable confrontation between the "children of light" (fundamentalist Muslims) and "the children of darkness" (the white devilish Western world, termed by Khomeini and Khadafy as "the Great Satan.")

Farrakhan has translated that cosmic vision of Armageddon into concrete political ~~appeals~~ programs studded with appeals to violence. In an address before the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee on March 17, 1984, he stated that the Palestinians and Black people in America were "oppressed" and they should take matters into their own hands. Farrakhan declared:

"At some point in time you force the oppressed to speak the only language that the beast can understand, and that is the language of violence...We are living in the time of the fulfilment of the Scriptures of the Prophets of the Bible and the Holy Quran, and the earth is to be bathed in blood, because the governments of the nations of the

earth are like beasts and they refuse to listen to the legitimate and just demands of the people."

A chief obstacle to Farrakhan's vision of ~~xxx~~ Islamic triumph at Armageddon is that for some 3,000 years there has existed another "children of light," namely, "the chosen people of Israel." For years - much before his meteoric rise to prominence through association with Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign - Farrakhan has devoted major time and energy trying to displace Jews as "the chosen people" and to replace them with blacks as the carriers of history.

His most recent version of that "new Israel" theory was expressed in his Los Angeles sermon of Sept. 15, 1985, in which Farrakhan proclaimed, "I am declaring to the world that they (the Jews) are not the chosen people of God. I am declaring to the world that you, the black people of America and the Western Hemisphere, are the chosen people."

That combative, hostile conception is a version of what the late psychoanalyst, Dr. Erich Fromm, described as "group narcissism." In that intergroup dynamic, a group attributes to itself all virtue and denies to the outside group any value, ascribing to the outgroup devilish qualities. <sup>Dr.</sup> Fromm terms such group narcissism a "semipathological phenomenon" that is ~~xxxxxxxx~~ "one of the most important sources of human ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ aggression" and mass massacres in the world today.

Farrakhan's theological views is a vital reinforcement for the PLO and Arab rejectionist political ideology toward Zionism and Israel.

If he succeeds in persuading his followers <sup>and fellow-travelers</sup> that ~~the~~ God's covenant with the Jewish people is no longer valid, then by extension God's covenant with Israel's promised land is equally invalid. Farrakhan makes precisely that connection between theology and politics:

"Now that nation called Israel," he said on June 28, 1984, in Chicago, "never has had any peace in 40 years and she will never have an peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice, thievery, lying and deceit and using the name of God to shield your gutter religion under His holy and righteous name." He added, "The people of this earth will never again be deceived by those who come in the name of God, cloaking themselves in the robes of God, but are in fact members of the synagogue of Satan."

Ironically, while Farrakhan's racism is both anti-white and anti-Christian, he has in fact appropriated the medieval Christian mythology and apocalyptic rhetoric depicting the Jews as anti-Christ, the very incarnation of evil. As Joshua Trachtenberg has written in his classic study, The Devil and the Jews, "To the medieval mind, the Jew was not human, not in the sense that the Christian was." He was ~~the~~ the devil's creature, a demonic and diabolic beast "fighting the forces of truth and ~~the~~ salvation with Satan's weapons...And against such a foe, no well of hatred was too deep, no war of extermination effective enough, until the world was rid of the menace."

Farrakhan expressed that demonic view of Jews on July 31, 1984, in a ~~a~~ speech before the National Press Club in which he stated, "Israel and Jews will prove to be the destruction of the Western world." <sup>(ferocious)</sup>

In that perspective, his admiring description of Hitler as "a great man...wickedly great" was not a casual comment.

We need to understand clearly that all of Farrakhan's attacks on Jews, Judaism, and Israel since the 1970s are concentrated on one single purpose - he is obsessively seeking to demonize Jews and Israel as the enemies of mankind who deserve violent destruction if mankind is to be saved. His attacks on alleged Jewish control of the mass media, of banks and industry, and of politicians are verbally violent expressions of that coherent theology and political ideology.

Farrakhan's notoriety, and the attention he is receiving in the media, contribute immeasurably to his being welcomed as a comrade-in-arms by the PLO and Libya's Khadafy. For the past decade, they have spearheaded the infamous "Zionism is racism" crusade against Israel and Jews. Their purposes are identical with those of Farrakhan - the deligitimization of the Jewish people and the State of Israel. Together, they are seeking to inflict on Israel and Jews what they condemn the South Africans for doing to the blacks - ~~making~~ <sup>the Jews</sup> ~~them~~ the victims of apartheid on the world scene.

~~How much weight should be given to Farrakhan's threats?~~

October 4, 1985

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Audiences appear to be intrigued by the Farrakhan psychodrama -- the bizarre scene of frowning bodyguards in bow-ties; the bravura rhetoric and its outrageous apocalyptic imagery; the wholesale frisking of an entire audience; the mindless, uncritical excitement of the media over another circus "happening." The danger is that mesmerized preoccupation with the theater obscures or diminishes the content of what Farrakhan is really preaching -- his precise ideology, his geo-political world-view, his propaganda warfare.

A study of Farrakhan's speeches and writings since the 1950's discloses that he has a coherent world-view that at its core is rabidly anti-white, anti-American, anti-Semitic and anti-Israel. Defenders of American democracy, and certainly the Jewish community, cannot afford to dismiss Farrakhan as if he were some minstrel act. Should he continue to gain large audiences and increased media exposure -- and should the PLO and Libya's Khadafy continue to pour added millions of dollars into his coffers -- Farrakhan might well become a significant source of poisonous pollution of the wells of American democracy. And he could certainly become a focal rallying point, especially among young blacks, for vicious anti-Semitic and anti-Israel hatred in the United States and abroad.

At the core of Farrakhan's ideology is a "white devil theory." First propounded by Elijah Muhammad, "prophet" and founder of the Black Muslim movement, this myth tells of an evil scientist named "Yakub" who worked for some 600 years in his laboratory on the lonely fortress island of Patmos in the Aegean Sea. After innumerable experiments and many generations of selective breeding of light-skinned blacks, Yakub created an entirely new race of man -- "the degenerate white devil" who is the enemy and who must be violently destroyed.

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Thus, the first key to understanding the real Farrakhan is that he shares the ideological vision of other Islamic fanatics, notably Ayatollah Khomeini and Libya's Muammar Khadafy. Like them, he believes there will be an inevitable confrontation between the "children of light" (fundamentalist Muslims) and "the children of darkness" (the white devilish Western world, termed by Khomeini and Khadafy as "the Great Satan.")

Farrakhan has translated that cosmic vision of Armageddon into concrete political programs studded with appeals to violence. In an address before the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee on March 17, 1984, he stated that the Palestinians and Black people in America were "oppressed" and they should take matters into their own hands. Farrakhan declared:

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A chief obstacle to Farrakhan's vision of Islamic triumph at Armageddon is that for some 3,000 years there has existed another "children of light," namely, "the chosen people of Israel." For years -- much before his meteoric rise to prominence through association with Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign -- Farrakhan has devoted major time and energy trying to displace Jews as "the chosen people" and to replace them with blacks as the carriers of history.

His most recent version of that "new Israel" theory was expressed in his Los Angeles sermon of Sept. 15, 1985, in which Farrakhan proclaimed, "I am declaring to the world today that they (the Jews) are not the chosen people of God. I am declaring to the world that you, the black people of America and the Western Hemisphere, are the chosen people."

That combative, hostile conception is a version of what the late psychoanalyst, Dr. Erich Fromm, described as "group narcissism." In that intergroup dynamic, Dr. Fromm writes, "the narcissistic image of one's own group is raised to its highest point, while the devaluation of the opposing group sinks to the lowest. One's own group becomes a defender of human dignity, decency, morality, and right. Devilish qualities are ascribed to the other group; it is treacherous, ruthless, cruel, and basically inhuman."

Dr. Fromm terms such group narcissism a "semipathological phenomenon" that is "one of the most important sources of human aggression" and mass massacres in the world today." (The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness, p. 230-1.)

Farrakhan's theological views is a vital reinforcement for the PLO and Arab rejectionist political ideology toward Zionism and Israel. If he succeeds in persuading his followers and fellow-travelers that God's covenant with the Jewish people is no longer valid, then by extension God's covenant with Israel's promised land is equally invalid. Farrakhan makes precisely that connection between theology and politics:

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Ironically, while Farrakhan's racism is both anti-white and anti-Christian, he has in fact appropriated the medieval Christian mythology and apocalyptic rhetoric depicting the Jews as anti-Christ, the very incarnation of evil. As Joshua Trachtenberg has written in his classic study, The Devil and the Jews, "To the medieval mind, the Jew was not human, not in the sense that the Christian was." He was the devil's creature, a demonic and diabolic beast "fighting the forces of truth and salvation with Satan's weapons...And against such a foe, no well of hatred was too deep, no war of extermination effective enough, until the world was rid of the menace."

Farrakhan expressed that demonic view of Jews on July 31, 1984, in a ferocious speech before the National Press Club in which he stated, "Israel and Jews will prove to be the destruction of the Western world."

In that perspective, his admiring description of Hitler as "a great man...wickedly great" was not a casual comment. Nor was it accidental when Farrakhan was leader of the Nation of Islam in New York City in the early 1970s, that his Harlem mosque was one of the few places in the city where copies of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion (alleging an international Jewish conspiracy) could be easily purchased.

We need to understand clearly that all of Farrakhan's attacks on Jews, Judaism, and Israel since the 1970s are concentrated on one single purpose -- he is obsessively seeking to demonize Jews and Israel as the enemies of mankind who deserve violent destruction if mankind is to be saved. His attacks on alleged Jewish control of the mass media, of banks and industry, and of politicians are verbally violent expressions of that coherent theology and political ideology.

Farrakhan's notoriety, and the attention he is receiving in the media, contribute immeasurably to his being welcomed as a comrade-in-arms by the PLO and Libya's Khadafy. For the past decade, they have spearheaded the infamous "Zionism is racism" crusade against Israel and Jews. Their purposes are identical with those of Farrakhan -- the delegitimization of the Jewish people and the State of Israel.

Together, they are seeking to inflict on Israel and the Jews what they condemn the South Africans for doing to the blacks -- making the Jews the victims of apartheid on the world scene.



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ANALYSIS

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**Farrakhan's New York speech: a curious mixture of contrasts**

By Religious News Service

*(The following is based on reporting by Darrell Turner, RNS associate editor, and Tony Chappelle, RNS correspondent.)*

NEW YORK (RNS) — Louis Farrakhan's last major speech in the United States on his 1985 tour offered a curious mixture of interfaith appeals and anti-Jewish rhetoric, of calls for submission to God's will and threats of possible harm to his critics. It was a dramatic illustration of the qualities that have made him a speaker revered by his supporters and hated by his opponents.

Thanks in part to demonstrations against the Nation of Islam leader and criticisms from the mayor and the governor of New York, the Oct. 7 rally packed Madison Square Garden and the adjacent Felt Forum with more than 25,000 people as thousands more crowded outside. Many had paid the nominal \$2 ticket price, and others were hoping to get in without tickets if space was available.

The rally was scheduled to begin at 7 p.m. but did not get underway until 8:30, and Mr. Farrakhan did not begin his talk until 9:45. A major reason for the delay was the intensive security system coordinated by the Nation of Islam, which involved body frisks and examinations of every item carried by attendees, and even scrutiny of the heels on women's shoes. Despite the emotion-charged atmosphere, Madison Square Garden was probably the safest place in New York City.

As the audience filtered in, periodic announcements over the loudspeaker by Nation of Islam security officers appealed for calm and order. At one point, a security officer insisted that he could smell marijuana from the platform and demanded that the "reefer" be put out, noting the Muslim prohibition against drugs and artificial stimulants.

The platform was filled with a galaxy of ethnic-minority activists, some of whom were introduced. These included Kwame Toure, formerly known as Stokely Carmichael, who popularized the "Black Power" slogan in fiery speeches in the 1960s, Russell Means of the American Indian Movement, Said Arakat of the Palestinian Congress of North America and singer Chaka Khan.

Despite the Black Muslim sponsorship of the rally, some Christians were praised. Bob Lowe of WLIB Radio, one of the speakers who preceded Mr. Farrakhan, commended a Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. Lawrence Lucas, and two Baptist ministers, the Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker and the Rev. Calvin Butts, as "Christian ministers who refuse to denounce Minister Farrakhan." And in his introductory remarks, Mr. Farrakhan welcomed "my many Christian brothers and sisters from the various denominations of Christianity."

Despite his good words for some Christian leaders, however, the black Muslim leader described their religion in a way that most adherents might question. "Allah never sent Jesus to teach Christianity," he asserted. "Jesus did not teach the religion you know as Christianity. He knew nothing of it."

And Mr. Farrakhan managed to praise the Torah while denouncing Judaism in the same breath. He declared that God "gave Moses the Torah, not Judaism," and asserted that "if the Torah had not been corrupted, then we would not have to reveal the Koran, because you (Jews) had the book."

In addition to his unorthodox portrayals of Christianity and Judaism, Mr. Farrakhan went out of his way to stress the dignity and rights of women, in contrast to the popular image of Islam as a religion that has oppressed women. "The world is in the condition that it's in because the world disrespects women," he declared. Mr. Farrakhan told his fellow Muslims that "the women must not be looked at, brothers, as an object of pleasure and something to bear babies without intelligence." During his address, which lasted for almost three hours, the orator surrounded himself with white-robed women to demonstrate their importance to the Nation of Islam.

Portraying himself as a target of unwarranted criticism and a potential martyr, he said, "There has not been a black man in the history of America who has been so repudiated as Farrakhan." He maintained that "you can't find one word in the text of my speeches that calls for the death of Jews" and pointed out that the Jewish Defense League has called for his death on more than one occasion.

Mr. Farrakhan warned Jews that he is their "last chance . . . because scriptures charge you with killing prophets of God throughout your history. I'm not calling myself a prophet, but I walk in their footsteps." Then, to thunderous applause, he said, "If you fool with me, I will not run from you. I will run to you!"

But some of Mr. Farrakhan's harshest words were directed at prominent blacks who have criticized him, such as New York City Clerk David Dinkins, who told an anti-Farrakhan rally a few days earlier, "I find his blatantly anti-Semitic remarks offensive, and I condemn them."

To the cheers of the crowd, Mr. Farrakhan condemned his black critics as "silly Toms" who are not true leaders. "Do you think the leaders should sell you out and then live?" he asked the audience. "We should make examples of these leaders."

Middle-class blacks made up most of the audience at the Garden and Felt Forum. There appeared to be a dearth of teen-agers, although there were a number of young children with their parents and some veterans of the civil-rights movement in the audience.

Several people interviewed said they were white-collar, blue-collar or technical workers. They said they came to the rally because they are dissatisfied with the lack of opportunity they or their friends and relatives have encountered. For many, Mr. Farrakhan appeared to symbolize the fight against the denial of upward mobility in America.

"I'm showing support for him because the media tries to distort what he's saying," said Akua Weekes, 36, an elementary-school teacher. "I think Farrakhan says in a most effective way what the philosophy of economic self-sufficiency for black people should say."

Robert Smith, 28, a therapy assistant, said, "I saw Farrakhan often on cable TV and have been aware of him for the last 10 to 15 years. It's only the white media that's only recently become aware of him. He tells the truth, and I agree with him that black people are wasting our money and should go into corporate investing."

Mr. Smith said he would be "willing to make a contribution of \$25 or \$50 as long as there's a return on the investment, even if it's not an economic one."

Near the end of the speech, Mr. Farrakhan outlined his program for black self-sufficiency, known as People Organized and Working for Economic Rebirth (POWER). With the help of a \$5-million loan from Libyan President Muammar Qaddafi, the Nation of Islam is planning to manufacture such products as soaps, toilet paper, sanitary napkins and toothpaste to create jobs for blacks.

"By training blacks to trade with our own, and becoming stronger economically, we become stronger politically," Mr. Farrakhan said. "For instance, we could force this government to end its wicked policy of constructive engagement, which would mean an end to the killing of brothers and sisters in Azania (South Africa)."

Mr. Farrakhan said his New York address was his "final speech for a long time." He said it marked the end of "phase one of the rebuilding work of the Nation of Islam." The second phase, he said, will take place in the next six months as he brings his message to the Caribbean, Africa and the Middle East.

Mr. Farrakhan was born Louis Eugene Wolcott in New York in 1933. He was a singer of calypso and country songs before being recruited into the Nation of Islam by Malcolm X in 1955. After Malcolm X's assassination, Mr. Farrakhan became leader of the movement's main mosque in Harlem and gradually rose to national prominence in the organization.

Following the death of Elijah Muhammad in 1977, the movement split into two factions — the American Muslim Mission, led by Mr. Muhammad's son, Wallace Deen Muhammad, with an estimated 100,000 members, and the Nation of Islam, led by Mr. Farrakhan, with an estimated 5,000 to 10,000 members. The American Muslim Mission disbanded last spring, leaving Mr. Farrakhan as the leader of the only remaining structured organization among U.S. Black Muslims.

### DOMESTIC NEWS

10-08-85

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## **Bishop says L.A. black leaders mishandled Farrakhan speech**

By Religious News Service

NEW YORK (RNS) — A black church leader in Los Angeles says he and other influential blacks in the city made a mistake in urging Mayor Tom Bradley not to criticize Louis Farrakhan in advance of the Nation of Islam leader's Sept. 14 address there.

Speaking at the Stephen S. Wise Temple in suburban Brentwood, African Methodist Episcopal Bishop H. H. Brookins said the denunciations of Mr. Farrakhan by the city's Jewish leaders before his speech "might well have been the better judgment. But at that moment we felt that our methods would get better results; namely that he would come quietly and go quietly as he had done so many times before. It didn't turn out that way."

In his speech at the Forum, Mr. Farrakhan told the audience of 17,000 that the Jews "are not the chosen people of God," but that "you, the black people, are." Referring to the Holocaust, he told Jews, "Don't push your six million down our throats when we lost 100 million to slavery. We weep for Jews, but who weeps for us?"

In his talk at the Reform temple, Bishop Brookins said, "Bigotry, anti-Semitism, racism are abhorrent and must be damned between heaven and hell, whether it comes out of a white mouth or a black mouth, and in this case you are talking about Louis Farrakhan."

At the same time, he urged whites to understand why Mr. Farrakhan's statements on the economic plight of blacks have won him so many listeners. Bishop Brookins said that blacks "are a drowning people, going down to the watery grave of poverty and unemployment, and here comes a voice loud, clear, charismatic, who says there is hope and there is help for you."

Rabbi Isaiah Zeldin, spiritual leader of the Stephen S. Wise Temple, had criticized Mayor Bradley and other black leaders for not speaking out against Mr. Farrakhan before the speech. He said that when the mayor finally did speak out, his statement was "not quite sufficient." While Mayor Bradley had criticized what he called "undercurrents of anti-Semitism" in Mr. Farrakhan's speech, Rabbi Zeldin said, "There were more than undercurrents. There was blatant anti-Semitism."

According to the rabbi, "the only way that you can deal with an individual of that sort is to expose him. You can't deny him freedom of speech, but certainly you can make the entire community aware of the danger that he spews forth."

Oct. 4, 1985  
The Jewish Week

THE REV. LOUIS FARRAKHAN - QADDAFI'S FRONT MAN

by Marc H. Tanenbaum

(Rabbi Tanenbaum, who served for 25 years as national interreligious affairs director of the American Jewish Committee, is presently the AJC's director of international relations.)

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On the lonely fortress ~~ziak~~ island of Patmos in the Aegean Sea, an evil scientist named "Yakub" worked incessantly for some 600 years in his laboratory on a genetic project.

The laboratory was packed with light-skinned blacks. After innumerable experiments and many generations of selective breeding, the evil genius Yakub created an entirely new race of man - the degenerate white devil.

That demonological view of race relations sprang from the head of Elijah Muhammad, founder of the Black Muslim movement. It is one of the keys to an understanding of the ideological world-view of the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, and his demonological attitudes toward Jews, Judaism, and Israel.

In the 1950s, early in his career in the Black Muslim movement, when Farrakhan was known as Louis X. Wolcott, he wrote and recorded a song that became a smash hit among black nationalists. Its title-- "A White Man's Heaven is a Black Man's Hell." Farrakhan was a loyal and dedicated disciple of Elijah Muhammad, unswervingly committed to his black nationalist-separatist policies.

When Elijah Muhammad died, his son Warid D. (Wallace) Muhammad took over the movement and radically changed its outlook. He abandoned the nationalist-separatist ideology; he invited Caucasians, previously vilified and barred from membership, to join the newly-named American Muslim Mission; and he urged the faithful to support actively the American system. *He also ~~promote~~ advocated dialogue between black Muslims and Jews.*

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the Nations of Islam and advocated a return to separatist, self-help policies of Elijah Muhammad. In his subsequent sermons, Farrakhan impassionedly called for the liberation of black people throughout the world and renewed Elijah Muhammad's call for violent retribution against whites: "The white man is our mortal enemy."

Thus, the first key to understanding Farrakhan is that he shares the ideological vision of other Islamic fanatics, notably Ayatollah Khomeini and Libya's Muammar Khadafy. Like them, he believes there will be an inevitable confrontation between "the children of light" (fundamentalist Muslims) and "the children of darkness" (the white devilish Western world, termed by Khomeini and Qadafy as "the Great Satan.") That accounts for the compatibility between Farrakhan and Qadafy - a compatibility which has ~~essentially paid Farrakhan some \$5 million from Qaddafi~~ resulted in Farrakhan's receiving some \$5 million from Qaddafi as stipend for serving as the Libyan's anti-American and anti-Jewish front man in the land of their common "mortal enemy," the United States.



# The Farrakhan phenomenon

## Sharing the ideology of Khomeini, Khaddafy

By MARC H. TANENBAUM

The real danger posed by the recent, highly publicized speeches of the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, I believe, is that he is beginning to be treated as big-time media entertainment.

Audiences appear intrigued by the Farrakhan psychodrama — the bizarre scene of frowning bodyguards in bow ties, the bravura rhetoric and its outrageous apocalyptic imagery, the mindless, uncritical excitement of the media over another circus happening. The danger is that mesmerized preoccupation with the theater obscures the content of what Farrakhan is really preaching — his precise ideology, his geopolitical world view, his propaganda warfare.

A study of Farrakhan's speeches and writings since the 1950s discloses that he has a coherent world view that at its core is rabidly anti-white, anti-American, anti-Semitic and anti-Israel.

Defenders of American democracy and certainly the Jewish community cannot afford to dismiss Farrakhan as if he were some minstrel act. Should he continue to gain large audiences and increased media exposure — and should the PLO and Libya's Khaddafy continue to pour added millions of dollars into his coffers — Farrakhan might well become a significant source of poisonous pollution of the wells of American democracy. And he could certainly become a rallying point, especially among young blacks, for vicious anti-Semitic and anti-Israel hatred.

### His attacks seek to demonize Jews, Judaism and Israel as deserving destruction

At the core of Farrakhan's ideology is a "white devil theory." First propounded by Elijah Muhammad, "prophet" and founder of the Black Muslim movement, this myth tells of an evil scientist named Yakub who worked some 600 years in his laboratory on the lonely fortress island of Patmos in the Aegean Sea. After innumerable experiments and many generations of selective breeding of light-skinned blacks, Yakub created an entirely new race of man — "the degenerate white devil," who is the enemy and who must be violently destroyed.

In the 1950s, early in his career in the Black Muslim movement when Farrakhan was known as Louis X. Wolcott, he wrote and recorded a song that became a smash hit among black nationalists. Its title: "A White Man's Heaven Is a Black Man's Hell." Farrakhan was a loyal and dedicated disciple of Elijah Muhammad, unswervingly committed to his black nationalist-separatist policies.

When Elijah Muhammad died, his son Warid D. Wallace Muhammad took over the movement and radically changed its outlook. He abandoned the nationalist-separatist ideology; he invited Caucasians, previously vilified and barred from membership, to join the renamed American Muslim Mission, and he urged the faithful to support actively the American democratic system. He also advocated dialogue between Black Muslims and Jews.

In 1978, Farrakhan left the American Muslim Mission, strongly opposing Wallace Muhammad's integrationist views. He formed the Nation of Islam and advocated a return to the separatist, self-help policies of Elijah Muhammad's call for violent retribution against whites, "our mortal enemy."

Thus, Farrakhan shares the ideological vision of other Islamic fanatics, notably Ayatollah Khomeini and Libya's Muammar Khaddafy. Like them, he believes there will be an inevitable confrontation between the "children of light" (fundamentalist Muslims) and "the children of darkness" (the white devilish Western world, termed by Khomeini and Khaddafy as "the Great Satan").

*Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, international relations director of the American Jewish Committee, served 25 years as the committee's national interreligious affairs director.*

Farrakhan has translated that cosmic vision of Armageddon into concrete political programs studded with appeals to violence. In an address before the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee March 17, 1984, he stated that the Palestinians and black people in America were "oppressed" and they should take matters into their own hands with violence.

A chief obstacle to Farrakhan's vision of Islamic triumph at Armageddon is that for some 3,000 years there has existed another "children of light," namely, "the chosen people of Israel." For years — much before his meteoric rise to prominence through association with Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign — Farrakhan devoted time and energy trying to displace Jews as "the chosen people" and to replace them with blacks as the carriers of history.

His most recent version of that "new Israel" theory was expressed in his Los Angeles sermon Sept. 15, in which Farrakhan proclaimed: "I am declaring to the world that they (the Jews) are not the chosen people of God. I am declaring to the world that you, the black people of America and the Western Hemisphere, are the chosen people."

That combative, hostile concept is a version of what the late psychoanalyst, Dr. Erich Fromm, described as "group narcissism." In that intergroup dynamic, a group attributes to itself all virtue and denies to the outside group any value, ascribing to the outgroup devilish qualities. Fromm terms such group narcissism a "semipathological phenomenon" that is "one of the most important sources of human aggression" and massacres.

Farrakhan's theological views are a vital reinforcement for the PLO and Arab rejectionist political ideology toward Zionism and Israel. If he succeeds in persuading his followers and fellow travelers that God's Covenant with the Jewish people is no longer valid, then by extension God's Covenant with Israel's promised land is equally invalid. Farrakhan makes precisely that connection between theology and politics:

"Now that nation called Israel," he said June 28, 1984, in Chicago, "never has had any peace in 40 years and she will never have any peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice, thievery, lying and deceit and using the name of God to shield your gutter religion under His holy and righteous name.

"The people of this earth will never again be deceived by those who come in the name of God, cloaking themselves in the robes of God, but are in fact members of the synagogue of Satan."

Ironically, while Farrakhan's racism is both anti-white and anti-Christian, he has in fact appropriated the medieval Christian mythology and apocalyptic rhetoric depicting the Jews as the anti-Christ, the very incarnation of evil, the devil's creature.

Farrakhan expressed that demonic view of Jews July 31, 1984, in a ferocious speech before the National Press Club in which he stated: "Israel and Jews will prove to be the destruction of the Western world."

In that perspective, his admiring description of Hitler as "a great man . . . wickedly great" was not a casual comment.

All of Farrakhan's attacks on Jews, Judaism and Israel are concentrated on one single purpose. He is obsessively seeking to demonize Jews and Israel as the enemies of mankind who deserve violent destruction if mankind is to be saved. His attacks on alleged Jewish control of the mass media, of banks and industry and of politicians, are violent expressions of that coherent theology and political ideology.

Farrakhan's notoriety contributes immeasurably to his being welcomed as a comrade-in-arms by the PLO and Libya's Khaddafy. For the past decade, they have spearheaded the infamous "Zionism is racism" crusade against Israel and Jews. Their purposes are identical with those of Farrakhan — the delegitimization of the Jewish people and the state of Israel. Together they are seeking to inflict on Israel and Jews what they condemn the South Africans for doing to the blacks — making the Jews the victims of apartheid on the world scene.

Awareness of the nature of Farrakhan's ideology is essential as Jewish agencies and their allies consider strategies to counter this latest bigot's assault on the American democratic traditions of tolerance, mutual respect and pluralistic coexistence.



BEHIND THE HEADLINES:  
FARRAKHAN, THE DEVIL, AND THE JEWS  
By Marc Tanenbaum

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Audiences appear to be intrigued by the Farrakhan psychodrama -- the bizarre scene of frowning bodyguards in bow-ties; the bravura rhetoric and its outrageous apocalyptic imagery; the wholesale frisking of an entire audience; the mindless, uncritical excitement of the media over another circus "happening."

The danger is that mesmerized preoccupation with the theater obscures or diminishes the content of what Farrakhan is really preaching -- his precise ideology, his geo-political world-view, his propaganda warfare.

A study of Farrakhan's speeches and writings since the 1950's discloses that he has a coherent world-view, that at its core is rabidly anti-white, anti-American, anti-Semitic and anti-Israel. Defenders of American democracy, and certainly the Jewish community, cannot afford to dismiss Farrakhan as if he were some minstrel act.

Should he continue to gain large audiences and increased media exposure -- and should the PLO and Libya's Muammar Qaddafi continue to pour added millions of dollars into his coffers -- Farrakhan might well become a significant source of poisonous pollution of the wells of American democracy. And he could certainly become a focal rallying point, especially among young Blacks, for vicious anti-Semitic and anti-Israel hatred in the United States and abroad.

The Core Of Farrakhan's Ideology

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Shares Vision With Islamic Fanatics

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