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Black Theology and the Hebrew Bible:

An Essay on the "Old Testament"

in Black Religion

by

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Although the phrase "Black Theology" did not make its appearance on the American theological scene until the late 1960's¹, the content of its meaning has roots in the earliest development of Black religion which recognized that Christianity and racism were opposites. Black Theology today is nothing but a theological expression of black people's belief that they were not created for slavery and oppression but for liberation. The theme of liberation therefore is the essence of Black Theology's analysis of Black religion.

Most interpreters of black religion agree that white "Christian" slavemasters and preachers did not present Christianity to black slaves as a religion of liberation. The opposite was the case. White slavemasters and preachers focused on that portion of New Testament which said that slaves should be obedient to their masters. However, many slaves rejected the white interpretation of the Christian gospel and affirmed the God of the Jewish Bible which Christians call the "Old Testament." It was because they interpreted the God of the Christian faith in the light of the God revealed in the Hebrew Bible (and not vice versa!) that black slaves were able to reconcile their desire for freedom with the religion of Jesus Christ. In this paper, I intend to examine Black Theology's perspective on the Hebrew Bible and then relate that examination to the black slaves' view of God as reflected in the spirituals of the 19th century.

Biblical Revelation in the Hebrew Bible

The Hebrew Bible is a history book. To understand it and the divine revelation to which it witnesses, we must think of the Hebrew Bible as the drama of God's mighty acts in history. It tells the story of God's acts of grace and of judgment as he calls the people of Israel into a free, liberated existence.

Historically, the story began with the Exodus. The Exodus was the decisive event in Israel's history, because through it Yahweh revealed himself as the Savior of an oppressed people. The Israelites were slaves in Egypt; thus, their future was closed. But Yahweh "heard their groaning, and remembered his covenant with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob; he saw the plight of Israel, he took heed of it" (Exodus 2:24-25 NEB). Yahweh, therefore, took Israel's history into his own hands, and gave this people a divine future, thereby doing for Israel what she could not do for herself. "With arm outstretched and with mighty acts of judgments" (Exodus 6:6 NEB), he delivered Israel out of Egypt and across the Red Sea. And "when Israel saw the great power which the Lord had put forth against Egypt, . . . they put their faith in him," responding with a song to the Lord:

I will sing to the Lord, for he has risen up in triumph;
the horse and his rider he has hurled into the sea. (Exodus 15:1 NEB)

In the Exodus-event, God is revealed by means of his acts on behalf of a weak and defenceless people. He is the God of power and of strength, able to destroy the enslaving power of the mighty Pharaoh.

The Lord is my refuge and my defence,
he has shown himself my deliverer. (Exodus 15:2 NEB)

The centrality of the Exodus for Israel's consciousness, seen first through the people's recognition of deliverance, was further developed at Sinai, as the

Exodus became the basis for Israel's covenant with Yahweh.

You have seen with your own eyes what I did to Egypt, and how I carried you on eagles' wings and brought you here to me. If only you will now listen to me and keep my covenant, then out of all peoples you shall become my special possession; for the whole earth is mine. You shall be my kingdom of priests, my holy nation. (Exodus 19:4-5 NEB)

This passage connects the Exodus, the revelation of Yahweh through his acts ("You have seen . . . what I did"), with the covenant, which is the foundation of Yahweh's revelation through his Word ("If only you will listen to me and keep my covenant"). The Exodus is the point of departure of Israel's existence, the foundation of her peoplehood established at Sinai. This is the meaning of the preface to the Ten Commandments in Exodus 20:2: "I am the Lord your God who brought you out of Egypt, out of the land of slavery." Therefore, "you shall have no other god to set against me" (20:3 NEB).

The covenant is an invitation to Israel to enter into a responsible relationship with the God of the Exodus wherein he will be her God and she his "special possession". This invitation places Israel in a situation of decision, because the covenant requires obedience to the will of Yahweh. To accept the covenant means that Israel must now live as Yahweh's liberated people, becoming the embodiment of freedom made possible through his freeing presence. The covenant not only places upon Israel the responsibility of accepting the absolute sovereignty of Yahweh as defined in the first commandment; it also requires Israel to treat the weak in her midst as Yahweh has treated her. This is the significance of the apodictic laws in the Covenant Code:

You shall not wrong a stranger or oppress him; for you were strangers in the land of Egypt. (Exodus 22:21; see also 23:9 RSV)

You shall not ill-treat any widow or fatherless child. If you do, be sure that I will listen if they appeal to me; My anger will be roused and I will kill you with the sword. (Exodus 22:23-24 NEB)

In the Exodus-Sinai tradition Yahweh is disclosed as the God of history, whose revelation is identical with his power to liberate the oppressed. There is no knowledge of Yahweh except through his political activity on behalf of the weak and helpless of the land. This is the significance of Yahweh's contest with Pharaoh, the plagues against Egypt, and the "hardening" of Pharaoh's heart. The biblical writer wishes to emphasize that Israel's liberation came not from her own strength but solely from the power of Yahweh, who completely controls history. The same emphasis is found in the stories of divine guidance in the wilderness and of the defeat of the Amalekites. The Israelites were a weak and defenceless people, a fact that played a crucial role in her election. For Yahweh in his very nature stands against the so-called mighty in their oppression of the poor. Only Yahweh is the universal sovereign ruler.

God's election of oppressed Israelites has unavoidable implications for the doing of Black Theology. If God has chosen as his "holy nation" the Egyptian slavemasters instead of the Israelite slaves, then a completely different kind of God would have been revealed. Thus Israel's election cannot be separated from her servitude and liberation. Here God discloses that he is the God of history whose will is identical with the liberation of the oppressed from social and political bondage. The doing of Black Theology, therefore, on the basis of the revelation of Yahweh, must involve the politics which takes its stand with the poor and against the rich. Indeed Black Theology ceases to be a theology of the Exodus-Sinai tradition when it fails to see Yahweh as unquestionably in control of history, vindicating the weak against the strong.

The Hebrew story does not end with the Exodus and the gift of the covenant. Yahweh does not withdraw from his people's history. On the contrary, the

covenant means that Yahweh's liberating presence continues to sustain the people through the wilderness to the Promised Land. And when Israel failed to keep her side of the covenant by running after the gods of Canaan, Yahweh did not reject his people. His will to save and to make them free was a constituent of his being with them. God's grace could not be destroyed by Israel's disobedience.

The conflict between grace and disobedience was escalated when Israel became a monarchy, for the rulers often forgot the Exodus-Sinai experience and the function of the King in Israel. It is within this social and political context that we ought to understand the rise of prophecy. The prophets were messengers of Yahweh who gave God's Word to the people, reminding them of God's deliverance and covenant which brought the community into existence. They also proclaimed Yahweh's future activity of judgment and renewal that was about to burst into the present.

The prophets gave a large measure of their addresses to proclaiming the emptiness and tragedy of Israel's present existence. The tragedy of Israel is due to her failure to remember the Exodus-Sinai tradition. As Amos said,

It was I who brought you up from the land of Egypt,
I who led you in the wilderness forty years,
to take possession of the land of the Amorites. (2:10 NEB)

Because Israel often failed to live on the basis of God's saving-event of the Exodus, she also failed to understand the significance of Yahweh's imminent eschatological judgment. Amos proclaimed the connection between the past and the future as they both invaded Israel's present moment.

For you alone have I cared
among all the nations of the world;
therefore I will punish you
for all your iniquities. (Amos 3:2 NEB)

What was Israel's sin? What did the people do to rouse the anger of their Lord. The prophets were almost unanimous in their contention that Israel disobeyed the first commandment. The people failed to recognize Yahweh's sovereignty in history, and thus began to trust their own power and the power of political alliances with other nations (Is. 31:1). But that was not all! The disobedience of the first commandment always has consequences in the social life of the community. Israel, therefore, began to oppress the weak and the poor in their own community. That was why Amos said that "the Lord has sworn by his holiness that your time is coming," because you "grind the destitute and plunder the humble" (4:2; 8:4 NEB). Even though Yahweh "cared for you in the wilderness, in a land of burning heat, as if you were in a posture," you "forgot [him]," becoming "an oppressor trampling on justice, doggedly pursuing what is worthless" (Hosea 13:5-6; 5:11 NEB). Because Yahweh will not permit the triumph of evil, Israelites must be punished for their wrong doings. Therefore, Yahweh "will be like a panther to them" and "will prowl like a leopard by the wayside." He "will meet them like a she-bear robbed of her cubs and tear their ribs apart." "Like a lioness" Yahweh "will devour them on the spot" and "will rip them up like a wild beast" (Hosea 13:7-8 NEB).

According to Amos and Hosea, Israel will be punished because the people do not "practice loyalty and justice" (Hosea 12:6 NEB), but rather "have turned into venom the process of the law and justice itself into poison". (Amos 6:12 NEB). They "'buy the poor for silver and the destitute for a pair of shoes [.]'" The Lord has sworn by the pride of Jacob: I will never forget any of their doings."

Shall not the earth shake for this?
Shall not all who live on it grieve?

All earth shall surge and seethe like the Nile
and subside like the river of Egypt.

Did I not bring Israel up from Egypt,
the Philistines from Captor, the Aramaeans from Kir?
Behold, I, the Lord God,
have my eyes on this sinful kingdom,
and I will wipe it off the face of the earth.
(Amos 8:6-8; 9:7-8 NEB)

We may shudder at the anger of Yahweh as voiced in the prophecy of Amos and say that the latter lacks tender mercy found in Hosea. Nevertheless God's mercy can never invalidate his will for justice. There is no divine grace in the Hebrew Bible that is bestowed on oppressors at the expense of the suffering of the poor. The theme of justice and Yahweh's special concern for the poor and the widows have a central place in Israelite prophecy. Thus Jeremiah:

For among my people there are wicked men, . . .
Their houses are full of fraud,
as a cage is full of birds.
They grow rich and grand,
bloated and rancorous;
their thoughts are all of evil,
and they refuse to do justice,
the claims of the orphan they do not put right
nor do they grant justice to the poor.

(5:26-28 NEB)

And Micah:

God has told you what is good;
and what is it that the Lord asks of you?
Only to act justly, to love loyalty,
to walk wisely before your God

(6:8 NEB)

The emphasis upon justice for the poor is present even in a prophet like Isaiah of Jerusalem, for whom the David's reign, rather than the Exodus, is the significant act of deliverance. According to Isaiah, "Yahweh bound himself by a covenant oath to David, promising to preserve

the Davidic line to spare the Davidic kingdom 'for the sake of my servant David' . . . (Is. 37:35; see II Sam. 7).² Isaiah thus represents what scholars designate as the David-Zion tradition. Yet Isaiah, in perfect solidarity with the prophets of the Mosiac tradition, proclaimed that Yahweh is the God of justice who sides with the weak against the strong.

Put away the evil of your deeds,
away out of my sight.

Cease to do evil and learn to do right,
pursue justice and champion the oppressed;
give the orphan his rights, plead the widows' cause.
(1:16-17 NEB)

In Israel, only Yahweh is King:

For the Lord our judge, the Lord our law-giver,
the Lord our king -- he himself will save us.

(Is. 33:22 NEB)

The function of the human king in Israel is to be Yahweh's servant, executing justice in his name. "The King is God's son He is commissioned to rule by God himself, he governs with perfect justice and wisdom, he is the great benefactor and shepherd of his people" ³ As Yahweh's son by adoption (Ps. 2:7), the king is enthroned to "rescue the needy from their rich oppressors, the distressed who have no protector."

May he have pity on the needy and the poor,
deliver the poor from death;
may he redeem them from oppression and violence
and may their blood be precious in his eyes.
(Ps. 72:12-14 NEB)

The poor are Yahweh's own, his special possession. These are the people the divine has called into being for freedom. Therefore as the sovereign King of Israel whose existence is dependent upon God's saving power, Yahweh judges Israel in the light of their treatment of the poor. The indictment is severe.

The Lord comes forward to argue his case
 and stands to judge his people.
 The Lord opens the indictment
 against the elders of his people and their officers:
 They have ravaged the vineyard,
 and the spoils of the poor are in your houses.
 Is it nothing to you that you crush my people
 and grind the faces of the poor?
 (Is. 3:13-15) NEB)

It is a fact: In almost every scene of the Hebrew drama of salvation,
 the poor are defended against the rich, the weak against the strong.
 Yahweh is the God of the oppressed whose revelation is identical with
 their liberation from bondage. Even in the wisdom literature where the
 sages seem to be unaware of Israel's saving history, God's concern for the
 poor is nonetheless emphasized.

He who is generous to the poor lends to the Lord.
 (Proverbs 19:17 NEB)

He who oppresses the poor insults his Maker;
 he who is generous to the needy honours him. (Prov. 14:13 NEB)

Like Moses and the prophets, the wise man is concerned for the orphan:

Do not move the ancient boundary-stone
 or encroach on the land of orphans:
 they have a powerful guardian
 who will take their cause against you.
 (Proverbs 23:10-11 NEB)

If black theological speech is based on the traditions of the Hebrew Bible,
 then it must heed their unanimous testimony to Yahweh's commitment to justice
 for the poor and the weak. Accordingly Black Theology cannot avoid the
 risk of taking sides in politics, and the side that it must take is disclosed
 in the side that Yahweh has already taken. Any other side, whether it be with
 the oppressors or the side of neutrality (which is nothing but a camouflaged
 identification with the rulers), is unbiblical. If Black Theology does not
 side with the poor, then it cannot speak for Yahweh who is the God of the
 poor.

As the Hebrew story continues, we see that the people of Israel did not

listen to the voice of prophecy. Thus they went into exile -- the Northern Kingdom in 722 B.C. and the Southern Kingdom of Judah in 597 B.C. and 587 B.C. The experience of exile was a shattering event for Israel. "They believed that Yahweh had manifested his lordship in Palestine; but could he be worshipped in a strange land where other gods seemed to be in control?"

By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept
 when we remembered Zion.
 There on the willow-trees
 we hung up our harps,
 for there those who carried us off
 demanded music and singing,
 and our captors called on us to be merry:
 'Sing us one of the songs of Zion.'
 How could we sing the Lord's song
 in a foreign land?

(Ps. 137 NEB)

It was in the midst of Israel's despair that prophecy began to strike a new note. Jeremiah began to speak of the new covenant (31:31-34) and Ezekiel of a new heart and a new spirit (36:26). And then there was the voice of the unknown prophet who began by proclaiming:

Comfort, comfort my people;
 -- it is the voice of your God;
 speak tenderly to Jerusalem
 and tell her this,
 that she has fulfilled her term of bondage,
 and that her penalty is paid;
 she has received at the Lord's hand
 double measure for all her sins.

(Is. 40:1-2 NEB)

Again Yahweh revealed himself as the deliverer of the weak and defenceless Israel. This was Israel's second Exodus, and like the first it was due exclusively to the power of Yahweh overwhelming those who asserted their power against his people.

On the people's return to their homeland there was the rebuilding of

the Temple and the rededication of the community to the obedience of the Law. But black people believed Israel's story logically does not *end* with what they called the Old Testament. They contended that Yahweh's presence with Israel was a sign of his continued liberating presence in the world on behalf of the oppressed of the land. It is this theme *of liberation* that defines the essence of black religion as expressed in the black spirituals *in particular and Black Theology generally.*

AMERICAN JEWISH
The Black Spirituals and the Hebrew Bible

The divine liberation of the oppressed from slavery is the central theological concept in the black spirituals. According to these songs, black slaves did not believe that human servitude was reconcilable with their African past and their knowledge of the Christian gospel. They did not believe that God created Africans to be the slaves of Europeans; and they lifted up their souls to God in song, expressing with conviction that God is involved in black history, and he will make right what whites have made wrong. Just as God delivered Moses and the Children of Israel from Egyptian bondage, drowning Pharaoh and his army in the Red Sea, he also will deliver black people from American slavery. It is this certainty that informs the thought of the black spirituals, enabling black slaves to sing:

Oh Mary, don't you weep, don't you moan,
 Oh Mary, don't you weep, don't you moan,
 Pharaoh's army got drowned,
 Oh Mary, don't you weep.

The basic idea of the spirituals is that slavery contradicts God; it is a denial of his will. To be enslaved is to be placed in a state of unfreedom, and that form of existence contradicts God's creation of people

to be his children, his servants of creation. Because black people believed that they were God's children, they affirmed their somebodiness, making it impossible for them to reconcile their servitude with divine revelation. Therefore, despite the teachings of white missionaries which emphasized the obedience of slaves to their masters, black slaves refused to accept white distortions of the gospel. They contended that God willed their freedom and not their slavery. That is why the spirituals focus on biblical passages that stress God's involvement in the liberation of oppressed people. Black slaves sang about Joshua and the battle of Jericho, Moses leading the Israelites from bondage, Daniel in the lion's den, and the Hebrew Children in the fiery furnace. Here the emphasis is on God's liberation of the weak from the oppression of the strong, the lowly and downtrodden from the proud and mighty. And blacks reasoned that if God could lock the lion's jaw for Daniel and could cool the fire for the Hebrew Children, then he certainly can deliver black people from slavery.

My Lord delivered Daniel
 My Lord delivered Daniel,
 My Lord delivered Daniel,
 Why can't He deliver me?

Contrary to popular opinion, the spirituals are not evidence that black people reconciled themselves with human slavery. On the contrary, they are black freedom songs which emphasize black liberation as consistent with divine revelation. ⁵ For this reason, it is most appropriate for black people to sing them in this "new" age of Black Power. And if some people still regard the spirituals as inconsistent with Black Power and Black Theology, that is because they have been misguided and the songs misinterpreted. There is little evidence that black slaves accepted their servitude because they believed God willed their slavery. The

opposite is the case. The spirituals speak of God's liberation of black people, his will to set right the oppression of black slaves despite the overwhelming power of white masters. For blacks believed that there is an omnipotent, omnipresent, and omniscient power at work in the world, and he is on the side of the oppressed and downtrodden. As evidence they pointed to the blind man who received his sight, the lame who walked, and Lazarus who was received into God's kingdom while the rich man was rejected. And if "de God dat lived in Moses' time is jus de same today," then that God will vindicate the suffering of the righteous blacks and punish the unrighteous whites for their wrongdoings.

Perhaps, there are critics who still will insist that too much emphasis on what God is doing or will do tends to lead to inactivity, thereby making religion an opiate of the people. Quoting Karl Marx, they say:

Religion is the sign of the oppressed creature, the heart of the heartless world . . . the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the opium of the people.⁶

Now I do not deny that some black slaves literally waited on God, expecting him to effect their liberation in response to their faithful passivity; but there is another side of the black experience to be weighed. When it is considered that Nat Turner, Denmark Vesey, and Harriet Tubman may have been creators of some of the spirituals, that "Sinner, please don't let this harvest pass" probably referred to a slave resistance meeting, that after 1831 over 2,000 slaves escaped yearly, and that black churches interpreted civil disobedience as consistent with religion, then it is most likely that many slaves recognized the need for their own participation in God's liberation. Indeed many believed that the only hands God

had was tneir hands, and without the risk of escape or insurrection, slavery would never end. This may be the meaning of the song, "Singin' wid a sword in ma han'." The sword may be the symbol of the need of black slaves to strike a blow for freedom even though the odds were against them. Certainly the strict enforcement of the slave codes and the merciless beating of many slaves who sang spirituals tend to point in that direction. ⁹ What is certain is Christianity did not dull the drive for liberation among all black slaves, and there is much evidence that slaves appropriated the gospel to their various styles of resistance.

The black spirituals, then, have their origin in the conviction that God, and not white people, is the author of human existence. This faith enabled black slaves to make a response appropriate to their existential situation.

Seeking to detract from the theological significance of the spirituals, some critics may point out that black slaves were literalists in their interpretation of the scripture, and this probably accounts for their acceptance of the white masters' interpretation of the Bible. It is of course true that slaves were unaware of erudite white reflections on the origins of biblical writings. Like most of their contemporaries, they accepted the inerrancy of scripture. But the critical point is that their very literalism supported a black gospel of earthly freedom. They were literal when they sang about Daniel in the lion's den, David and Goliath, and Samson and the Philistines. On the other hand they dispensed with biblical literalism when white people began to use the curse of Ham and Paul as evidence that blacks ought to accept their slavery. As one ex-slave preacher put it:

When I starts preaching I couldn't read or write and had to preach what Master told me, and he say tell them niggers iffen they goes to Heaven; but I knowed there's something better for them, but daren't tell them 'cept on the sly. That I done lots. ²¹ I tells 'em iffen they keeps praying, the Lord will set 'em free.

Black slaves were not naive as is often supposed. They knew that slavery

contradicted humanity and divinity, and that was why they cited biblical references that focused on the liberation of the oppressed. They believed that God would deliver them; and as he locked the lion's jaw for Daniel, he will paralyze the power of white masters.

Who lock, who lock de lion,
Who lock, de lion's jaw?
God, lock, God lock de lion's jaw.

The point is clear. God is the liberator, the deliverer of the weak from the injustice of the strong.

To summarize: The theme of liberation as reflected in "Old Testament" religion is the central message of Black religion. Although most Blacks "joined" Christian churches rather than Jewish synagogues because of their social context and the importance of Jesus in the Black religious consciousness; yet it is unquestionably clear that the Jesus of the New Testament was interpreted in the light of the Hebrew theme of God's liberation of the oppressed. In Black religion as expressed in Black Theology, Jesus Christ is not the passive savior of white Christianity. Rather he is the Son of the God of the Exodus and the One whom the prophets said will liberate the little ones from slavery and oppression. He is the revolutionary Black Messiah that enters into the brokenness of our history and liberates the past for the present so that we can create our own future. Therefore whatever may be said about the distinctions between the Jewish and Black religious Faiths (and increasingly there are many), both have their origin in the Exodus and prophets which stress God's will to set the captives free. Unfortunately the importance of this theme for both has not led to any significant dialogues between Black and Jewish theologians. Hopefully this conference is the first step in that direction.

Notes

1. The phase "Black Theology" was created about 1968 in the context of National Committee of Negro Churchmen (now called the National Conference of Black Churchmen) in response to the social and political developments of "Black Power." The earliest theological analysis of the term appeared in my Black Theology and Black Power (Seabury 1969) and A Black Theology of Liberation (Lippincott 1970). Since then the term is widely used as a theological expression of the theme of liberation in the Black religious experience. See Major Jones, Black Awareness: A Theology of Hope (Abingdon 1971); Deotis Roberts, Liberation and Reconciliation (Westminster 1971); Gayraud Wilmore, Black Religion and Black Radicalism (Doubleday 1972); and William Jones, Is God A White Racist (Doubleday 1973).
2. Bernard Anderson, Understanding The Old Testament (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1957), pp. 289-290.
3. Gerhard von Rad, Old Testament Theology, Vol. I, trans. by D. M. G. Stalker (New York: Harper, 1962), p. 41.
4. B. Anderson, op. cit., p. 377.
5. For analysis of the complexity of liberation's meaning in Black religion, see my The Spirituals and the Blues (Seabury 1972). Here I try to show that too much emphasis on the "otherworldly" theme in Black religion distorts its basic meaning. The "otherworld" must be balanced with "this-world" thereby creating the dialectical tension that makes political struggle possible even though the

whole of the Black religious consciousness cannot be reduced to historical liberation.

6. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, On Religion (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), p. 42.

7. See Miles Fisher, Negro Slave Songs in the United States (New York: Citadel Press, 1953), pp. 27-28, 66-67, 181-185. This is an important book that connects the spirituals with the historical struggle of freedom. Another important work is John Lovell, Black Song:

8. Fisher, Negro Slave Songs, p. 108. It is important to note that Fisher is quoting the conservative estimate of a southern historian.

9. See Fisher, Negro Slave Songs, Chapter 4. He notes that the spirituals were used to convene secret meetings among slaves, and the colony of Virginia prohibited them as early as 1676 (p. 29, 66 ff.). Most colonies joined Virginia in outlawing the secret meetings, but "neither outlawry nor soldiery prevented [them] from having hemispheric significance." (p. 67).

10. B. A. Botkin (ed.), Lay My Burden Down (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), p. 26.

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 Hazereth, 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.

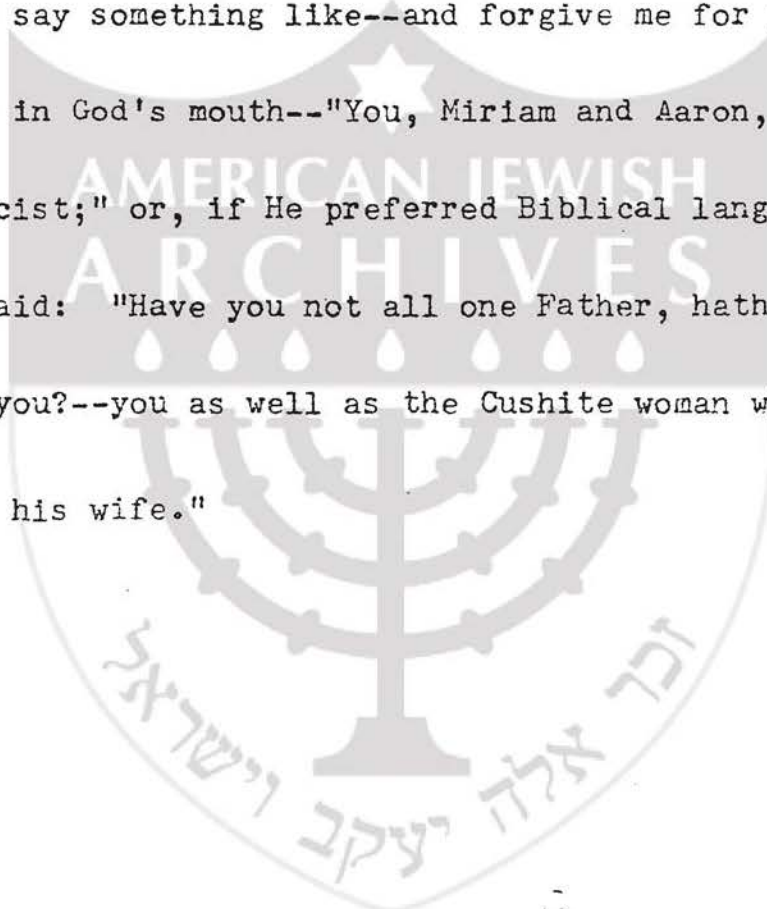
Such is the superficial sense of Miriam's and Aaron's attack upon Moses for having married a Cushite woman. But the Jewish, more precisely, the Rabbinic mode of reading texts, endeavors to probe beneath the outer surface. Such a probe, as it examines the ^{made to} inside several facets ~~of the incident~~, 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 be-
gins by noting ~~that~~ ^{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~~ ^{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 Zipporah, 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 ^{were intermingled} 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

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

^s 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 they~~, he married ^{--They went on to say--} 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. ^{See to Rabbinic Commentary} (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

name for Sarah, wife of Abraham, ^{(Gen. 11:29 and Rashi).} ~~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 Dereḳ Ereṣ Zuṭa, 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 4:3[†] 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 Samar^ra 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 extra- ordinary 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:

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"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.

6.4. Times 12.2.65

*cc: H.A.
Times*

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
Dayan on Blacks

It is most deplorable that former Defense Minister Moshe Dayan of Israel ("Dayan Calls Quality of U.S. Forces Low," Times, Nov. 15) should characterize black military personnel of the United States as of "low intelligence" and that he should urge "fresh blood and better brains" than he adjudges to be presently enlisted.

It is even more deplorable that The Times should print such a racial slur and exacerbate already difficult inter-group relations.

Surely, it is not necessary for The Times to quote everything public personalities say, especially when they add fuel to the fires of polarity and division in our communities.

DR. GEORGE W. COLE
Social and Ecumenical Concerns
United Presbyterian Synod of
Southern California

The American Jewish Committee

Date

6/17/74

FROM: RABBI A. JAMES RUDIN

TO:

Mar T.

- For approval
- For your information
- Please handle
- Read and return
- Returned as requested
- Telephone me
- Your comments, please

REMARKS:



Future of Black-Jewish Relations
A Black Perspective
By National R. Jones, General Counsel
National Association for the Advancement
of Colored People
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee
June 12, 1974

Bayard Rustin, in an illuminating foreword to Gary Marx's interesting book, "Protest and Prejudice," stated that "We must re-create, in a new interracial movement, the high idealism and moral commitment that was reborn in the United States with the civil rights revolution. But this time we cannot build around the effort to get Negroes a cup of coffee at a segregated lunch counter, an integrated seat on a bus or a vote in a lily-white electoral process. Considerable progress has been made in these areas, but we still have not touched the deeper misery of the black and white poor. The great 'coalition of conscience'--that alliance of Negro, labor, liberal and religious groups that offers the best hope for a truly great society--must be restructured to confront the more basic socioeconomic problems of our society and meet the needs of both black and white Americans."

An assessment of these contemporary and contemplated social problems must form the predicate of a discussion of "The Future of Black-Jewish Relations," for it is our respective approaches to solving those problems that will largely shape the future relationship between blacks and Jews. This paper shall focus on the problems from a black perspective.

Dr. John A. Morsell, Assistant Executive Director of the NAACP, who has written and spoken extensively on black-Jewish relationships, was originally scheduled to make the presentation. However, due to his surgery, I have been substituted, and freely concede my amateur status in this professional assembly.

This perspective which I shall offer will not necessarily be one that all blacks share. Yet, I am satisfied that it is one that will reflect the mood and view of a substantial cross-section of black Americans. As an officer of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, an organization with a long history of cooperation with socially-active Jewish groups, I feel quite comfortable in largely drawing upon the NAACP experience in projecting a black perspective. There is no other organization serving the black community in the area of civil rights that has a comparable economic, philosophic, social, political and education range within its structure. Thus, the views of the NAACP, as seen in its resolutions and pronouncements, come closest to staking out a black consensus on given issues. The national polls, notably Newsweek and others, taken together with the sixty-five years of survival of the NAACP, largely through membership support, are strong testimony to the fact that the NAACP closely mirrors black thought.

In 1971, when the NAACP withdrew from the Black Political Convention in Gary, mainly over the position adopted by some delegates on busing and Israel, it was strongly suggested in the media that we were out of step. Subsequent events--including the eclipse of

the most vocal supporters of those positions, and the weakened state of the 1974 Black Political Convention in Little Rock, at a time when the NAACP was continuing its activist role nationwide, argue, I think, for the view that the NAACP may have been more accurately reflecting the deeper held black mood.

It is critical for the black people and Jews to find ways to carry forward the fight to eliminate common problems.

We must search out the areas where our interests coincide and work together on the existing common problems to which those interests relate. For instance, Jews and blacks might well explore the problems connected with the energy crisis, the problems of the elderly, revenue sharing and health policies of the Nation. There would be no disagreement over the need to continually press against the problems of poverty and other common social concerns by Jews and Negroes.

It should be noted here that there is a long history of individual Jewish support for the Negro struggle. Individual Jews were very prominent in the founding of the NAACP and in its continuing activity over the ensuing sixty-five years. Allowing for a patronizing judgment by today's standards, Jewish philanthropy contributed mightily to the educational advance of numerous blacks. Whether in Meridian, Mississippi, or Cleveland, Ohio, Jews were prominent among those who offered their bodies and lives in the civil rights battle. Although it was never true that all--or even most--Jews were directly involved in the civil rights struggle, it

is beyond question that proportionately more of them than of other whites had such involvement. Furthermore, their general liberal and enlightened inclinations have seen them, most of the time, in support of measures, such as civil rights laws, aimed at guaranteeing black Americans their fair and equal share of this Nation's largesse.

Sadly, but necessarily, I note an erosion of the mutual goodwill which has characterized the formal--and much of the informal--interrelation between Negroes and Jews. Hopefully, the strength of the working relationship built upon the years will provide the stuff needed to put things back together as we approach future problems.

While the purpose of this paper is to look forward, it is nevertheless necessary to take note of a bit of the past and some of the present.

Let me provide an overview of current problems of deep concern to Negroes. This is necessary because of the recurring theme we hear and read, i. e., that the worst of the civil rights struggles are over. This is not so. Discrimination in jobs, education, housing and administration of justice are stubbornly resisting the therapy applied to them.

In the field of employment, the problem is acute. The NAACP is still suing through the courts to bring justice to the black worker. In 1971, the 2nd Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed a decision against a major steel company, in Lackawanna, N. Y., that

was found to be relegating black workers to the meanest, dirtiest and lowliest jobs. The company was also caught using a separate racial seniority system at its Sparrows Point, Md., plant, as late as 1973. This system resulted in 7,000 black workers being held back because to have corrected the problem "would have inconvenienced management and disrupted--temporarily--the whole plant." In 1973, we succeeded in winning a back-pay case against a leading Ohio employer on behalf of black workers victimized by discrimination.

With regard to public employment, the NAACP has sued various governmental units to end discrimination against blacks in police, fire, state patrol and other jobs. In every school desegregation case we bring, we introduce proof of substantial and pervasive discrimination, historically directed against Negro faculty and administrators. And there are other examples in areas too numerous to recite. Thus, the battle is real, even in 1974.

Furthermore, a recognition of the high unemployment rate is necessary in assaying the predicament Negroes find themselves in. At present, the nationwide rate of unemployment is 5.2%. The Bureau of Labor Statistics conceded some years ago that its statistics on blacks were imprecise and, therefore, a safe rule of thumb to follow was to fix the black rate at twice the national rate. Thus, the rate is 10.4%.

In the youth category, it is even more pronounced, being approximately 35%. This has ramifications for all of society.

The tools being relied upon in getting at this problem of job discrimination include Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the significant decision of the United States Supreme Court in the Griggs v. Duke Power case. In that decision, the Supreme Court knocked out as being violative of the law tests which are non-job-related. This law requires the shaping of appropriate and effective remedies to end and overcome patterns and practices and vestiges of job discrimination. To do so, courts have been fashioning decrees that incorporate numerical ratios and minimums. These decrees include affirmative requirements strongly opposed by labor unions and employees. Until recently, their obstructionist positions have met with little or no success.

In the area of education, the expansion of racially separate public school systems in the North and the admission practices of institutions of higher learning are matters of serious concern to black people. The school desegregation litigation in the North brought by civil rights groups has shown the extent of isolation under which American children--black and white--are being educated. There are two worlds in which young people are growing up, black and white, separate and unequal. Now, twenty years after Brown, we are on the brink of another major Supreme Court declaration which may determine whether the spirit and promise of Brown live for black children in the North, or the whimpering remains of the Dred Scott and Plessy doctrines have been resurrected.

Institutions of higher learning are coming around to understanding their obligation to develop student bodies that more clearly reflect the real world in terms of multi-racial composition. The tools to facilitate this process, i. e., civil rights laws and guidelines, were hammered out by a civil rights coalition which included blacks and Jewish groups. As these educational institutions moved forward with affirmative action devices developed under the law, some of our Jewish allies, in the words of Roy Wilkins, fell off the wagon, so to speak, because of their disagreement over "preferential treatment," "reverse discrimination" or "quotas," as they call it.

Obviously, the departure is based on fundamental concerns held by some Jewish groups, so much so that some felt compelled to extract from Presidential candidates in 1972 commitments to oppose such programs. At the same time, there is the firm determination on the part of blacks to forge ahead and insist on the use of affirmative action to overcome the effects of historical deprivation.

Jews have a deep-seated aversion to "quotas." Blacks have a deep-seated hatred of "paper and pencil" tests which have been used, not to measure their potential, but to gauge the effects of grievous wrongs done to them.

With specific reference to the De Funis controversy, it should be noted that never, prior to the University of Washington Law School initiating its affirmative action program, had there

been more than one or two blacks per year graduating. Other colleges, through deliberate exclusion policies, limited or kept out blacks. There can be no doubt that blacks have been discriminated against, particularly in obtaining a legal education. This, in turn, has reduced the number of blacks able to function as professionals in the legal arena. As recently as the 1964-65 academic year, only 701 black students were enrolled in law schools approved by the American Bar Association. And although American law schools graduate more than 10,000 students annually, in 1965, only 200 graduates, or 1.3% were black. The affirmative admission policies instituted by many law schools increased that enrollment to over 5500, or 3% of the total. The doors opened only recently, and parity has not yet been achieved. An increase in black lawyers means that the disenfranchised will be better able to deal with the "deeper miseries" affecting the people of whom Mr. Rustin wrote.

The inevitable effect of the position advocated by the Jewish groups and others opposed to affirmative admission practices would be, in the words of Clarence Mitchell, Director of the NAACP's Washington Bureau, that "most blacks who have been handicapped by racial discrimination in their education would never be admitted to law school: Presumably, black children now in kindergarten would be able to look forward to admission into law schools if existing inadequacies in their education are corrected before they finish college."

Mr. Mitchell warns, however, that "anyone who assumes that blacks in the United States will tolerate this kind of injustice makes a serious error."

As Vernon Jordan, Executive Director of the National Urban League, argued in a recent speech to the American Jewish Committee in Atlanta, "We have no quarrel with the merit system nor with the concept that rigid numerical quotas that overlook individual differences and attributes are wrong. But we reject the suggestion that a merit system is actually in operation today. Nor do we accept that merit may be accurately measured by tests."

In the interest of accuracy, the dialogue must remove the word "quota," or the term "reverse discrimination." So long as those words are injected, the atmosphere will be inflamed and the issue never fully addressed. Black people are not advocating "quotas" for the simple reason that "quotas" have served to exclude them from jobs and schools to a far greater extent than any other group. The use of "quotas" against blacks is what has made affirmative action now necessary.

If now an affirmative action policy appears to remedy what must be regarded as an historical evil, blacks, particularly young blacks, as Mr. Mitchell reminds us, can hardly be expected to accept orthodox rules of admission. Naturally, blacks, recognizing the dangers in these admission policies, will not readily accept them, for they have kept blacks on the outside looking in, just as occurred in the employment field.

Now, and for the foreseeable future, the problems of education and jobs will be high priority on the black agenda. Needless to say, it is critically important for blacks and Jews to find a way out of the present impasse if future relations are not to be imperiled.

Blacks have history on their side. They have now sensed a bit of what can be. And in their view, many Jewish spokesmen, as did the hardhats, are pulling "tech" on them by yelling "quotas," and they deeply resent it. What makes this so difficult is that the "tech" is being called on young aspirations--aspirations for higher education and advancement held by vigorous young people whose attitudes can greatly shape the black response to calls for future cooperation with Jews.

I know of nothing in recent times that has so dramatically called into question the black-Jewish alliance as has the opposition of many Jewish organizations to this form of affirmative action.

When employers and labor unions tried to pull the "rule book" on black workers who were using affirmative action programs to break the circle of job bias, they failed. Upon a focusing of affirmative action efforts in the direction of college admission practices, the leading opposition came from some Jewish civil rights allies, an opposition that has proven to be more formidable and effective than that mounted by such powerful employers and unions as the National Association of Manufacturers, the Chambers of Commerce and the AFL-CIO.

A move designed to resolve the dilemma posed by the divergent positions taken by black and Jewish organizations on the affirmative college admission policies is under way. The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the National Urban League, the Puerto Rican Legal Defense Fund and the NAACP, in a letter to Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare Casper Weinberger, asked that HEW develop guidelines to deal with the problem. The text of the letter is important. It said:

While the undersigned organizations have taken varying positions on the De Funis case, we have, over the years worked closely in support of civil rights and human freedom.

We all recognize that the process of creating affirmative action is not an exact science. It is only in the past few years that the Nation has begun the development of procedures for dismantling discrimination.

All of us wish to avoid polarization. We agree that a primary goal for all of us is the elimination of all forms of discrimination and the establishment of affirmative actions and processes that will provide equal opportunity within our constitutional framework.

Since the issues raised by the De Funis case remain, we believe that an early response from HEW within whose jurisdiction such matters lie is indicated. We are therefore requesting that you direct the issuance of non-discriminatory guidelines clarifying how educational institutions can best develop appropriate tools for special efforts to recruit persons from previously excluded groups.

Mr. Wilkins has clarified the letter further by advising the Secretary that the NAACP reserves the right to oppose guidelines which the NAACP feels are against basic organizational policy.

Hopefully, the Secretary will respond positively to this urgent but reasoned request. A resolution of this problem is basic to future relations between blacks and Jews.

As for the general black mood, I offer the following: Blacks feel themselves buffeted about on every front. It seems that as soon as progress appears realistically achievable, whether in housing, education or jobs, the whistle gets blown and the rules of the game are changed. In school desegregation, just as the HEW guidelines and Federal judges were getting down to business, the country elected and reelected an anti-integration President, who fired Leon Panetta, made nationwide appeals against busing and instructed his Justice Department to intervene in desegregation cases against the interests of black children. As the moment of truth was about to appear for contractors and labor unions, the Secretary of Labor issued a memorandum defanging Home Town Plans.

As policies were shaped which facilitated blacks acquiring housing in suburban areas where 80% of the new jobs are being generated, the national administration's policy shifted to oppose "forced integration of suburbs."

After the Supreme Court began to insist on the Bill of Rights being extended to black Americans by providing effective assistance of counsel in criminal cases and curtailing unreasonable searches and seizures, along comes a "law and order" administration with its "no knock" laws and warrantless searches.

Blacks felt "Watergated" long before the June, 1972, break-in. And no one seemed to care. Particularly distressing was the way in which our traditional allies, the Jews, in large numbers bolted and became strong backers of an anti-black administration, an administration that set about to reorganize American governmental institutions in such a manner as to repress and contain black aspirations. The protests of the American Jewish Committee to the President and the Democratic Jewish candidate in 1972, and the President's response, were particularly disconcerting to Negroes.

Blacks pray that the revelations on the tapes of the alleged unflattering references to Jews and the anti-Semitic comments will shock those Jews who had flirtations, if not a love affair, with an administration whose heel was on black necks, into a realization that anti-Semitism is still very much around. Just as there has been racial prejudice among Jews, there has been and is some anti-Semitic sentiment in the black community. The growth of new radicalism among young blacks brought with it Third World attitudes which were antagonistic to Jews. Many of us hope that the difference we have on the affirmative action concept will abate before the radicalism gains additional converts in the black community.

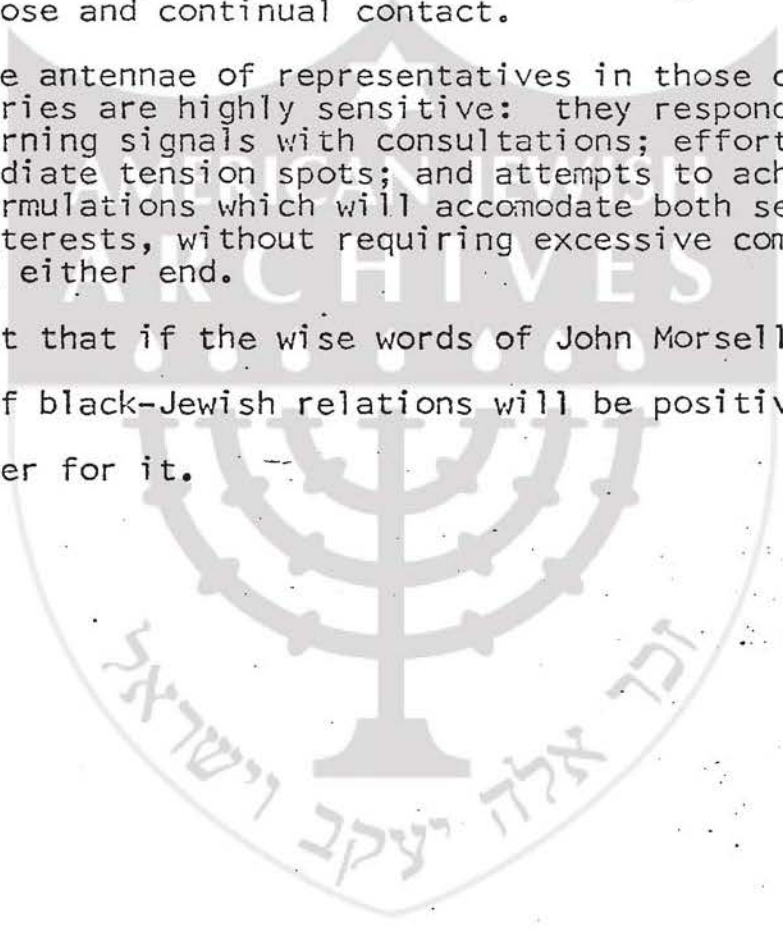
Dr. Morsell, writing in the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, July 1973, offered hope and in

my view his words are relevant:

Fortunately, there is a positive factor at work in Negro-Jewish relations--above and beyond the close and analytical scrutiny which both are accustomed to render to the issue of their relationship. This is the working partnership which has developed among professionals in the respective organizations and among officials and academicians, whose daily pursuits bring them into close and continual contact.

The antennae of representatives in those categories are highly sensitive: they respond to warning signals with consultations; efforts to mediate tension spots; and attempts to achieve formulations which will accommodate both sets of interests, without requiring excessive compromise at either end.

I submit that if the wise words of John Morsell are heeded, the future of black-Jewish relations will be positive and the Nation will be better for it.



REMARKS
SEYMOUR SAMET
FISK UNIVERSITY CONSULTATION BLACK JEWISH RELATIONS
JUNE 9 - 12, 1974

AFTER THE PROFUNDITIES OF THE PAST TWO DAYS I AM SOMEWHAT RELUCTANT TO DISCUSS WITH YOU SOME MUNDANE BUT BASIC INTERGROUP TRUTHS THAT I BELIEVE TO BE ESSENTIAL INGREDIENTS FOR ANY SUCCESSFUL JOINT UNDERTAKINGS INVOLVING OUR RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES. HOWEVER, I DO SO BECAUSE I BELIEVE THAT IT IS OCCASIONALLY DESIRABLE TO RESTATE WHAT APPEARS TO BE THE OBVIOUS IF ONLY TO TEST THE HYPOTHESES UNDER WHICH I FUNCTION AS A SOCIAL ACTIVIST.

IT IS MY CONTENTION IN THESE REMARKS THAT THERE EXISTS A BROAD BASIS FOR BLACK JEWISH COOPERATION DESPITE DIFFERENCES THAT WE MAY HOLD ON SOME KEY ISSUES. HOWEVER, THIS COOPERATION REQUIRES RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF A TRUST RELATIONSHIP AND AN AGREEMENT ON SOME GUIDING PRINCIPLES WHICH CAN INCREASE THE LIKELIHOOD OF OUR ACHIEVING SOME SIGNIFICANT GOALS. I SUGGEST TO YOU A CONSIDERATION OF THE FOLLOWING TEN POINTS AS BEING IMPORTANT ASSUMPTIONS FOR THIS PURPOSE.

1. WITHIN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY THERE HAS BEEN A CONTINUING DEBATE ON THE RESPECTIVE MERITS OF THE UNIVERSALIST AND THE PARTICULARIST AGENDAS OF ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE AJC. BASICALLY, THE UNIVERSALISTS MAINTAIN THAT JEWS CAN BE SECURE ONLY IN A FREE SOCIETY IN WHICH ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION ARE VIGOROUSLY OPPOSED BY US. THE PARTICULARISTS SAY THAT IN A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY EACH GROUP MUST ORGANIZE AROUND ITS OWN SPECIALIZED INTERESTS AND ONLY GIVE PERIPHERAL ATTENTION TO THE PLIGHT OF OTHERS.

I ASSUME THAT THESE TWO VIEWS, IN VARIOUS FORMS, ARE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE

SENTED IN MOST MINORITY COMMUNITIES. TO SOME DEGREE BOTH UNIVERSALISTS AND PARTICULARISTS ARE CORRECT. THERE IS NO QUESTION IN MY MIND THAT ORGANIZATIONS REPRESENTING MINORITY GROUPS HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO BE RESPONSIVE TO THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF THEIR OWN MEMBERS. HOWEVER, HISTORY HAS CLEARLY VALIDATED THE UNIVERSALIST DIALECTIC THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE INDIVISIBLE AND THAT DENIAL OF EQUAL JUSTICE AND OPPORTUNITY TO ANY GROUP THREATENS THE RIGHTS OF ALL. BUT, HISTORY HAS ALSO SHOWN THAT THERE ARE TIMES WHEN GROUP INTERESTS ARE LEGITIMATELY IN CONFLICT WITH ONE ANOTHER. AT SUCH TIMES THE PARTICULARIST AGENDAS MAY HAVE TO PREVAIL.

2. AS NOTED IN THE PROGRAM ISSUED FOR THIS CONSULTATION, BLACKS AND JEWS REPRESENT GROUPS WITH A HERITAGE OF DISCRIMINATION, A COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL JUSTICE AND A RECORD OF PAST COOPERATION. THIS IS SUFFICIENT TO MERIT A MAJOR EFFORT TO CREATE NEW COALITIONS ON ISSUES OF MUTUAL CONCERN. AMONG OTHERS, THESE ISSUES INCLUDE: NATIONAL HEALTH CARE; MASS TRANSPORTATION; SAFER CITIES; CARE FOR THE AGED AND OPEN ADMISSIONS TO STATE UNIVERSITIES.

3. AN ESSENTIAL INGREDIENT OF EFFECTIVE COALITIONS IS THAT PARTICIPANTS ARE NOT REQUIRED TO GIVE UP ANY OF THEIR PRINCIPLES. IT IS NOT A PREREQUISITE THAT EACH GROUP MUST AGREE WITH THE TOTALITY OF EVERYONE ELSE'S AGENDAS. WE CAN, AS AN EXAMPLE, UNITE ON PROGRAMS FOR HEALTH CARE AND OPPOSE EACH OTHER ON WHICH WELFARE REFORM CONCEPT WE APPROVE.

4. THE CHARGE OF RACISM OR ANTI-SEMITISM HURLED EACH TIME THERE IS EVIDENCE OF DISAGREEMENT BY ONE GROUP WITH THE AGENDA OF THE OTHER, DEVALUES THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF THESE WORDS, POLARIZES RESOURCES

ESSENTIAL FOR THE FUTURE SUCCESS OF OTHER ACTIVITIES AND DIVERTS OUR ENERGIES FROM THE PURSUIT OF JUSTICE TO THE DEFENSE OF THE INTEGRITY OF OUR IDEOLOGIES. JEWS ARE NOT PER SE RACISTS WHEN WE OPPOSE COMMUNITY CONTROL AS CONTRASTED WITH COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS. BLACKS ARE NOT, PER SE, ANTI-SEMITES IN SEEKING BENIGN QUOTAS IN UNIVERSITY ADMISSIONS REGULATIONS. RACISM AND ANTI-SEMITISM ARE MORE LIKELY TO BE EVIDENCED BY PUBLIC CHARGES OF BIGOTRY AS THE PRIMARY EXPLANATION BY EITHER COMMUNITY AS TO WHY THE OTHER IS IN OPPOSITION TO ITS OWN HIGHLY VALUED PROPOSALS FOR SOCIAL CHANGE.

5. EXTREMISM AS A TECHNIQUE FOR ACCOMPLISHING SOCIAL CHANGE IN AMERICAN SOCIETY IS ULTIMATELY COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE. ORGANIZING TO INFLUENCE SOCIAL CHANGE THROUGH THE POLITICAL PROCESS IS THE MOST DESIRABLE ALTERNATIVE. THIS REQUIRES FOR JEW AND BLACK ALIKE, NEW COALITIONAL DESIGNS ON EMERGING ISSUES SUCH AS ANTI-POVERTY LEGISLATION, REFORM OF THE JUDICIAL PROCESSES AND A RESTRUCTURING OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN AMERICA.

6. FUTURE COALITIONS, TO BE SUCCESSFUL, SHOULD ATTEMPT TO INVOLVE GROUPS HERETOFORE NOT IDENTIFIED WITH THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT. PRIMARY AMONG THESE ARE ETHNIC GROUPS WHICH ARE BEGINNING TO ORGANIZE AROUND AGENDAS SIMILAR TO OUR OWN. THEIR AGENDAS NOW SOUND LIKE OUR OWN! THE NEED FOR MORE AND BETTER HOUSING; EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE YOUNG; AND GREATER EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES BEYOND THE HIGH SCHOOL. COOPERATION WITH THESE GROUPS IN WORKING FOR AN EXPANSION OF THE PIE IS A MODEL INFINITELY SUPERIOR TO COMPETITION WITH THEM TO SEE WHICH GROUP WILL BE ABLE TO SECURE THE LARGEST PIECE OF A PIE RAPIDLY DIMINISHING IN SIZE.

7. OUR FAITH IN FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT CIVIL RIGHTS

RESOURCES NEEDS TO BE REEXAMINED. A SYSTEM OF ACCOUNTABILITY IS SORELY NEEDED TO DETERMINE WHETHER THE FUNCTIONS, EXPERTISE AND FINANCING OF THESE AGENCIES ARE ADEQUATE FOR CURRENT NEEDS. IN THIS REGARD WE CAN JOINTLY INVESTIGATE THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RECENT DOWNGRADING OF THE OFFICE OF FEDERAL CONTRACT COMPLIANCE WITHIN THE LABOR DEPARTMENT. WE SHOULD ASCERTAIN THE VALIDITY OF THE ALLEGATIONS IN THE CURRENT ISSUE OF CHANGE MAGAZINE THAT THE EFFORTS OF HEW'S OFFICE OF CIVIL RIGHTS ARE IMPAIRED BY A LACK OF FUNDS. IT WOULD BE IMPORTANT FOR US TO CHALLENGE THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE'S DECISION TO ENFORCE OFCC GUIDELINES ON RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION.

8. THE RELATIVELY RECENT AWAKENING OF MAJOR CORPORATIONS REGARDING THEIR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITIES PRESENTS US WITH AN OPPORTUNITY FOR MUTUAL APPROACHES TO THEM REGARDING THEIR VESTED INTERESTS IN OUR INTERGROUP AGENDAS. I GIVE YOU AS TWO EXAMPLES THE FOLLOWING:

A. INCREASING THE HOUSING SUPPLY FOR LOW INCOME WORKERS BY CORPORATE INSISTANCE THAT THEY WILL NOT MOVE INTO COMMUNITIES THAT PROHIBIT OR INHIBIT THE CONSTRUCTION OF LOW AND MODERATE INCOME HOUSING AVAILABLE TO WORKERS IN THEIR PLANTS.

B. CORPORATE SUPPORT FOR LOW-COST MASS TRANSPORTATION SYSTEMS AS ONE RESPONSE TO THE CONTINUING CRISIS IN THE AVAILABILITY AND HIGH COST OF ENERGY.

9. THE ACCEPTABILITY OF COALITIONAL MODELS IS ENHANCED WHEN EFFECTIVE LEADERS WITHIN A MINORITY COMMUNITY EXTEND THE HORIZONS OF ITS CONCERNS BY SHOWING SOLIDARITY WITH THOSE THAT ARE AGGRIEVED FROM OTHER MINORITY GROUPS. RECENT EXAMPLES INCLUDE THE MAY 25TH EDITORIAL IN THE NEW YORK AMSTERDAM NEWS ABHORRING THE MAALOT MASSACRES OF ISRAELI

CHILDREN AND NOTING HOW JEWS HAD SUPPORTED THE DRIVE TO RAISE FUNDS TO HELP THE FAMILIES OF THE BLACK CHILDREN KILLED BY RACISTS IN THE BIRMINGHAM CHURCH BOMBING OF 1958. ANOTHER IS THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE AJC AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING IN MAY CALLING FOR ASSISTANCE TO THE FAMINE-AFFLICTED PEOPLES OF AFRICA. BY THESE STATEMENTS AND BY IMPLEMENTATION OF PROGRAMS WHICH DEMONSTRATE BOTH CONCERN AND COMMITMENT, TRUST IS ENGENDERED AND COOPERATION MADE POSSIBLE.

10. THE PREVIOUS EXAMPLE UNDERSCORES MY FINAL POINT THAT IN THE PURSUIT OF DOMESTIC JUSTICE WE CANNOT IGNORE ITS INTERNATIONAL ABUSES. OUR COLLECTIVE VOICES MUST BE HEARD IN PROTESTING SUCH CONDITIONS AS APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA, ANTI-SEMITISM IN RUSSIA, THE CONTINUED SLAVE TRADE IN SOME ARAB STATES OR FAMINE IN INDIA.

IN THESE 10 POINTS I HAVE DELIBERATELY MIXED PRINCIPLE WITH SUGGESTED PROGRAM. TOO OFTEN IN THE PAST WE HAVE FOUGHT FOR TOO LONG OVER THE DOTTING OF IDEOLOGICAL I'S AND THE CROSSING OF NON FUNCTIONAL T'S. OUR FUTURE SECURITY AS BLACKS AND AS JEWS CAN NO LONGER AFFORD THIS LUXURY IF IT CONTINUES TO SERVE SIMULTANEOUSLY TO POLARIZE AND INCAPACITATE US. WHILE THE NEED FOR IDEOLOGY IS OMNIPRESENT I REMIND YOU THAT THE NEED FOR ACTION IS EMERGENT.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

FROM: LOTTE ZAJAC

DATE:

9/18/74

TO:

M. TAUBENBERG

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

RETURN

AS REQUESTED

LET'S DISCUSS

REMARKS:

M.T.

Conference Focusing On 6-15-74 *by Amersadram* *ISSUES 2* Black-Jewish Relations

NASHVILLE — The first national consultation to focus scholarly attention on the religious, historical, political and social dimensions of Black-Jewish relations from the Biblical period to the present, was held at Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., June 9-12.

More than 50 Black and Jewish theologians, sociologists and academicians are participating in the meeting, co-sponsored by Fisk University and the American Jewish Committee, and co-chaired by Dr. Eric C. Lincoln and Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum.

Dr. Lincoln, Chairman of the Department of Religious and Philosophical Studies at Fisk University, is a noted Black sociologist who has written and lectured extensively on religion and minority group relations. Rabbi Tanenbaum, National Director of Interreligious Affairs of the American Jewish Committee, is internationally known for his ecumenical activities aimed at establishing better relationships between Jews and other religious and ethnic communities.

Rationale

Describing the rationale of the consultation, Dr. Lincoln declared:

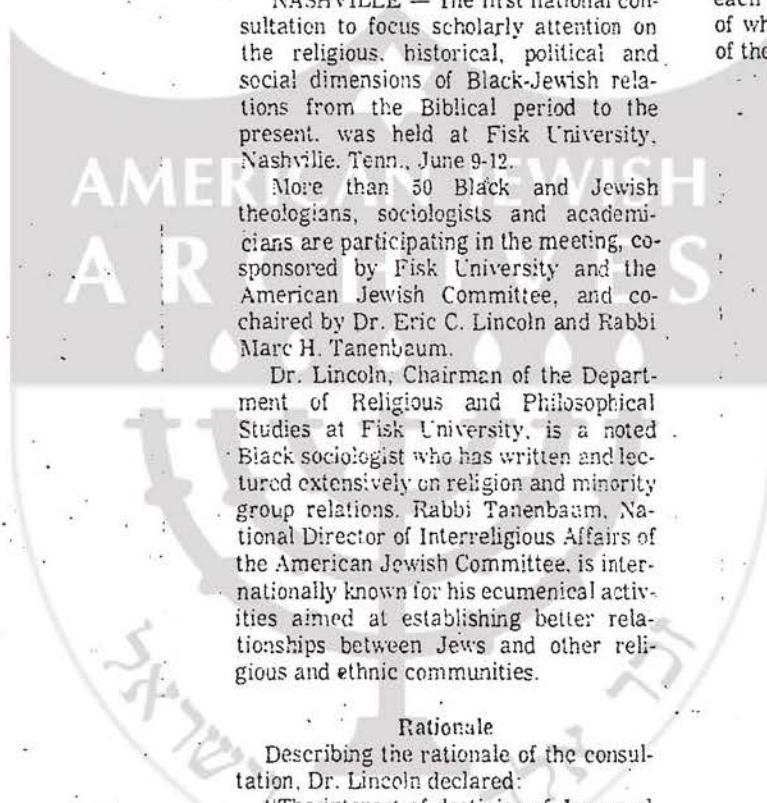
"The interest of destinies of Jews and Blacks have touched and, at times, ran together for thousands of years. Distresses incident to minority status in America have sometimes blinded Black-Americans and Jewish Americans to their common interests and their common predicament.

"But each group has strengths the other can hardly afford to be without. Neither group has yet crossed so far into the promised land of the American mainstream as to be irretrievably secure."

Commenting on contemporary relationships between the two groups, he added:

"Every Jew in America is somehow better off because of the 'Black Revolution' in the 1960's, the Black Revolution owes a great deal to Jewish involvement and participation. Jews are going to continue being Jews, and Blacks will remain Black. But when this conference is over,

each should have a better understanding of what is involved in the self-perception of the other."



Holocaust specialist visits Detroit

Tone down rhetoric, Jews, blacks urged

M. Greenbaum

By **NORMAN SINCLAIR**
News Staff Writer

A Jewish scholar and specialist on the Holocaust is advising Jewish and black activists to "turn down the rhetoric" stemming from their disagreements over the Palestine Liberation Organization and to begin listening to each other.

Black leaders, said Dr. Irving Greenberg, should refrain from giving simplistic arguments for U.S. recognition of the Palestinian group.

"Integrationists never killed women and children while opposing segregationists," he said. "It is time for us to go back to the closest feelings we shared in the 1960's."

Dr. Greenberg said the rift between blacks and Jews did not begin with Andrew Young's resignation as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. He said relations between the two groups have been deteriorating for a decade.

"BOTH GROUPS have to become more sensitized to political give and take," Dr. Greenberg said in Detroit last week.

"Republicans certainly disagree with Democrats, but they don't start hating each other. There can be disagreements, but these need not lead to breaks."

Dr. Greenberg, a rabbi and professor of Jewish studies at City

College in New York, is director of the President's Commission on the Holocaust. He and members of that commission recently returned from a fact-finding tour that took them to concentration camp sites in Europe and to Holocaust memorials in Israel.

Dr. Greenberg was in Detroit to address local Jewish community leaders involved in the planning of a Holocaust Memorial Center to be built at the Jewish Community Center in West Bloomfield.

DR. GREENBERG urged Jewish and black leaders to remember that the Holocaust is not just a lesson for Jews.

"It is a lesson for both blacks and Jews to remember how they have shared oppression, how been persecuted," they have both he said.

The Holocaust Commission was set up six months ago to plan an appropriate memorial for victims of World War II genocide.

The recommendations that he will present to President Carter include:

- A museum in Washington for research on tragedies such as the Holocaust.
- Creation of a "committee of conscience" to meet regularly to monitor reports of genocide around in the world.



NEWS PHOTO / THEODORE J. GLADWELL
DR. IRVING GREENBERG: Disagreements need not lead to breaks.

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• DETROIT FREE PRESS/THURSDAY, SEPT. 6, 1979 7A

Blacks, Jews meet in effort to close rift

By HARRY COOK
Free Press Religion Writer

Leaders of Detroit's black and Jewish communities met privately Wednesday night at the exclusive Detroit Club in a continued effort to smooth the rift that developed between the two groups over the resignation of United Nations Ambassador Andrew Young.

Young resigned Aug. 15 over a meeting he had with a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization — an action that angered the Israeli government and many Jews in America. Blacks, too, were angry at what some leaders called his "forced resignation."

DETROIT CLOTHING STORE OWNER Stanley Winkelman said he and Judge Damon Keith of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals invited 11 of their "close friends to have dinner and talk about our common interests and concerns. . . ."

Present at their Wednesday night meeting were Walter Douglas, president of New Detroit Inc.; Rabbi Richard C. Hertz; Detroit City Councilman Nicholas Hood; attorney Miles Jaffe; Walter Johnson, a Wayne State University vice-president; Michigan Supreme Court Justice Charles Levin; Robert Naphtali, an accountant and former president of the state Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith; attorney Alan Schwartz; Horace Sheffield, assistant to UAW President Douglas Fraser; Tom Turner, president of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO; and Larry Washington, executive director of the Detroit NAACP.

A similar meeting two weeks ago, called by Detroit area officials of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, saw the walkout of Jewish representatives Israel Halpern, president of the Rabbinical Commission of Metropolitan Detroit, and Marian Schifman, president of the Jewish Community Council.

School Integration and Occupational Achievement of Negroes¹

Robert L. Crain

Johns Hopkins University

American Negroes who attend integrated public schools have better jobs and higher incomes throughout at least the next three decades of their life. The differences in income cannot be accounted for by the higher educational attainment of alumni of integrated schools, or by the higher differences in social background. The most significant effect of integrated schooling is probably not "educational." It is probably more important that Negroes who attend integrated schools will have more contact with whites as adults, and tend to have more trust in whites than do Negroes from segregated schools. This in turn partially overcomes a crucial barrier to equal opportunity—the fact that information about employment opportunities is spread through types of informal social contacts to which few Negroes have access.

Much has been written about Negro poverty and its roots in the Negro's lack of skills and in racial discrimination. But even if all Negroes had skills and there were no discrimination, the segregation of Negroes, residentially and socially, would lower their incomes, simply because Negroes would continue to be denied access to a valuable resource—information about employment opportunities.

American Negroes live in a society which is largely segregated. In this society, there are whole occupations and industries which have very few Negro workers. Sometimes this is due to historical accident; the industry is located in a region which has few Negroes, for example. In other instances their absence is due to discrimination, sometimes subtle and sometimes not, or it is simply because Negroes do not apply for these jobs. In many cases, they do not apply because they do not know when a job becomes open. It is a common observation that one of the most significant forms of unfair employment practice is the hiring of new employees from referrals made by the present staff; if the staff is all white, the persons who apply will be friends, relatives, and neighbors who are also white. The employer who advertises publicly for help must bear the costs of interviewing large numbers of applicants and must depend only upon the application blank in making a decision. If there is a demand for that type of employment, he is wasting money by advertising when he can staff his plant without doing so. The best jobs are, therefore, not advertised. Even if the employer does ad-

¹ This study was carried out under contract with the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. The study was designed and data gathered by the National Opinion Research Center. The advice and assistance of Paul Siegel, Peter H. Rossi, Thomas Pettigrew, David Klassen, Judith Favia, and Narindar Kelly are gratefully acknowledged. The analysis is solely the author's and of course does not reflect the views of the Commission.

vertise publicly, the advantage lies with persons who have some knowledge of the kind of work, the nature of the qualifications, etc.; friends, neighbors, and relatives of present employees still have the inside track.

In a segregated community, Negroes must depend upon other Negroes for information about job opportunities. If Negroes are segregated into low-paying employment, they will, of course, have limited knowledge of better-paying opportunities. As Sheppard and Belitsky (1967) observe, for the poor to depend upon friends and relatives is rather like "the blind leading the blind."

Even in those areas where discrimination seems unimportant, segregation plays an important role in restricting Negro achievement. The Negro physician may feel that he had the same opportunities as his white colleagues, but if he had an all-Negro practice, his clientele probably lacks the money to provide him with an equivalent income. The physician with a racially segregated, poor clientele fares badly for essentially the same reasons as does a physician serving a geographically segregated, depressed community in Appalachia.

Thus we are arguing that occupational opportunities for Negroes will be limited until there is at least partial racial assimilation—until Negroes have sufficient contact with whites to learn about job opportunities and obtain referrals from white employees. There are numerous barriers to this kind of assimilation. The most obvious one is the amount of prejudice of whites toward Negroes and of Negroes toward whites. But even if there were no personal prejudice, the present patterns of racial segregation in social relations and in housing could persist through inertia, and continue to limit sharply the occupational achievement of Negroes for many years.

SCHOOL INTEGRATION

The public school is an important factor in the process of assimilation. Negroes who have attended integrated schools continue to have a large number of white friends as adults; they are more likely to live in integrated neighborhoods, to favor integrated schooling for their children, and to prefer belonging to integrated voluntary organizations (Crain, forthcoming). This means they will have greater opportunities to move into a bi-racial employment market rather than being restricted to the traditional ghetto employers. Hence, Negroes who attended integrated schools should have less-traditional patterns of employment and, as a consequence, higher occupational prestige and income. In order to substantiate this argument, we will present data showing that (a) Negroes from integrated schools are more likely to hold "nontraditional" jobs—jobs which have relatively few Negroes in them, (b) Negroes in nontraditional jobs will earn more money than those in traditional jobs, hence (c) Negroes from integrated schools will have higher incomes, and (d) Negroes with white friendships will have access to information about the labor market which they can use to obtain these nontraditional jobs, hence (e) Negroes from integrated schools will

Integration and Achievement of Negroes

have more knowledge about jobs. We shall present the findings separately for each sex; the pattern is somewhat different for males and females.

Data to establish these five points are drawn from a 1966 survey of Negroes, aged twenty-one to forty-five, living in the metropolitan areas of the North. The sample was weighted to overrepresent Negroes in higher-income neighborhoods and in the smaller metropolitan areas; the tables are hence weighted to reflect the actual population. The true number of cases is approximately 40 percent of the weighted *N*s shown in the tables. Interviewing was conducted by an all-Negro staff.

Block quota sampling was used; normally, this procedure slightly underrepresents low-status persons, and this seems to be the case here. Of the male sample, 22 percent never attended high school; we estimate that the true percentage in the universe may be as high as 25. In the sample, 10 percent of the men are professional or managerial, which is the same as the census data for the 1960 northern urban male nonwhite population. In 1960, 18 percent of the male universe were laborers; this sample produces only 12 percent. This is the greatest discrepancy between the sample and the census; part of this difference is due to change in the economy between 1960 and 1966.

The original sample was 1,624 cases and the weighted *N* is 4,153; we will focus largely upon that one-third of the sample which attended northern high schools and who report an occupation; this is 1,231 weighted cases.

INTEGRATION AND NONTRADITIONAL EMPLOYMENT

Table 1 records the percentage of Negroes for each of the eight major urban occupational groups in the 1960 census and the percentage of alumni of integrated high schools and of segregated high schools in each of these occupations. Negro men tend to be concentrated in the lower blue-collar occupations—operatives, service workers, laborers—and in the lowest of the white-collar occupations—clerical work. Conversely, Negro men tend not to be professionals, managers, salesworkers, or craftsmen, hence, we shall call these four major occupational groups nontraditional. Approximately one-third of the male Negro alumni of integrated high schools are in three nontraditional occupations: crafts, sales, and the professions, while only one-fifth of the Negroes who attended segregated schools are in these three groups. Male Negro managers, owners, and proprietors tend to come from segregated schools, but contact with whites is not necessary to enter these occupations, since almost all Negro managers are in businesses serving largely Negro clientele. (If the data were available, we would hypothesize that Negro businessmen serving white clientele would be more likely to have had integrated schooling.)

Contrary to popular belief, Negroes who attended integrated schools do not come from higher-status or more stable families, and therefore these results do not change when background variables are introduced as controls. (We will demonstrate this for the relation of integration to income below.)

One reason Negro clerks are slightly more likely to be from segregated

schools is that Negro clerical positions are available in the largest metropolitan areas where there also is the largest number of segregated schools. When city size is introduced as a control variable, the apparent predominance of men from segregated schools in clerical work becomes smaller.

Negro women from integrated schools are much more likely to enter the professions. But otherwise, our thesis does not hold for women; Negro women from integrated schools are not more likely to have nontraditional jobs.

TABLE 1
OCCUPATIONS OF ALUMNI OF SEGREGATED AND INTEGRATED NORTHERN HIGH SCHOOLS, BY SEX, AND PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES IN EACH OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	MALES				FEMALES			
	High School Was			Negroes in Group (%)	High School Was			Negroes in Group (%)
	Integrated (%)	Segregated (%)	Difference		Integrated (%)	Segregated (%)	Difference	
Professional.....	11	8	+3	5.9*	14	4	+10	10.7*
Managers, owners, proprietors.....	3	6	-3	4.2*	1	0	+1	5.3*
Clerical.....	11	13	-2	11.3	22	32	-10	6.7*
Sales.....	3	0	+3	4.7*	2	3	-1	4.7*
Craftsmen.....	19	13	+6	7.5*	2	2	0	11.4
Operatives.....	31	40	-9	14.3	22	21	+1	13.2
Service.....	15	10	+5	29.1	36	38	-2	38.8
Labor.....	6	10	-4	27.4	0	0	...	32.7
Total.....	99	100			99	100		
N†.....	(498)	(227)			(372)	(134)		

NOTE.—Alumni of southern high schools excluded from this table.
* Indicates nontraditional occupation.
† Weighted; true N is approximately 0.4 times N shown for all tables.

The eight major occupational groups are broad categories, and we can continue this investigation by looking at differences in the detailed occupational classifications within each major group. In table 2, we look within each major occupational group and see that Negroes from integrated schools are more likely to hold those occupations whose work force is less than 3 percent Negro, which we shall define as nontraditional (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1960, table 3, pp. 21-30). For example, 36 percent of Negro professionals from integrated schools are in the nontraditional professions, compared with 33 percent of Negro professionals from northern segregated schools. (Of course, in table 1 we saw that Negroes from segregated schools are less likely to be in the professions at all.) This is the smallest difference in the table; the other differences are sharp even for such low-level employees as operatives and service workers.

We also see in table 2 that Negro women from integrated schools are

Integration and Achievement of Negroes

more likely to hold nontraditional occupations in the professions, and in clerical and sales positions. There are no Negro female occupations in the general category of craftsmen, operatives, or service which are not more than 3 percent Negro. Managers, operators, proprietors, and laborers have been dropped from the table for both men and women because there is no classification of managers, etc., which is over 3 percent Negro and no classification of laborers which is under 3 percent Negro.

These two tables yield convincing evidence (at least for males) of our general point that Negro alumni of integrated schools are in "integrated"

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS FROM EACH MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP IN (DETAILED) OCCUPATIONS WHICH ARE LESS THAN 3 PERCENT NEGRO, BY INTEGRATION AND REGION OF HIGH SCHOOL, AND BY SEX (PERCENTAGE IN OCCUPATIONS LESS THAN 3 PERCENT NEGRO)

MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL GROUP	MALES			FEMALES		
	High School Was			High School Was		
	North, Inte- grated (%)	North, Segre- gated (%)	South, Segre- gated (%)	North, Inte- grated (%)	North, Segre- gated (%)	South, Segre- gated (%)
Professional....	36 (56)	33 (18)	31 (35)	8 (49)	0 (6)	0 (45)
Clerical, sales..	19 (67)	13 (30)	30 (49)	58 (89)	43 (47)	58 (36)
Craftsmen.....	56 (93)	41 (29)	15 (113)
Operatives.....	4 (155)	0 (91)	0 (179)
Service.....	8 (76)	0 (22)	0 (51)

NOTE.—Sign test, differences among northern-educated respondents significant $p < .01$ (one-tailed).

jobs. In table 3, we see that those respondents who hold these nontraditional occupations within each major census classification tend to have higher incomes. In the case of males, those in nontraditional occupations have noticeably higher incomes in all five test groups. However, the pattern for females is completely mixed, and apparently meaningless; for example, the very high correlation for Negro professional women is based almost entirely on the high income of Negro schoolteachers, a traditional occupation.

One might argue that the Negroes in these nontraditional occupations are better qualified, and to some extent this is true. In table 4, we see that Negroes in nontraditional occupations tend to have higher educational attainment. However, observe that the association between education and nontraditionalism is weaker than the association between income and nontraditionalism; in table 4, γ is generally lower than in table 3. (Our measures of education and income are distributed through five categories with approximately the same marginals; therefore γ in both cases is comparable.)

In table 4, we again see no pattern for females. Those who have nontraditional occupations are not better educated. This is consistent with the idea that occupational discrimination and inequality is greater for Negro males than for Negro females.

It seems a reasonable assumption that discrimination against Negroes in employment and the higher salaries in occupations which have few Negroes is a result of competitive efforts on the part of white male employees to protect their economic situations (Hodge and Hodge 1965). If this is the case, then it seems reasonable that white women, as a class more preoccupied with family and less with occupational roles, would be less likely to press for a similar occupational pattern of discrimination against Negro women.

Even so, Negro women still benefit occupationally from integrated schooling, according to these data. There are too few cases to make a truly

TABLE 3
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PERCENTAGE NEGRO (DETAILED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES) AND INCOME, WITHIN MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, BY SEX

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES	MALES		FEMALES	
	γ	Total N	γ	Total N
Professional.....	-.38	118	+ .42	108
Managers, owners, proprietors.....	*	50	+1.0	13
Clerical and sales.....	-.31	173	-.01	193
Craftsmen.....	-.21	303	+1.0	22
Operatives.....	-.03	623	+ .06	236
Service.....	-.65	209	+ .18	465
Laborers.....	*	195	*	3

* When the data are quartiled, there is no variance in male managerial occupations, which have few Negroes without exception, or in laboring occupations, all of which have many Negroes.

TABLE 4
ASSOCIATION BETWEEN PERCENTAGE NEGRO IN DETAILED OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES AND EDUCATION, WITHIN MAJOR CENSUS OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES, BY SEX

MAJOR CATEGORY	MALES		FEMALES	
	γ	Total N	γ	Total N
Professional.....	- 15	118	+ 52	113
Managers, owners, proprietors.....	*	50	+1.00	13
Clerical and sales.....	- 41	177	- 12	204
Craftsmen.....	- 11	307	+ 07	28
Operatives.....	- 03	635	+ 01	251
Service.....	- 37	209	- 24	511
Labor.....	*	197	*	3

* When the data are quartiled, there is no variance in male managerial occupations, which have few Negroes without exception, or in laboring occupations, all of which have many Negroes.

Integration and Achievement of Negroes

firm statement, but table 1 shows the overwhelming majority of Negro professional women have been educated in integrated schools.

Tables 5 and 6 show that Negroes who attend integrated high schools have higher occupational prestige and higher incomes. (Data on income for women is not presented; since so many women work part-time, the results are difficult to interpret.) The occupational prestige effect is considerably stronger for women than for men. The differences for men do not reach the

TABLE 5
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF STUDENTS FROM INTEGRATED
AND SEGREGATED HIGH SCHOOLS

OCCUPATIONAL STATUS	REGION AND INTEGRATION OF HIGH SCHOOL		
	North, Integrated	North, Segregated	South, Segregated
Mean occupation prestige, men....	35.7	34.0	34.6
Standard deviation.....	12.3	12.6	13.8
Total N.....	(489)	(229)	(494)
Mean occupation prestige, women..	36.1	31.3	31.6
Standard deviation.....	13.9	12.6	16.3
Total N.....	(372)	(136)	(384)

NOTE.—Effect of integration for northern males N.S.; effect for females, $p < .01$ (one-tailed); occupational prestige scores developed at NORC by Robert W. Hodge, Paul M. Siegel, and Peter H. Rossi.

TABLE 6
MEDIAN INCOME OF ALUMNI OF SEGREGATED
AND INTEGRATED HIGH SCHOOLS, FOR MALES

SEX	HIGH SCHOOL IS	
	North, Integrated	North, Segregated
Males.....	\$5454 (493)	\$5110 (247)

.05 level of significance, but they are in the predicted direction and are not small. The difference between the median annual income of alumni of integrated and segregated high schools is \$344 per year for males. Some of this can be attributed to age (with the increasing number of segregated schools, young Negroes do not have as much opportunity for integration) but more than \$200 difference remains after an age control has been introduced in table 7.²

² The summary statistic used in table 7 is a net partial difference formed by taking a weighted average of the differences across each row or column of the table.

There are only 300 male graduates of northern high schools in the sample, so it is not possible to estimate accurately the real dollar return resulting from an integrated education. The young Negro men from broken homes in this sample are more likely to have gone to integrated schools, and men from stable homes earn approximately \$600 more per year when educational attainment, age, and high school integration are controlled. When family stability is introduced as a control, the effect of integration rises sharply, to \$390.

Much of the income difference is due to the higher education of alumni of integrated schools. The average high school graduate, (including those with college) earns about \$800 more per year than the average person who did not finish high school (again, controlling for integration, age, and family stability). Since 20 percent more students from integrated high

TABLE 7
INCOME OF ALUMNI OF SEGREGATED AND INTEGRATED
HIGH SCHOOLS, FOR MALES, WITH BACKGROUND
VARIABLES CONTROLLED

Additional Variables Included	Increase in Annual Income (Medians) Due to High School Integration for Males (Rounded to Ten-Dollar Units)
None.....	\$ 340
Age.....	\$ 220
Age, stability of family of origin.....	\$ 390
Age, educational attainment.....	\$- 40
Age, educational attainment, and stability of family of origin.....	\$ 210

schools graduate (Crain, forthcoming), we would expect the increased educational attainment to increase the income of alumni of integrated schools by about \$200 per year. We have computed two estimates of the effect of integration independent of education in table 7. With only age as an additional control, we remove all of the effect of integration; but when we use family stability also, we have \$210 remaining independent of education. Clearly, a larger sample is needed to make this estimate; but until one appears (which, we suspect, will not be soon) we must assume that integration has a net effect on income, independent of other variables including the higher educational attainment which also results from integration, of about \$100 per year—not a small difference over the forty- to fifty-year working life of an adult male. Lifetime income of alumni of integrated schools is increased about \$10,000; we estimate that only two-thirds of this amount is due to differences in educational attainment. Note that higher educational attainment is not a very parsimonious explanation of the fact that Negroes from integrated schools are more likely to work in nontraditional occupations. In the remainder of this paper we will argue that alumni of integrated

Integration and Achievement of Negroes

schools make more money because they are more likely to associate with whites; they have integrated jobs for the same reason they are more likely to live in integrated neighborhoods.

THE JOB-FINDING PROCESS

The findings of tables 5 and 6—that alumni of integrated schools have better jobs and earn more money—is reasonable if one assumes that having informal contacts into the white job market is the crucial factor. Tables 8-12 provide some evidence for this point of view. Table 8 gives the responses to the question, "How did you find your present (or last) job?" and

TABLE 8
ANSWERS TO QUESTION ON SOURCE
OF PRESENT JOB

Source	National Sample (%)	Negro Sample (%)
Family.....	14	13
Friends.....	24	25
Union.....	1	3
Want ads.....	7	10
State employment.....	6	10
Private employment.....	4	7
Visiting prospects.....	24	18
Ask previous employer.....	2	2
High school.....	1	0
College.....	3	1
Other.....	16	10
Total.....	102	99
N.....	(566)*	(3,537)

* Unweighted N for national sample aged 21-45, who have worked within the past two years.

compares the responses of the Negroes in our northern metropolitan sample and those of a national sample. The similarities are more striking than the differences, and in general the results point up the importance of informal means of communication in the job hunt. On the whole, the findings are quite consistent with Sheppard and Belitsky's (1967) study on job seeking. Although only a little more than one-third of the respondents say that family or friends referred them to their present job, another one-quarter of the national sample and one-sixth of the Negro sample mentioned "visiting plants" as the way in which they found employment. This presumes that the respondent had some idea of what plants to visit; in a large city, this requires more than a casual knowledge of the labor market. The largest differences between the Negroes and the national sample are in this category. It may well be that Negroes anticipate discrimination and hence are less willing to make the grand tour of possible employers. Negroes use formal means of obtaining job referrals, such as the union, newspaper ad-

vertisements, and public or private employment services more than whites do and use family and friends as a referral method less often.

The next question is what kinds of persons are useful sources of information about jobs? In the absence of data, we will make two straightforward assumptions: first, we assume that better-educated persons are more valuable contacts, since they may have more general knowledge, more influence, or may know more precisely what management wants in the way of quali-

TABLE 9

PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS WHO SAY THEY COULD SEEK ADVICE FROM A FRIEND WHO IS A COLLEGE GRADUATE, BY INTEGRATION OF HIGH SCHOOL, EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT, AND SEX

Sex	TYPE OF HIGH SCHOOL		
	Northern, Integrated (%)	Northern, Segregated (%)	Southern, Segregated (%)
Males:			
No college.....	62 (354)	44 (212)	45 (427)
Some college or college graduate.....	82 (164)	85 (43)	75 (120)
Females:			
No college.....	47 (536)	33 (257)	35 (636)
Some college or college graduate.....	65 (130)	78 (56)	69 (147)

TABLE 10

KNOWLEDGE OF ANOTHER JOB OPPORTUNITY, BY SEX, EDUCATION, AND CONTACT WITH A COLLEGE GRADUATE (PERCENTAGE)

SEX AND CONTACT WITH COLLEGE GRADUATE	PERCENTAGE KNOWING OF ANOTHER JOB, BY EDUCATION			
	Eighth Grade	Some High School	High School Graduate	Attended College
Males:				
With college graduate contact....	32 (217)	37 (414)	41 (365)	52 (332)
Without college graduate contact.	29 (184)	17 (185)	21 (122)	... (30)
Difference.....	+ 3	+20	+20	...
Females:				
With college graduate contact....	22 (148)	29 (459)	39 (437)	53 (297)
Without college graduate contact.	20 (177)	19 (372)	24 (212)	... (58)
Difference.....	+ 2	+10	+15	...

NOTE.—Net effect of college graduate contact, among those with high school education or less: males, 15%; females, 10%.

Integration and Achievement of Negroes

fications. Second, we assume that whites know more about higher-paying jobs than Negroes do. Negroes who attend integrated schools are more likely to associate with whites in later life, and have a double advantage in that their contacts with whites also bring them into contact with persons who are better educated. Respondents were asked whether they could go for advice to a relative or friend who was a college graduate. (They were not asked what race the relative or friend was.) Respondents who attended integrated

TABLE 11
CONTACTS WITH WHITES AND KNOWLEDGE OF ANOTHER JOB,
BY SEX AND EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT
(PERCENTAGE KNOWING OF ANOTHER JOB)

SEX AND EDUCATION	CONTACT WITH WHITES			
	Low (0)	(1-2)	(3-4)	High (5)
Men, high education.....	(30)	55 (45)	20 (64)	52 (215)
Men, low education.....	24 (261)	25 (332)	32 (359)	29 (541)
Women, high education.....	(30)	34 (64)	41 (58)	43 (203)
Women, low education.....	12 (444)	20 (487)	29 (386)	30 (488)

NOTE.—For men, net effect of contact with whites, independent of education = +4. For women, net effect of contact with whites, independent of education = +12.

TABLE 12
PERCENTAGE KNOWING OF ANOTHER JOB BY PRESENT CONTACT WITH WHITES,
BY FREQUENCY OF FRIENDS' VISITS, AND BY SEX
(PERCENTAGE NAMING ANOTHER EMPLOYER)

FREQUENCY OF VISITS	PRESENT CONTACT WITH WHITES		
	Low	Medium	High
Males:			
Few days per week.....	34.9 (189)	33.8 (281)	38.3 (399)
Once per week.....	19.6 (112)	14.2 (134)	24.1 (170)
Less than once per week.....	33.0 (179)	30.5 (190)	39.6 (182)
Females:			
Few days per week.....	20.3 (301)	32.6 (276)	35.8 (338)
Once per week.....	13.8 (160)	27.1 (207)	28.6 (154)
Less than once per week.....	12.0 (249)	20.5 (273)	32.2 (208)

NOTE.—Net effects (first col. vs. third col.): For men, net effect of contact with whites, independent of visiting = +3%, net effect of visiting, independent of white contact = +1%. For women, net effect of contact with whites, independent of visiting = +17%, net effect of visiting, independent of white contact = +8%.

schools are not more likely to have relatives who are college graduates, but they are considerably more likely to have college-educated friends, as shown in table 9. In this table, there is essentially no difference among northern-educated respondents who had themselves attended college; in all cases, they were likely to have college-educated friends. Southern migrants are at a slight disadvantage here, possibly because they have migrated after completing their education and thus have left their college classmates behind. There is a slight tendency for females with some college education who attended segregated high schools to report more college-educated friends, but the number of such cases is tiny. When we turn to respondents who themselves did not attend college, we find that those who attended integrated high schools have very distinct advantages, while alumni of segregated northern high schools are no more likely to have a college-educated friend available than are migrants who attended southern high schools. Since alumni of integrated high schools have more white contacts, it seems safe to assume that many of these college graduate friends are white.

From this point, the chain of argument is supported indirectly by the evidence. We hypothesize that better-educated friends are more likely to know of job opportunities. This is supported by table 10, which shows that those respondents who do have college graduate contacts are considerably more likely to be able to name an employer who would hire them.⁸ Notice that the differences are greater for respondents who themselves have some high school or are high school graduates. This is consistent with the possibility that college graduate contacts and other persons that these respondents could use for referrals would be more familiar with occupations requiring at least minimal educational qualifications. Or it may be that respondents with less than eighth-grade educations have access to low-status jobs which are easier to learn about, and which require fewer personal referrals.

Table 11 shows that respondents who have white friends know of more job opportunities than those with fewer white contacts. The results for males, however, are quite weak; the differences for females are considerably stronger. It is possible that Negroes with high levels of white contact are more gregarious in general, and the fact that their friends are white is irrelevant. Table 12 considers this argument by controlling on the response to, "How often do friends and relatives visit your home?" In general, contact with whites is a more important factor than total amount of home visiting. (We have no explanation for the curvilinear pattern for males in the effect of amount of visiting on knowledge of a job.)

Table 13 closes this part of the argument by showing that alumni of integrated schools are more likely to name a prospective employer. This is not the case for respondents under thirty; but the differences among older respondents are quite large for both sexes.

We have presented data showing that part of the effect of school integration on occupational achievement can be attributed to the effect of high

⁸ The net partial percentage difference in table 10 is computed in the same manner as the net partial difference in medians (see n. 1).

Integration and Achievement of Negroes

contact with whites on job-seeking behavior. There are other effects as well; alumni of integrated schools are more likely to have attended college and score higher on an efficacy scale, which itself is associated with more aggressive job seeking. (Efficacious persons are more likely to know of another job, controlling for sex and educational attainment.)⁴

Both tables 11 and 13 indicate a stronger pattern of effects for females than for males. This is consistent with tables 5 and 6 which showed that the effects of school integration were generally more pronounced for females than for males. It is difficult to decide upon a convincing explanation for

TABLE 13
HIGH SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND KNOWLEDGE OF ANOTHER JOB
BY AGE AND SEX OF RESPONDENT
(PERCENTAGE NAMING ANOTHER EMPLOYER)

AGE AND SEX	HIGH SCHOOL INTEGRATION		
	North, Integrated	North, Segregated	South
Males:			
Under 30.....	38 (212)	38 (169)	38 (202)
30-39.....	46 (195)	10 (68)	30 (189)
40+.....	40 (106)	15 (27)	24 (152)
Females:			
Under 30.....	35 (306)	34 (174)	21 (248)
30-39.....	24 (237)	18 (78)	27 (317)
40+.....	30 (106)	19 (53)	20 (200)

this, but one possibility is that the good jobs for employed women are white-collar positions in small offices rather than in larger plants. Thus a Negro male high-status employee may be a member of a large firm—he may hold a supervisory position in a factory, for example—and thus would have less difficulty in locating an employer. The working woman who wants a white-collar job might find that most of her possible employers have small offices where informal contacts are regularly used in recruitment.

CONCLUSIONS

There are so many possible ways in which interracial contacts might benefit the Negro job seeker that it is difficult to say what part of the process is most important. Only one-quarter of our sample stated that they obtained their present job through friends, but this did not mean that the other three-

⁴ Unpublished tabulation. Sheppard and Belitsky show that unemployed workers with high need for achievement hunt for jobs more aggressively.

quarters did not benefit from informal contact. Even the most casual information about employment can be valuable, and such information tends to filter through the social system in many ways. One irony is that if a single Negro is hired by a large plant, there are more white employees who know that the firm is integrated than there are Negroes; thus we arrive at the curious hypothesis that whites will have more information about jobs which are becoming "open" than will Negroes.

In general, the argument that has been advanced here does not hinge upon actual job discrimination. In the absence of all discrimination and prejudice, American Negroes would still suffer the consequences of racial segregation in housing, voluntary associations, and informal social relations. These consequences are not merely psychic or social in character; they can be measured in crude monetary terms as well. The public school thus becomes a doubly important instrument of social mobility for Negroes; in addition to its obvious educational value, it provides an opportunity to begin building the interracial associations which permit an escape from the ghetto.

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REVOLUTION ASKED IN U.S. CHURCHES

Baraka Says Otherwise
They Will 'Disappear'

By ELEANOR BLAU
Special to The New York Times
DALLAS, Dec. 4 — Imanu
Amiri Baraka, the writer and
black militant leader, told the
National Council of Churches
today that the church would

"disappear" if it did not become
"revolutionary."
Addressing the opening ses-
sion of the council's triennial
general assembly meeting, Mr.
Baraka, formerly known as
LeRoi Jones, declared that the
United States was a "major
primitive obstruction in the
path of progress," committed
to "money, sex and violence"
instead of "representative or
proportional government and
the equitable distribution of
wealth."
The church may make lofty
statements, he said, but if it
is "connected with the United
States of America," then it be-

comes part and parcel of a
structure that "must be de-
stroyed."
Anti-Semitism Charged
The appearance of the poet
and playwright caused a stir
here when it became known
that the Anti-American League
of B'nai B'rith had decided not
to send two Texas observers
to the conference because of
what it termed his "violently
anti-Semitic writings."
Benjamin Epstein, national
director of the league, said that
he had written to the council's
general secretary, citing in-
stances of such writings, but

had been told that Mr. Baraka
had accepted an invitation to
speak and that his talk was to
focus on the third world nations,
not the domestic scene.
Two observers here from the
American Jewish Committee—
one of them a Presbyterian lay
pastor—supported the league's
charges that Mr. Baraka was
antiwhite and anti-Semitic. They
cited examples, including a line
from his poem "Black Art" that
said, "We want poems like fists
beating niggers out of Jocks or
dagger poems in the slimy
bellies of the owner-jews."
However, the observers said
that it would be "improper and

presumptuous for a Jewish
agency even to appear to be
making [a] judgment for main-
line Protestants" and that it
would be a mistake to distort
Mr. Baraka's appearance as a
"black-Jewish confrontation."
Context Cited
Mr. Baraka, who was asked
earlier to comment on the
league's statement, said at a
new conference that remarks
about Jews in his works could
be seen as anti-Semitic only if
they were taken out of context.
Mr. Baraka cited the current
controversy over the building
of Kawaida Towers in Newark,

where he lives as an example
of church passivity. He said
that he had not seen any white
ministers "trying to stop mis-
guided racists and bigos" who
he said were tryin to halt black
development in a predominant-
ly white neighborhood.
He called on the churches to
support self-determination for
African people "in the United
States and worldwide."
'Unholy Alliance'
In the meeting's opening ses-
sion, the Most Rev. Patrick
Flores, Roman Catholic Aux-
iliary Bishop of San Antonio,
cited five areas of social in-

justice — "among many" — on
which he said the church must
act. These included, he said,
an "unholy alliance" between
big-power governments and
large corporations that ex-
ploited poor countries for the
world's affluent.
At the morning session, Mrs.
Theodore O. Wedel, president
of the national council, said
that her travels around the
country since her election three
years ago had convinced her
that interest in ecumenism was
growing, despite widespread
dissatisfaction with the struc-
tures of ecumenical bodies. She
said that the church was gain-

ing grass roots vitality and
that "we are in the beginning
stages of a great revival of
religion."
\$5,000 Stolen During Mass
INDIANAPOLIS, Dec. 2 (AP)
— Two young gunmen hand-
cuffed a man and his son, tried
unsuccessfully to handcuff two
retired nuns and took about
\$5,000 in money and checks
Sunday in the basement of a
Roman Catholic church while
mass was in progress. The
police said the money had been
collected at four weekend
masses at Holy Spirit church.

PRESBYTERY OF NEW YORK CITY

The United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

7 WEST 11th STREET, NEW YORK 11, NEW YORK / TELEPHONE WAtkins 4-5620



January 16, 1970

Dear Colleague:

Yesterday thirty of us representing the religious community of New York City, met at the Central Presbyterian Church and resolved to raise the bails of the fourteen Black Panthers who have been in prison here since April 2nd, 1969. We will attempt to do this by raising multiples of \$105,000 for each of them by next Wednesday at 2 P.M. This is the way:

\$ 5,000.00	cash (or bank passbook with interest protected)
50,000.00	collateral (stocks, property or jewelry)
50,000.00	guaranteed signatures
<u>\$105,000.00</u>	Total

Why the hurry? Because the pre-trial hearings begin on Monday, February 2nd and the only chance of giving the lie to the notion that Black Panthers are bail-jumpers and are not to be trusted, is for them to be free and appear in court under their own recognizance. That's a risk, you say. Yes, but miniscule. As long as other Panthers are being arrested, no one of them is going to desert his brother or sister and prejudice his chance for freedom by jumping bail. However, it is absolutely necessary that they be free in order to help their attorneys prepare their defense.

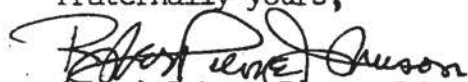
What's been done? Two churches - Good Shepherd-Faith and St. Mark's in the Bowery have pledged their buildings as collateral, and the City Mission Society is seriously considering encumbering its Minisink Town House also. Moreover, one denominational executive has agreed to put up \$5,000 of his discretionary fund for bail premium and two pastors have agreed to use \$5,000 each of their own personal resources as collateral. This is real testimony of the churches being the Church.

I am enclosing copies of this letter so you can share it with persons whom you believe will help either in contributing cash, putting up collateral, or signing to guarantee the last \$50,000. Each kind of help is needed desperately. NOW!

The issue is not the fate of the Black Panthers. It is the guarantee of freedom for all Americans to be judged innocent until proven guilty. Erode that freedom for one, regardless of how heinous the alleged crime, and you have eroded it for all.

Hoping to see you, with money, this Wednesday, January 21st at 2 P.M. at Central Presbyterian Church, 64th Street and Park Avenue.

Fraternally yours,


(Rev.) Robert Pierre Johnson
General Presbyter

RPJ:mrl

The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Date June 17, 1974

FROM: RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM

TO: Tracy Early

____ Please circulate to:

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

____ For Approval

____ For Your Information

____ Please Handle

____ Read and Return

____ Returned as Requested

____ Telephone Me

____ Your Comments, Please

REMARKS:

Bertram W. Korn
American Jewish Historical Society and
Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, New York

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. The inventory of the estate of the outstanding New Amsterdam/New York Jew (Asser Levy d. 1682) 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 Rodriques Rivera (1717-1789) of Newport owned 12 slaves; Levi Sheftall (1739-1809) of Savannah 44; Francis Salvador (1747-1776) of South Carolina 40. *plantation owners*
- f. *Some* 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; Negro workers engaged in weaving and chocolate grinding for him; black customers, both slave and free. *6 domestics in home; no mind of religious or political position; to slaving*
- 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.

[760s
1770s

- 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 households 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 protested at the apparent indifference of abolitionist leaders to Jewish suffering.

1861-
Benj. Nones - manumission

fundamentalist

does a decision
come to be
an event
because of its
long
duration?
repression
of
Egypt

- 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.

Michael

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, Sr.
- b. Jews as receivers of stolen goods from blacks, as peddlers supplying cheap clothing and notions to blacks. (1773 - Charleston - Jew flogged for receiving

c. Jews as aliens/non-Christians.

WASP - not part of majority -

Stolen goods, black executed
Squinted - Cruel Jews, just look at Jesus, they hung him on the cross
The cruel Jews done took my Jesus

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. (Pyrogone - 1884 -
- c. Were Jews able to achieve higher recognition in South prior to the Civil War partly because of the victimization of the blacks?

Judah Touro in New Orleans
- book as
creator of
his will

J. prophetic insight
concerning Jewish
victims in world

Jewish slaves sold
on block in
No. Africa

Need for
more
research

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*JEWS AND THE AFRICAN WORLD

International Implications; Israel, Islam,
Black Muslims, Africa and The Third World

By

John Henrik Clarke

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

When the real tragedy of Black-Jewish relations is finally identified I think it will be the dictionary and how we have misused its words. Here is a case where semantics change depending on ^{WHO} ~~who~~ is listening and what they are listening for. Your listener will often hear what you did not say and ignore what you said. The title for this conference is a good example of a poor and unimaginative use of words. What exactly do we mean by Black-Jewish relations? From these words we have no way of knowing that there are Blacks who are also Jews.

*Prepared for the National Consultation on Black-Jewish Relations
Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, June 9-12, 1974.

Because we do not understand each other's semantics, we may not understand each other's intentions. There is a prevailing unreadiness here, and the two people in America who have the greatest need to come together are at each other's throats, because they cannot work out the terms of alliance.

Before coming here we should have worked out an operational definition of an alliance, and what each party was expected to give or get. We may now be, sadly, witnessing some minutes of the last meeting. Before taking leave of each other, if we are unwise enough to do so, we should at least understand why our attempt at making an alliance failed.

Because powerful people never make real alliances with powerless people, we may have to take leave of each other and come back together again at a later day when both of us can respect the power and the needs of the other.

There is a genuine conflict between Black and Jewish people and this conflict has international implications. We can not deal with this conflict honestly until we call it by its correct name and examine its origin and development. African people the world over have no culture or religious fight with Jewish people. We come out of pluralistic societies, of our own making, where we lived side by side with a multiplicity of cultures and religions, most of the time in peace. Cultural and religious tolerance is part of our heritage as a people. If we were disposed to be against any culture or religion it would probably not be Jewish culture and religion that had part of its early development in Africa.

Now that I have eliminated culture and religion as the basis of the Black-Jewish conflicts, precisely what is the conflict about? It is about power and the emerging expectations of most of the worlds people, who until recently, were ruled by Europeans or people of European extraction. The one thing the conflict is not about is anti-Semitism. There is a world wide Black-White conflict which is part of the broader conflict between European and non-European people. African people are on one side of that conflict and the people we refer to as Jews are on the other side. In this paper when I use the words Jews or Jewish people, I am referring to White people of European descent, whose culture, development, and political

What has happened?. A revolt at the:

- 1) bottom of the pecking order.
- 2) Black stagnation at the door to the promised land.

The tragedy of people being out power.

Struggle the highest form of education.



loyalty is European. This political loyalty to Europe and the part that Jewish people still play in maintaining European world wide power, and not anti-Semitism, is the basis of the conflict between us. This conflict will become more fierce and tragic as non-European people challenge the power of European people all over the world.

We have no conflict with the non-European Jewish communities scattered around the globe. These people whose religion and culture stems from Hebrewism, are as Jewish as anyone who came out of Europe, if not more so. Their communities can be found in North Africa, Western and Eastern Asia, and the South Pacific Islands.

The conflict between the American Blacks and the American Jews is more manufactured than real and it will not be understood until both people are properly located on the map of human geography. I tried to do this a few years ago and I am still feeling the repercussions.

In February, 1972 I received a letter from Professor W. Burlie Brown, Co-Chairman of American Historical Association Program Committee asking me to participate on a panel session during their forthcoming yearly meeting, that is held in December of each year. The tentative topic was Black Anti-Semitism: A Historical Genesis. I agreed to participate in the conference after informing the Co-Chairman that there is no genesis to what is being called Black-Anti-Semitism. The present crisis is part of urban development, the fight for space in the crowded cities of the north, the relationship of the Jews

to the prevailing power structure and Jewish control over some of the educational and economic institutions in the Black urban ghetto. It was finally agreed; my paper would be on "The Myth of Black Anti-Semitism." In the paper I delivered I tried to look searchingly at the Africans and the Jews in historical perspective, starting with the present and looking back at the past. A summary of what I had to say in this paper is as follows:

Black people and Jews are not strangers to each other. They have met many times at the crossroads of history and most of the time they have complimented each other: Jews have had a longer historical relationship with people of African descent than they have had with any other living people. It must be remembered that when the people called Jews emerged clearly in the light of history, they were living in or near the continent of Africa.

My intent in this paper is to use both modern and historical references to prove that the charge of "Black Anti-Semitism", now being made against my people has no basis in fact, and no historical antecedents. First, I will examine some present day references and show that this charge is not supportable.

[start]

Original documents
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The following editorial from the influential Black newspaper, the Baltimore Afro-American, September 9, 1972, explains, in part, what I mean:

BLACK, JEWISH TIES

Bayard Rustin, the respected civil rights and labor leader, talked frankly and bluntly to a group of Jews at the Hadassah's 58th Annual National Convention about the growing threat to one of the nation's most significant coalitions that which long has existed among Blacks, Jews, and other minorities.

It is essential to the welfare of all these minorities that they do not stumble into baited traps or tensions of limited duration and allow themselves to go their separate ways.

Rustin was correct when he declared that "Black anti-Semitism is one of the most exaggerated myths to surface in many years." He went on to point out that "every poll taken demonstrates that Blacks are less anti-Semitic than any other racial, ethnic or religious group."

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

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

It is true there have been some tensions in recent years, some of it attributable to the rhetoric of separatists, and others of relatively small numbers; some of it due to fears on the part of Jews that their interests here and in Israel are not sufficiently appreciated. We think that responsible people have spoken to the important issues in a way that should result in the lessening of frictions before our coalition becomes further strained.

This political year will be a trying time but the outcome of an election should not be rated more important than traditional friendships and principles. Neither the Black nor Jewish minorities in this country have progressed to the point where either should feel safe to desert the other. The clock moves forward or turns backwards as the majority group responds to the pressures of minorities that demand every right of the Constitution be granted every citizen.

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

On March 9, 1972, the Daily Chicago Defender carried this editorial:

BLACK ANTI-SEMITISM

"I do not foresee any serious crisis developing between the Blacks and Jews in the United States, because the leaders of both peoples are doing everything to prevent such a crisis. I must, however, admit that there is anti-Semitism among some of the 22 million Blacks in the U.S.A."

Thus spoke Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the NAACP as he arrived in Tel Aviv for a week's visit as guest of the Israeli foreign ministry. The observation is correct, but Mr. Wilkins should have hastened to point out that the amount of anti-Semitism in question is so minimal as to be negligible.

Resentment against Jews in the Black community is confined to a class of unrepresentative Blacks, who for the most part, are declassed and who have no more influence with the Black masses than desert rats. The old generation of Blacks and the educated enlightened new Negroes harbor no anti-racial feeling against the Jewish people.

Most of them remember Julius Rosenwald, the great philanthropist, who used his wealth to establish hundreds of schools in the South for the education of poor Black children at a time when both state and federal governments paid scant attention to the hampering illiteracy of the underprivileged Black children. Not only that, it was through the Rosenwald Foundation that many Negro teachers were able to obtain fellowships for graduate studies for their Masters and Ph.D's.

There are countless other instances where Jews of influence and means have gone out of their way to help the Negro cause. It was Joel Spingarn, a Jewish lawyer who devoted his life to the creation of the NAACP Legal Fund and guided its destiny until his death at the age of 96, last year. And the coveted medal which the NAACP awards each year to an American Black man for distinguished work is named after Mr. Spingarn's brother who was a pillar of strength in the structure of the Association.

In the March 16, 1972 issue of the same newspaper another editorial was published deploring the treatment of Jewish scientists in Russia, a matter that the general Black newspaper reader knows very little about. The editorial read:

JEWISH SCIENTISTS

Two out of three scientists running the strategic missiles program in Russia are Jews, but the Soviet government has forbidden them to emigrate to Israel.

Out of 200 scientists, 130 have been already identified as Jewish according to the London Daily Telegraph. Several wish to take their knowledge to Israel. Two of the most valuable in the missile program are Dr. Leonid Yaglo, Deputy Chief Engineer for intercontinental missiles, and Dr. Nahum Stern, Chief of the Computer Center that calculates the flight path for missiles.

To check any demand for visas for Israel by these key scientists, the Soviets are making an example of Vladimir Slepak, a 44 year old nuclear scientist by denying his application for a visa to Israel.

If these reports are true, Russia should be willing to give better treatment to its Jewish scientists so profitable as to impel them to wish to remain in the Soviet Union.

In November of 1972 an investigation of anti-Semitism in general, among various age and ethnic groups was made by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. This investigation revealed that there was less anti-Jewish feeling among Blacks of all age levels than among other ethnic groups.

A partial understanding of what is really at issue, in the making of this charge is reflected in the speech of Dr. Abraham Joshua Heschel, made at the 58th Annual Meeting of the Anti-Defamation League. The main points of this speech are emphasized in this ADL press release. It said:

Grossinger's, N.Y. Nov. 23...Jews were advised last night by one of their most revered rabbis not to withdraw from the pursuit of justice for Blacks because of "the rude and murderous rhetoric of Black demagogues." Addressing some 400 delegates to the 58th annual meeting here of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Dr. Abraham Joshua Heschel declared that Jews who themselves have had the experience of being "despised" must understand the pain and suffering of the Negro people who "cannot obtain emancipation without the help of whites." Denouncing Black power and its rhetoric as a "desecration of the Negro cause," Dr. Heschel said that Jews must not permit themselves to be rebuffed and must understand that "Blacks are speaking out of their agony and despair."

[end]

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The late Dr. Heschel was professor of Jewish Ethnics and Mysticism at the Jewish Theological Seminary of America and one of the foremost Jewish scholar of the twentieth century. While, like Dr. Heschel has said, "Blacks are speaking out of their agony and dispair," there are other dimensions of their predicament that needs to be considered. Blacks are reexamining their relationships with other ethnic groups, and they are asking serious questions of all of them, be they Jews or Gentile. Blacks are wondering why so many of these groups are so powerful and they are so powerless. The cry of "Black Power" has not given Black people any power. It has only made them realize the need for power. The Black anger and sharp questions that overtly sensitive Jews are misinterpreting, is not directed at Jews as Jews. It is directed at Jews as white People who are holders of power over our lives. Jews have more influence over the educational and economical institutions in the Black communities than any other ethnic group. All over this country these communities are in transition. The organizational leaders of the Black communities are looking for new direction, and a new definition of the role that their people will have to play in bringing about a new social order. The first item on their agenda is the political and economical control of the Black communities by Black people, This intent is part of the developing maturity that is both national and international among Black people.

In this paper I have asked and have tried to answer the questions: Who and What is a Jew and who and what is an African person? Inasmuch as Jews and African people have met many times on the crossroads of history we need to know the nature of these meetings from pre-biblical times to the present. Especially, we need to know more about the history of Egypt and that part of Western Asia that is called the Middle East. Here is where Jews and African people met for the first time. They have been meeting through the years and their relationships have been more good than bad.

This in essence, is the point that I was trying to explain at the 87th meeting of the American Historical Association, in New Orleans, on December 30, 1972. The panel session was called "Black Anti-Semitism: Myth or Reality". The Chairman was Professor Louis Ruchames, of the University of Massachusetts, Boston. Beside myself the other main participant was Dr. Nicholas C. Polos, of La Verne College, in California. Comments on the papers came from Dr. Morris U. Schappes, Queens College City University of New York, who is also Editor of the magazine "Jewish Currents" and Dr. Philip Fonor, of Lincoln University.

Dr. Nicholas C. Polos' paper was on what he called "Black Anti-Semitism: A Historical Genesis. In spite of the title of his paper he did not talk about any "historical genesis of Black

Anti-Semitism." His paper was mainly about some current dissatisfaction with the Jews and some ill-advised statements about Jews that were made by people like Malcolm X, James Baldwin and Harold Cruse. These statements, quoted out of context and misunderstood, did not prove that an entire people are anti-Semitic. The comments of Morris U. Schappes and Philip Foner were more interesting to me, considering their radical political backgrounds. In their comments they were defenders of the European concept of history. Both of them took exception to the amount of space I took in my paper to explain the role of Egypt in world history and the fact that the Egyptians of the ancient world were a distinct African people whose civilization was old before Europe was born; therefore, they could not have been what we now call a white people.

In the part of the session that followed the presentation of papers and comments, I tried to explain the favorable image of the Jews in the religious life of Black Americans. In the song, "Go Down Moses, Tell Old Pharaoh to Let My People Go," the Blacks who are of African descent are on the side of the fleeing Hebrews against the African Pharaoh. Again in the song, "Deep

River My Home is Over Jordan," once more Black people are identifying culturally and geographically with the Jews of the ancient world.

In the fact and folklore of our resistance, the leaders of some of the best known of the revolts were nicknamed Moses. In alluding to these images my intent was to establish the fact that Jews have lived, in peace, among African people, and Arabs, longer than they have lived among other people, and that there is no historical basis for the charge of Black Anti-Semitism.

Looking again at the ancient world I maintain that the Jews who originally came into Egypt were welcomed, and they rose to high positions in the Egypt of that day. The period of persecution, so overtold in the Book of Moses and other writings, did not start until the end of that period, and it started for political reasons that had no racial overtones.

According to tradition the seventy Jews who came into Egypt increased to 600,000 by the time of their flight from Egypt four hundred years later, indicating extensive intermingling between the Jews and the Africans. No matter who the original Jews were who came into Egypt, when they left four hundred years later, they were ethnically, culturally, and religiously an African people.

This kind of analysis of Black-Jewish relations can get you into a lot of trouble fast. I did not have to wait long to learn this. When I arrived back in New York from the conference in New Orleans, two days later, several editors had called my home requesting copies of the paper. A reporter from the Los Angeles Times interviewed me about the paper, the session at the American Historical Association conference on Black-Anti-Semitism: Myth or Reality and Black Jewish relationships in general. The interview was published in the Los Angeles Times issue of January 22, 1973, and was reprinted in several newspapers throughout the country. The title of the interview was a question: Do The Jews Really Dominate Black Ghettos? This title was provocative, though like most newspaper headlines, inaccurate. Jewish influence in the Black ghettos is only part of what the interview was about.

We talked about a range of subjects, such as the tragic Jewish dominated school system of New York City, where Black and Puerto Rican children are not being educated for manhood and to hold future positions of power in a changing society. Control and not education is the name of the game in New York City. It is the same in Chicago, and in Boston, where the Irish dominate the educational system. Yet, no one is calling Blacks Anti-Irish

for objecting to the Irish control of the schools in Chicago, and in Boston. Why then in New York City we are being called anti-Semitic for objecting to Jewish control?

In the interview we also talked about the conflict in survival competition between minority peoples and the fact that Blacks are fighting for a piece of the "power pie." Figuratively speaking, the political pie is not getting any bigger, but those who are claiming pieces of it are becoming more numerous. The ethnic groups in the northern urban ghettos, mainly the Blacks and the Puerto Ricans, who were not in on the original cutting of the political pie, cannot get any pie until someone is willing to give up part of theirs. This, in essence, is what the Black-Jewish conflict in New York City is about. This, in part, is also what the fight against quotas and compensatory treatment for Blacks is about. A man with a quota of ten resents a man with a quota of zero who is willing to accept a quota of one because one is better than zero. The man with a quota of ten feels threatened by the man with a quota of zero, who for the time being might settle for a quota of one. The fear is that the quota of one for the man who has no quota at all might have to be taken from the man with the ten.

Too many Jews seem to have forgotten that a lot of us remember when Jews, not only were willing to accept quotas, but demanded them.

Soon after the interview appeared in the Los Angeles Times, January 22, 1973, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith was on the case. Completely misinterpreting what I said and what I meant. In their letter to Dr. Jacqueline G. Wexler, President of Hunter College, Milton A. Seymour, Chairman, New York Board, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, February 8, 1973, strongly suggested that I might not be the kind of teacher for the faculty of Hunter College. The matter was partly settled because the President of Hunter refused to panic and I was in a position to document everything I had said.

In spite of the danger and sensitivity, there is a need to open up this subject much further and look at the international implications of Israel in world politics, Islam, and its rising influence among non-Arab-speaking people, the Black Muslim Movement in the United States and Africa, and the Third World.

Modern Israel was born as a result of the troubles of Europe. The creation of this state has a pattern that can be traced back in European politics for more than two thousand years. Beginning with the invasion of Egypt by Alexander, the so-called Great (332 B.C.), the Europeans have nearly always found a way to drain the diseased pulse from their political sores and the lands of other people. This pattern continued through the aggressive Punic Wars (265-201 B.C.) that resulted in the destruction of the city of Carthage. From this period to the present day the relationship of Europeans to non-European

people has been protracted aggression.

The problem of Israel stems from its European connection,
culture, and attitude. Her problems were created in Europe
by Europeans and should have been solved in Europe by
Europeans. In looking at the current problem between Israel,
Islam, and the Arabs an important aspect in the history of
both these people are unfortunately forgotten. A search
through the history of the Arabs and Islam will reflect no
deep-seated hatred of Jews as a people.

What I believe is most objectionable, ^{aspect of the conflict} is the arrogance and
aggression that stems from their European and American connection.

^{assumed}
 Its assuming that the African states that broke off diplomatic
relations with the Israel states are captives of the Arabs.
There are reasons for this diplomatic break over and above the
African relationships to the Arab states. The role of Israel
deteriorated in Africa when the African began to observe that
they were not radically different from other European people in
their attitudes and their actions and their relationship with
South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal was not to Africa's best
interest.

^{They}
~~It~~ is my opinion in choosing such allies the Israelis
are making one of the greatest mistakes of their history.

Why?

I think they are turning away from a world that is being
 reborn to a world that is dying.

They are aligning themselves with the forces of white supremacy that is diametrically opposed to the interest of most of mankind. I think they have made a political mistake of diastrous proportions and I compare their present political position with period of Joseph and his brothers in Egypt and the period and time that followed the loss of the connections with the courts that Joseph made for them.

And, I wonder will their present position lead to another time when a king will arise figuratively speaking, who politically knew not Joseph.



At this point I would like to digress and look at some of the main currents in history after this period and how it affected African-Jewish relations.

1. The Africans and the Jews in the use of Christianity.
 - a. The reason for the rise of Christianity. The religion of the oppressed.
 - b. The Christian story is mainly an African story.
 - c. Africa once more became a haven for the Jews during this period.
2. The rise of Islam.
 - a. The African conquest of Spain and the second Jewish "Golden Age."
 - b. The protection that came to the Jews from the Africans and the Arabs.
 - c. Jews in Ancient Ghana, 300 A.D. to 770 A.D.
 - d. The Jewish gold dealers in the Western Sudan. The Antone Mele Jonta letter, 1447.
 - e. Jews in the Songhai Empire.

I have been alluding to the events in order to dispel the assumption that we have been enemies down through history.

We have not been such.

Present and conclusion.

- A. We are now meeting again at the crossroads of history, and this time we are not complimenting each other.
- B. We are discovering new power and potential within ourselves and we are angry with ourselves for not discovering it sooner.
- C. The potential of the African world if it comes together, then we may need only ourselves.
- D. Bringing Pan-Africanism to a world union of African people.

The politics of geography.

- E. Who will be our allies, and on what terms?
- F. The Third World? What whites if any?
- G. The Jews have their non-negotiable positions, so have we.

Our main objective is to claim all Africa for African people, including North Africa, and build a world union of African people. We will make allies out of any people who can live with this fact and accept our terms. We will never again enter into any alliances, solely, on someone else's terms.

Now where are both of us? The next alliance and the new age of man.

ROTBORG

SOMALIA CLIPPING

Obviously this att feed on the traditional Muslim distrust and reviling of Jews and of Israel. There is nothing unexpected here. ~~Represent~~

Nor should Jews or Israels or zionists becomemore than routinely alerted.

~~represent~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~same~~ ~~campaign~~, NO NEW ~~reference~~ ~~to~~ ~~the~~ ~~Prot~~ ~~&~~ ~~Sow~~

75m of ~~Afr~~ sub-Shara (black Africa's) total pop. of 300m is Muslim, altho estimates. Distribution

Africans are good Muslims, w deep historic roots.

Muslims in the tenth century

Begin + Continues

very few Jews

No mosques in early Timbuktu (in fact no Timbuktu) but Ibn Battuta travelling in the mid-14th c noted mosques and Muslims.

Almoravid 11th century revivalist movement certainly played a role in the northwest. Shah

Kano and Central Sudan 15th and 16h cs

East Africa, coin finds, Manda 9th c, Kilwa's florescences

2 1/2 lines

But big expansion in 19th with the forcible conversions of Usuman dan Fodio

Max In 1804 Usuman, a learned man of deep faith, tired of oppression and also saw his opportunity. He proclaimed a jihad: ~~xxxxx~~ "To make war upon the heathen King who does not say "There is no God but Allah" on account of the custom of his town...add who makes no profession of Islam, is obligatory by assent; and that to take the government from him is obligatory by assent....."

Great victories. Town after town fell. But this was only the beginning, for other revivalist movements Qaddirriya, Tijjaniya, Mahdi made ~~Afr~~ mid Africa extensively Muslim by the arrival of the white colonialists a little later.

Techniques

AI King Umar

PARTITION

RET Bank

But as good Muslims as Africans have been until recently, they have hardly been unmistakably pro Arab. They were Africans first, and despite the clefness of the OU, which from its founding linked North & South, and the dollars and guns of Algeria, there was always a level of distrust among the nationalist politicians for whites --- and the Arabs were seen as whites in aspiration and activity.

In East and Central Africa and the Sudan, and especially in the eastern Congo, now Zaire, Arabs were seen as the slave traders. This they certainly were up from 1750. Africans remembered the razzias, the caravans, the sales, the plantations off the E. African coast and in Arabia. Not for nothing do Africans recall the slave rebellions in Iraq in the 7th and 11th? centuries, and long history since. Men like Rahab, Tippu Tib, and Seyyid Said of Zanzibar still reviled. and pro Chinese, (The rebellion in Zanz in 1964 was anticolonial, but most of all it was anti Arab. Who has emerged from detention after ten years. None other than Sheikh Ali Muhsin, the Arab leader.)

Livingstone tales. Other explorers.. Hatred of Arabs in S. Sudan dates from that time

(Civil war outbreak)

Most of all, in my view, the Arabs in recent xxxxx decades were viewed as bourgeois, backward, nations of merchants.. It is always difficult to generalize upon perceptions, but as much respect as the black Africans had for Nasser's achievements, and perhaps for Egypt and Algeria (and the war against the French), they had deep ~~dislike~~ ^{distrust} of the Arabs in general, as they have always had for Asians. The xxx Arab appeared weak and the Asians squalid. The humiliation of the Arabs in 1948 and 1967 only reinforced such African feelings. They respected Israel as an underdog, as a technologically sophisticated state which had the supreme advantage of also being socialistic, and of

ROTBURG
3

I was in Central Africa during the 1967 war

proving that socialism good bring strength. They also respected Israel for existing after being set up in much agony. The older nationalists in the English speaking areas also remembered that when they were tilting against the British windmill, their brothers were Indians and Israelis fighting for similar freedom.

and this as much opportunist as anyone else.

The Israeli's built upon this heritage of anticolonialism and respect for power. The Israeli technical missions to Africa, and Israel's diplomacy in Africa was very successful. Their diplomats knew the right people and made the right connections. They also concentrated on projects which they could do well and situations which they could master effectively. / It was a cleverly conceived diplomatic offensive which the Africans for the most part welcomed. *(Close ties) mil support* (There has also been some effective Israeli technical assistance in the Caribbean, espec. Haiti. But that is a minor part of the story) Israel's esteem was enhanced by this offensive. (Cf Taiwan)

Yet no matter the propganda or the reality, Israel never managed to persuade ordinary Africans, or even the leaders, that Israel was a third-world world state, that it is Afro-Asian (the Yemeni and Maroccan diaspora were never ~~projected~~ effectively), and that it had a legitimacy greater than appearances. This was the achilles heel - inevitably - of the entire project.

In the 1960s Israel was doing very well vis a vis the perspective of Africans and Caribbeanists. *Some lip service* In the Caribbean little has changed. But in Africa, and we talk always of black Africa, there has been a cataclysmic change. Africans leaders no longer take paratroop training in Israel nor welcome Israel diplomats. Relations have been sundered and friendships destroyed.

What has changed?

Rot Bone

4

O:!

- 1 - The Arabs have become big-time
- 2 -- Arabs have been successful in their attacks on the West; they

~~forget to the way they have been successful~~
 have successfully bluffed the west, ~~xxxx~~ tweaked their noses etc. This has obviously contributed to their esteem. ~~xxx~~

3 Arabs have battled to a stalemate, reversing in African eyes the failures of the past. The balance of power has shifted.

4 Kissinger and the Us and the ARabs have successfully wooed each other.

- 5 African ties to the Eastern bloc have grown *more complicated*
- 6 *not see of Israel ties in S Africa etc*
- 7 6 Libyan ~~xxx~~ bribery. Where would Amin be without Qaddafi? *(earlier w Israel)*

67 - Not least - the demise of democracy in Africa and the rise of military dictatorships has brought unsophisticated leaders who have been easily moved by other loyalties and persuasions. In contrast, the early nationalists were men with broad horizons and sympathy. (Note that Kenyatta was slow to break off relations w Israel) The military leaders include great men like Gowon. But also Amin *(come)*

What of the present, and prospects for relations between blacks and Israel, and by extensions (should we extend, Africans don't) Africans and Jews?

Few ties with Israel, but some restoration. Africans incr. disillusioned with Arabs over oil and aid. *(collapse)* Renewed opportunities for Israel. Perhaps greater realism of accomplishments. (Not for a long time going to regain votes at UN, however) An old era has been concluded but even when Amin and others fade from the scene - as they will - there can be no turning back of the clock. Yet I see no reason to despair. Israel received a reasonable return on its investment of time and energy in Africa. The new relations will be less cosy but perhaps more enduring.

I do not think African atts to Jews, as distinct from Israel, have suffered at all by the recent alterations. Africans in my experience were *tal* religious tolerant. Their categories are different than our own, and anti

ROTBURG

rate of contact of
semitism
Ethiopia
Africa

in the Muslim countries and

semitism has never been a problem, except/very paradoxically in Ethiopia, where there are black ~~xxx~~ jews. in number. I dont think non-muslim Africans view jews in the same way that they have been viewed, as a very special category, in the west. I think that Africans will naturally gravitate toward power and advantage, and will therefore gravitate now to the oil nations without becoming pro Arab or anti-jew. This has certainly been the case in much of the black Caribbean, where old ties have hardly been ruptured, even if some lessons have been learned from Arab tactics over oil and their relevance for aluminum ~~other raw materials~~

To close, Israel probably has a somewhat smaller, if more important role to play in the future of Africa and the Caribbean. Jews have a role that ~~is~~ has been in no way diminished, and which - unless I am a polyanne, need not cause us undue concern. ~~What we should be concerned about as Americans however, is are some of the problems which are culturally, ethnically, and religiously unspecific, They are:~~ Erosion of liberal democratic institutions, rise of the military, lack of development, and the failure of leadership, especially in instances like the great famine, and the future of Southern Africa, which is at ~~xxxx~~ last coming to a potentially very favorable point of change.

Israel's role in Africa could grow if it played a part in the PONT decisions. Americans could infl. Alt3 here in signif ways if they encouraged growth in press reports in Africa. Amers now have little opp to learn abt Africa - hence the widespread prevalence of myths - in the press. ~~American~~ Africa want to be known only as they really are

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JEWISH RELATIONSHIP WITH THE EMERGING
NEGRO COMMUNITY IN THE NORTH

Nathan L. Edelstein, Chairman, Governing Council,
American Jewish Congress
presented to Plenary Session of the NCRAC
June 23, 1960

In any discussion of Negro-Jewish relationships we must take into account the fact that nine million Negroes, half the total number in the United States, now live outside the 11 states of the deep South. There are about 1,000,000 Negroes in New York City, more than in any other city in the country. There are more Negroes in Chicago than Atlanta, more in Detroit than Birmingham, more in Los Angeles than Richmond. The Negroes of Philadelphia constitute 25% of the city's population of two million.

Because Negroes are generally unable to secure homes in the Philadelphia suburbs, they comprise but 14% of the population of our metropolitan area. It is most significant that the entire white population growth occurs outside the city limits while 80% of the non-white population growth takes place inside our city. This spells residential restrictions and segregation. The Negroes don't like that, and thoughtful Jews don't either.

The growing urbanization of the Negro population has brought them into increasing contact with the urbanized Jewish population. Yet this contact and its results have been largely ignored and its implications are not too well understood. There has indeed been as suggested close collaboration for more than a decade between the leadership of the Negro and Jewish communities on the vital issue of civil rights. But little thought and attention have been given to the relationship between the Negro and Jewish rank and file of the Jewish and Negro communities. We now find ourselves compelled to turn our attention to the serious consequences that may flow from the contacts and the admittedly growing conflicts between these two groups.

We have begun to ask some disturbing questions. How much tension is there indeed between Negroes and Jews in the North? How widespread and how deep is anti-Semitism among Negroes? Is it increasing? What are its causes? What remedies must we pursue? What about anti-Negro prejudice among Jews? Does it differ from similar prejudice among white Christians in kind or degree?

Anti-Semitism Among Negroes

That there is anti-Semitism among Negroes no one would deny. To begin with, Jews are part of the white community. Hence, the Negroes' resentment against whites because of the injustices they have suffered for so long a time at the hands of the majority envelops Jews as well as Christians. At the same time, Negroes are Christians. Inevitably, they acquire some of the anti-Semitic attitudes and prejudices which do exist within the white Christian community.

How serious is the problem? Recent months have seen distressing indications of active anti-Semitism among Northern Negroes and seemingly deliberate efforts to fan its flames by some of its leaders. Stories and editorials in Negro newspapers have implied that Jews are hostile to Negro rights. The motives of Jewish labor leaders have been attacked. Some powerful figures, including Negro politicians, have attributed to Jews much of the existing discrimination against Negroes.

There has also been a striking growth, many of you know, in the Negro Moslem movement, which is a potent source of anti-Semitism. Estimates of the strength of this movement vary from 60,000 to 250,000. It is strong enough to have a well-developed staff and to attract leading politicians to its mass meetings. (Many observers suspect secret financing by Arab propaganda agencies is carried on.)

This movement is essentially a nationalist drive, emphasizing the African background of the Negro. Yet, the fact that the movement, by its nature, is pro-Arab tends to make it anti-Jewish, and some of its elements are outspokenly so. Nevertheless, we doubt whether the bulk of its followers are committed to anti-Semitism.

Despite these disturbing signs, there is no reason as yet to believe that anti-Semitism has affected more than a small part of the total Negro community. The outright hate groups have no significant influence, as far as we can see. Influential Negro leaders have publicly stressed the contribution of Jewish organizations to the fight for racial equality, though it must be emphasized, regretfully, that the mass of the Negro community is yet unaware of that contribution.

A deeper study of the Negro attitude towards Jews, though made a few years ago, presents encouraging evidence that Negroes regard the Jewish portion of the white community as more favorable to them than the non-Jews. In studies conducted by the Cornell Intergroup Relations Survey, direct questions about Jews as compared to other white persons gave results clearly favorable to Jews. Thus, in one city, when Negroes were asked, "Do you think Jewish people treat Negroes about the same, better, or worse than other white people do?" 38% of those who answered said "Better" and only 4% said "Worse," with 58% saying, "About the same." When asked, "Do you personally like Jewish people more, less, or about the same as non-Jewish white people?" 28% said they liked Jews "More," 5% said "Less" and 67% said "About the same."

Causes of Negro Anti-Semitism

What are some of the causes of anti-Semitism among Negroes? First, as suggested, Negroes acquire some of the traditional anti-Semitism of the Christian community. And they naturally resent the discrimination of the white population. The Jew falls into this category.

Second, there is the fact that contact between Negroes and Jews occurs most frequently along a front peculiarly productive of friction. The ordinary Negro knows the Jew as a landlord or rent collector, as an employer, or as a retail shopkeeper whose extension of credit often places the Negro in the status of debtor. In many neighborhoods now occupied by Negroes, home ownership is largely in the hands of Jews who formerly lived there. The Jew therefore is often the landlord, a figure of course historically regarded as one of the natural enemies of mankind. Inevitably, then, the Negro thinks of the Jew, often without any justification, as an exploiter. That is generally his image of the Jew, for he knows little, if anything, about the efforts of Jewish organizations such as yours to extend the range of human rights.

The present rise in the economic condition of the Negro may eventually lessen this particular source of friction. Yet, this very economic betterment produces a third factor which tends to promote anti-Semitism -- the clash between the new Negro member of the middle class and his Jewish competitors.

Today, Negro and Jewish doctors compete actively for positions in municipal hospitals. Negro lawyers seek the Negro clientele formerly represented in large degree by Jewish lawyers. At lower economic levels, Negroes are entering the needle trades and other industries, creating competition not only for jobs with the companies but also for salaried positions and offices in the unions.

At the same time, with one-half of the Negro population of America now living outside the South, mostly in crowded downtown ghettos, they have become a powerful, concentrated political force. Hence, Negro politicians compete with hold-over Jewish and other politicians in the new Negro areas. And the Negroes demand more and more representation by members of their race and they at the moment seemingly like the quota system.

A fourth factor contributing to Negro anti-Semitism is the practice of discrimination against Negroes by Jews. We need only remind ourselves that prominent Negroes have been excluded from predominantly Jewish clubs and that the best known builder of "whites only" suburban developments is William Levitt. Such practices are particularly exasperating to those Negroes who expect that Jews, victims themselves, will refrain from discriminatory practices against other minorities.

Particularly intense friction is generated in neighborhoods changing from Jewish to Negro occupancy. The sequence of migrations of minority groups in Northern cities often places Negroes immediately behind Jews in home buying progress. When Negroes start to move into predominantly Jewish areas, they often encounter resentment and resistance. Genuine social acceptance by Jews is at a minimum and, as a rule, we find the usual fear, panic and flight to the suburbs. In such situations Jews act, in the main, like other whites. Despite the deep commitment of Jewish community relations agencies and their genuine efforts to preach and teach equality, there is a wide and alarming gap between the leadership and the rank and file in the Jewish community; and I should add in the Negro community, too.

All these factors have been at work for a long time. If as indicated, Negro anti-Semitism has taken a different form in the last few years, the change is probably a reflection of a far more fundamental development - the profound readjustment now taking place in the Negro community itself in the civil rights field.

The Negro community is completely dissatisfied with the present rate of progress toward equality. Too many obstacles to full citizenship stand untouched.

Negroes are reexamining their leadership, their organization and their methods. They are also re-evaluating their alliances. The long-standing distrust of white people, born of oppression, is manifesting itself in a growing spirit of "go-it-alone." They know their strength and have begun to throw their political and economic weight around.

In the South, of course, this development has come into the open with the lunch counter demonstrations. Nothing so dramatic has occurred in the North but the spirit is nonetheless the same. One of its results has been a mistrust of "liberals" in the struggle for civil rights. And we must recognize, for good or ill, that the Jews, more than any other group, are generally so identified.

The Negro's impatience with the lack of progress has resulted in one form of tension within the civil rights family that is a special problem in the North. We know that there is widespread support all over the North and West for broad anti-discrimination legislation, including housing, yet the willingness of Jewish and other groups to accept, on occasion, for perhaps strategic reasons, a partial victory because of the danger of demanding too much and getting nothing, has caused resentment in Negro ranks. They feel this compromises their position and demonstrates lack of understanding on our part. At such moments the maturing, impatient Negro community overlooks a long record of loyal support.

The new militant Negro demands his rights; he will not accept patronizing assurance of future action. He may accept cooperation but insists on being in the forefront of the struggle.

Inevitably then, we are in for a period of mutual irritation and misunderstanding. We may expect anti-Semitism in the Negro community to take new and more active forms. Yet, at least one observer, Dr. Kenneth B. Clark of City College, is confident that these stresses will not result in prolonged or critical Negro-Jewish tensions. Pointing to the fact that the present morale of the Negro is high because he knows that his cause is just, Dr. Clark concludes, "High group morale does not seem consistent with pervasive antagonism toward other groups."

Anti-Negro Prejudice Among Jews

What is the converse of the picture -- the attitude of Jews towards the Negroes? Because this is a Jewish audience, less space need be given to this question.

It is clear that Jews share much of the anti-Negro prejudice of the rest of the white community. The Negroes are right about this. Some observers suggest a recent rise in this prejudice, but there is no reliable evidence one way or the other. The rise, if it exists, is due in part to the increasing movement of Negroes into formerly Jewish neighborhoods.

Nevertheless, it is clear that anti-Negro prejudice is less among Jews than among the rest of the white community. Repeated studies uniformly show that Jews have a lower degree of prejudice than either Protestants or Catholics.

Evidence of this may be found when Negroes buy homes in all-white areas. Such move-ins have been the most potent source, at least outside the South, of race riots and other violence. Yet none of the incidents of violence have occurred in Jewish neighborhoods. To be sure, Jews have often shown the typical pattern of rejection and flight. But the absence of violence is a striking indication of a lower level of prejudice.

To the extent that anti-Negro prejudice exists in the Jewish community, it does not appear to have special characteristics peculiar to Jews. Its causes and effects are the same as for other whites. Hence, it calls for no special remedies; reduction of Jewish anti-Negro prejudice is part of the broader task of reducing prejudice in the white community as a whole.

Because of our history as victims of discrimination, we have a special sensitivity and obligation to undertake that task vigorously. Negroes and Jews do recognize a sort of kinship or practical affinity because they have both been the target of oppression. We can also recognize that, while we have no special responsibility for anti-Negro prejudice and discrimination within the Jewish community, we do have more opportunity than other groups to communicate with our fellow Jews. It should be part of the program of the organized Jewish community to exploit that opportunity - to educate and to interpret.

The Program of the Jewish Community

Regardless of the existence of prejudice against Negroes in the Jewish community, our organizational structure is completely committed to the elimination of all forms of prejudice. We operate on the assumption that the problem of bigotry and inequality is indivisible.

It must be recognized, however, that corresponding Negro support of Jewish objectives that do not directly affect the Negro community has not been extensive. Faced with problems far more severe than those of the Jewish community, the Negro defense activities have been shaped far more by their own immediate and pressing problems than by general principles. However, a few assists may be mentioned. Negroes have joined in fostering legislation aimed at discrimination by colleges and universities, a problem of greater importance to Jews than to Negroes. Influential Negro spokesmen played a part in swinging a few key votes in the United Nations during the historic ballot on Palestine's partition. More recently, the NAACP was among those that publicly condemned Nasser's discrimination against Jews in Egypt. Yet it is clear enough that, if one views the situation in terms of striking a balance, there is indeed a large Negro deficit.

This audience, of course, is fully aware of the reasons for that deficit. However, to a large part of the Jewish community, these reasons are not so obvious. Hence, some opposition is sometimes expressed by uninformed Jews to continued Jewish participation and expenditures of funds in the struggle for enlarged "Negro" rights. The answer has been and must be that Jews are dedicated to the cause of justice and equality because it is best for all Americans. Jews as well as Negroes and other groups, are the beneficiaries of a society that assures full equality for all.

Meanwhile, what can be done about the problem of Negro anti-Semitism? If we recognize that this particular form of bigotry is a product of the racism that afflicts both Negroes and Jews, we will understand that it cannot be dealt with directly by simple panaceas. In the long run, only the elimination of discrimination will destroy the well springs of its accompanying evils. Hence, our major efforts must continue to be directed toward obtaining equal rights for all Americans - in practice, as well as in theory - to the demolition of the barriers erected by bigotry and discrimination.

At the same time, however, we must not ignore the problem of Negro-Jewish tensions. Indeed, those tensions could, and to some extent have, hampered the work for the ultimate goal of equality. Hence it is necessary both to pursue the long-range objectives and, simultaneously, to attempt to meet the immediate difficulties.

Our program should therefore include the following elements:

First, we should use the dialogue technique between the Negro and Jewish communities to develop free and candid discussions to create better understanding. The officers of the American Jewish Congress on a few recent occasions met with a number of leaders of the Negro community. We found that they are well aware of the problem discussed here and are deeply concerned about them. They know, as do we, that conflict between Negroes and Jews serves only the cause of the segregationists. They have undertaken to speak out against anti-Semitism among Negroes with all the influence at their command. We must make Negro leaders everywhere recognize that this is one of their important responsibilities.

But talks among national leaders are not enough. Similar exchanges of views are needed at local levels, where grievances can be ventilated and ameliorative measures developed. We need to establish more and larger pipelines of communication with local Negro leadership. We must be alert to create contacts with the new leadership that is developing. Together with the Negro leadership we must make every effort to correct misconceptions that exist in both communities.

Second, we must find better ways to overcome the Negro community's present unawareness of Jewish contributions in the civil rights struggle. We must make clear to Negro leaders and editors that they must carry this story and its meaning to the people. They must use their access to the Negro rank and file to build better intergroup understanding.

Third, we must use our position in the Jewish community to increase and intensify efforts to build understanding of the indivisible nature of the civil rights struggle. This educational effort is still far short of its goal. We must reach the Jewish masses and emphasize that Jewish security requires a healthy, democratic climate where everyone enjoys full security.

Fourth, we must continue our support of the civil rights struggle, because that support is dictated by the doctrines of our faith and because success in this battle is essential to the well-being of our nation and all its people.

Fifth, insofar as oppressive landlords, storekeepers and employers are concerned, it is clear that the Jewish community has no way of thrusting reform on its moral delinquents. Yet we can relieve the effects of their practices by striving for better enforcement of housing laws, for a greater supply of housing, for meaningful minimum wage laws, for improvements in our public schools, for prevention of deceptive trade practices and for such other improvements as will make for a general elevation of community standards.

Sixth, in our activities and in the solution of common problems, we must strive for equal status in relationships between the Negro and Jewish communities. In political, economic and social undertakings, in youth programs, in interreligious dialogues, special efforts should be made to increase participation by Negroes as an integral and equal part of the entire community.

In conclusion, may I say the Negro of today is through with his former inferior status and will no longer allow others to speak for or lead him. With full recognition of his new and proper status, Jews and Negroes can and must forge a partnership of equals in the effort to achieve our common goal; full equality in a free society.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 21, 1974
to Harry Fleischman
from Samuel Rabinove
subject Possible "tipping" point for black colleges

You asked me what our reaction should be to an article in the Baltimore Afro-American which quoted Dr. Wendell Russell, president of Virginia State College, to the effect that a one-third white enrollment goal would eventually "tip" a black college toward a white majority, causing it to "lose its historic role in the black community".

Whether or not Dr. Russell's prognosis is accurate, anyone's reaction to this matter ultimately must be rooted in how one sees black colleges. In my own experience, when I was with Allstate, for a time I gave a course in insurance law for new professional employees. By far the poorest prepared person in any of my courses was a man who had graduated from a black college, as well as from a black law school, in North Carolina. He functioned barely at the high school graduate level. I recall also how in Ralph Ellison's masterpiece, "The Invisible Man", he painted a devastating picture of a black college.

In a recently published book, "Private Black Colleges at the Crossroads" by Daniel C. Thompson, the author describes black colleges as having "generally weak faculties, far below average student bodies, and inadequate, often sterile academic programs". In Thomas Sowell's book "Black Education-Myths and Tragedies", he writes:

".....there is not one black college in which the students' College Board scores average within 100 points of the average at Lehigh, Harpur, Hobart, Manhattanville, or Drew- deliberately picking schools that are not in the Harvard-Yale-MIT category, where scores would average at least 200 points above those at any black college;

June 21, 1974

there is not a black college or university in the country whose library contains one-third as many volumes as the library at Wisconsin, Virginia, NYU, or Texas, or one-tenth as many as at Harvard; there is not a black economics department whose entire staff publishes as many scholarly articles in a year as outstanding individuals publish each year in a number of good departments; there is not one black department anywhere in the country which is ranked among the top twenty in anthropology, biology, chemistry, economics, engineering, English, history, mathematics, physics, political science, psychology, sociology, or zoology. The two black medical schools (Meharry and Howard) have been found to be "among the worst in the nation" and most of the black law schools "only one jump ahead of the accrediting agencies," while the graduate programs in the arts and sciences at the Negro universities are not even "adequate" by national standards."

Quite apart from the grave problem of educational quality, the underlying questions of whether it is either legally permissible or socially desirable to maintain publicly funded predominantly black educational institutions are extremely ticklish ones. Certainly the major thrust of government policy (as well as of AJC policy) has been toward the fullest possible integration of schools and colleges. In any event, considering the depth and scope of the educational problems currently faced by black colleges, it would seem that the question of whether some might "tip" over into a white majority student body is almost an irrelevancy.

cc: Bertram H. Gold
Seymour Samet
Marc Tanenbaum /
Hyman Bookbinder
Ann G. Wolfe
Marilyn Braveman



Sociological Quarterly

September 3, 1974

Editor
SOCIOLOGICAL QUARTERLY
University of Missouri
Department of Sociology
1204 Elm
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Sir:

I can only use the word flabbergasted to describe my reaction to Oliver Cox's article in your spring issue. Such a piece might have been acceptable in Nazi Germany in the middle 1930s, but it surely is not acceptable in a responsible social science publication in the middle 1970s. It is a tendentious, wandering, vicious diatribe and you should be ashamed of yourself for publishing it.

I also bitterly resent the slur that Cox aims in my direction in his footnote on page 192 in which he says I am "a converted Irish ethnic contributing directly to the publications of the American Jewish Committee." What the hell does he mean by converted? Converted to Catholicism? Converted from Catholicism? Converted to Irish ethnicity? Converted away from Irish ethnicity? Converted to Judaism? Converted to the American Jewish Committee? Converted to the Jewish conspiracy to use pluralism to promote its own self-interest?

Why doesn't Cox suggest that I'm also one of the authors of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion?

For the record, I'm not a convert to anything. I was born an Irish Catholic Democrat. I have lived that way, and I propose to go on living that way as long as I have life. Apparently, in Cox's demented world view (of which you must approve; otherwise you would not have published the article or the slurring footnote), anyone who writes anything that appears in a Jewish publication has become part of a monstrous Jewish conspiracy.

Editor
SOCIOLOGICAL QUARTERLY

September 3, 1974

Maybe Professor Cox will want to gather all such books together
and burn them.

Sincerely yours,

AMG.vr

Andrew M. Greeley
Director, Center for the
Study of American Pluralism

bcc: Professor Rose Helper
Mr. Bert Gold
Dr. Mark Tannenbaum
Mr. Irving Levine
Mr. Milton Himmelfarb
Professor Seymour Martin Lipset



Jewish* Self-interest in "Black Pluralism"

OLIVER C. COX

From time immemorial Jewish tribal exclusiveness among dominant societal groups has resulted in various forms of conflict determined by the social situation. The critical force involved has been the group's peculiar resistance to social assimilation. Different social systems react differently to the persistence of this trait. The caste system of India, for example, would hardly notice it. But capitalist culture, which originated in the European medieval city, has constantly resisted it; that culture is basically assimilationist. American Negroes, in their opposition to racism, have relied mainly on the ideology of assimilation. These two divergent tendencies have come into collision recently.

IN AN earlier paper I attempted to show that the term "pluralism" has become apparently a new mystical concept in sociology—especially in the field of ethnic and race relations in the United States. It lacks consistent definition. It has been relied upon, however, even by theoretical sociologists, to answer major questions in the field. One writer, for example, divides sociologists into "assimilationists" and "pluralists" and concludes that the reason for the recent "void" in significant race relations research is the widespread reliance among sociologists on a "Melting Pot" view of American society. He advocates, therefore, "a new perspective," which will involve "a more balanced view of 'black pluralism'" (Metzger, 1971). The argument goes beyond theory and is manifestly of considerable general importance.

Anti-Semitism vs. Racism

It has been recognized that anti-Semitism is an ancient social attitude probably coeval with the rise of Jewish tribalism.¹ It is thus an immemorial trait identified with Jewish culture. Its positive basis, in other words, tends to inhere in the very tribal organization of the group (Hertzler, 1942:62; Berry, 1958:200). Anti-Semitism can thus have no repressive effects in communities where Jewish power is ascendant. Indeed, outsiders in organized Jewish communities, historical or current, must expect to incur such responses as ethnocentrism, nationalism, and group discrimination. Anti-Semitism has been identified with Jewish behavior in the sense that it is a reaction of other groups to the Jews' determination to assert and perpetuate their identity.

"One definition of a Jew," says Rabbi Alan W. Miller, "might be someone who has to endure anti-Semitism" (Miller, 1969:81). In fact, a peculiar cultural

Reprints of this article may be obtained by writing Oliver C. Cox, 5410 Cass Avenue, Detroit, Michigan 48202.

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*We use the term Jewish here advisedly since we do not intend to say "the interest of Jews."

¹I refer here loosely to the tribalism of Judah as suggested in the Old Testament, first Book of Kings, 11-12. It is, of course, essentially this trait which confronted directly the ecumenism of Jesus and St. Paul.

²For a discussion of the Jews as a race see Coon, 1942:20ff.

trait of this branch of Semites virtually assures that it will be defined as Jews in this sense in probably every dominant culture. Unlike race prejudice, therefore, anti-Semitism or intolerance is essentially an inherent societal response—a retaliation resulting from a normal Jewish determination to resist merger of their civilization with that of host peoples.³ Among the earliest records of this type of conflict, Miller (1969:80) observes:

The pharaoh at the time of the Exodus from Egypt in the thirteenth pre-Christian century . . . was unimpressed by the "Jewish" contribution to Egyptian civilization in general . . . He is described in the Bible as complaining that "they are too many and too mighty for us. We must handle them carefully, lest they multiply and then, if we happen to be at war, join our enemies and fight against us . . ." This is the first accusation against the "Jews" on record for their generic civic disloyalty . . . The first Pogrom against Jews for this and for other classical "anti-Semitic" reasons took place in Alexandria under Caligula [Roman emperor 37-41 A.D.] in the year 38.⁴

As a type of conflict, then, we have termed opposition between religious groups—Hindu vs. Muslim, Catholic vs. Protestant, Jew vs. Christian and so on—*social intolerance*. Anti-Semitism, as just indicated, tends to be triggered by a dominant society's recognition of Jewish participation in cultural advantages of the community, to an enviable degree, but still remaining alienated from the parent group. Jews, in other words, tend to identify with the host people according to their own advantage. As Max Weber (1952:417) puts it: "what is not to be underrated, this ['misanthropy' of the Jews] went together with the opportunity . . . for every Pharaesical Jew to fall back on the strong support of the brotherhood. The economic effect of this factor could not escape the attention of pagan competitors." Gory crusades, for example, have been fought against Near-Eastern Muslims; and yet, anti-Islamism has not become traditionalized in the West in the sense that anti-Semitism has.⁵

³ As J. O. Hertzler puts it: "Three centuries before the Christian era the Hellenistic peoples of Seleucid Syria and Ptolemaic Egypt could not forgive the Jew for refusing to lose himself in Asiatic Hellenism. His refusal to intermarry or to assimilate religiously or otherwise, earned him the hatred of many in the Graeco-Roman world also. The Christians took over this hatred and it has persisted ever since" (1942:71).

⁴ We are not particularly concerned here with the larger question of Hebraic origins and culture, but merely with identifying the issue in current conflict. See, for an introduction to origins, Talcott Parsons 1966:96-102.

⁵ "The non-Jew," according to Professor Hertzler (1942:86), "feels that the Jew, despite his protestations to the contrary, is still a 'foreigner' at heart: still divided in his loyalty and sympathy; still not a complete national, not quite one with him; still living 'off' him but not 'with' him. Many of the Jews, he feels are still a people more interested in their own nation and their own people than in their allegiance to the countries with which they have thrown their lot."

We tentatively may illustrate the point made here by such current data as the following. On June 25, 1972, two column-long articles in the *New York Times* stressed Jewish concern with ethnic perpetuation and disclosed the particularly favorable economic and educational position of the group. The first article, "Rabbis Are Upset by Assimilation," said in part: "The Rabbinical Council of America, the largest of the country's Orthodox rabbinic groups, voted yesterday [June 21] to establish a National Commission on Jewish Survival to resist what its president [Rabbi Louis Bernstein] termed 'the frightening increase in inter-marriage and missionary activity among Jews . . .' In urging the establishment of a survival commission, Rabbi Bernstein said that the threat of intermarriage was being underestimated by some Jewish

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Some students have emphasized teachings of the New Testament as the critical source of anti-Semitism. It is ordinarily suggested as some variation of the following:

"Anti-Semitism is a Christian phenomenon. Jew hatred preceded Christianity. But it is Christianity which has effectively cast the Jew in the role of deicide from which, in Western Society, there seems to be no escape. Even in a so-called secular society such as our own . . . the hidden assumptions of the majority are Christian . . . Any culture which teaches the unabridged New Testament to children . . . is going to have anti-Semitism" (Miller, 1969:85).⁶

In this statement Rabbi Miller seems not to have anticipated anti-Semitism in "so-called secular society." It appears to be in this very situation of urban secularization, however, that anti-Semitism germinates and spreads. To put excessive emphasis upon the anti-Judaic strictures of Christianity is to obscure the critical tribal force and meaning of Judaism. As Hertzler (1942:67) observes: ". . . Judaism has remained essentially a tribal religion." The positive behavior of Jews tends thus to excite retaliation, i.e., cultural rejection. In a chapter on "Judaism and Early Christianity" Max Weber (1952:424) concludes: "there are the promises of the prophets, the horror and disdain for Christian polytheism, above all, however, the exceedingly stable tradition created by an incomparably intensive education of youth for a ritualistically quite firmly structured way of life."

It was, moreover, the social organization particularly of medieval cities⁷—not that of the feudal manor nor the Hindu caste village—which provided the peculiar freedom for Jewish cultural specialization in business and in education without the responsibilities of total cultural identification. Jews thrived in such

leaders . . . He declared . . . 'our first priority is to insure the stability and survival of our people.'

The second article, "Job Shift Urged on Young Jews," was mainly a report to the same Fallsburg, New York Convention of the Rabbinical Council of America on educational and employment status of Jews by Herbert Bienstock, regional director of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics. The Bienstock study showed that some 80 percent of Jewish youth go to college and specialize mostly in white-collar occupations. A 1957 unpublished census revealed that Jews had a "median of 12.3 years of schooling compared to the overall population's 10.6 years." This census also indicated "Jewish incomes well above those for the population at large . . . Jewish males 14 years old and over had median incomes of \$4,900, compared to the national \$3,608; Jewish females \$1,663, compared to \$1,146."

⁶ To the same effect Rabbi Jay Kaufman (1969) asserts: "[Anti-Semitism] has a reservoir of centuries old stereotypes . . . to which the Christian world traditionally reacts. It is difficult for any Christian to outgrow the theological anti-Semitism of his early religious training. It is a ready instrument for malevolence . . ." "Thou Shalt Surely Rebuke Thy Neighbor," in Nat Hentoff, (1969:60).

For a general discussion of "the Jew as a scapegoat" see J. O. Hertzler, (1942:94ff); and Talcott Parsons, "The Sociology of Modern Anti-Semitism" (1942:115).

⁷ Simpson and Yinger (1958:207, 213-214) seem to appreciate this fact. In the customary analysis of the subject, however, its significance becomes lost. Consider, for instance, the following: "In the last analysis it was not the peasantry or the landed aristocracy but the *urban lower middle class* who formed the core of the anti-Semitic movement. Not clerical power but deep-seated, anti-religious sentiments furnished much of the motive force . . . Despite the defeat of Nazism . . . and revulsion against its ideology and policies, we may not have seen the end of anti-Semitism . . . in Europe and the Soviet Union. Individual frustration focused by a

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famous cities as Venice, Genoa, and Florence. They ordinarily behaved as aliens, however, and were regarded thus.⁸ Again, as Hertzler (1942:74) points out: "The Jewish culture is always a foreign culture—an undigested element—within the larger areal culture." The critical milieu of anti-Semitism has not been, therefore, so much Christianity as capitalist urbanism. The following is an attempt by Rabbi Miller (1969:109) to explain this peculiar cultural dualism as it engenders anti-Semitism:

The American Jew lives . . . in two civilizations, the American and the Jewish. He has two religions, the American and the Jewish. God functions for him on two levels. On the American level . . . God is experienced as Power . . . making for American fulfillment . . . On the Jewish level he experiences God as the Power making for salvation in Jewish life the world over . . . Jewish experience over the ages is thus transmitted through the people by the family, which in turn affords tribal identity to the individual Jew.

It is, accordingly, not merely adherence to Christianity—perhaps not even mainly such adherence—which produces anti-Semitism. To the Christian God, the Jew opposes his own God and his ethnicity. This process tends inevitably to yield invidious cultural consequences. To quote Rabbi Miller (1969:87) further: "The very intensity of the pressures incites the Jew to excel. This in turn elicits further resentment and jealousy. He is hated if he refuses to assimilate. He is hated even more when he tries hard to assimilate." To excel in the culture, however, is basically to enhance Jewish competitive power and not automatically dissipate Jewishness through assimilation. Indeed, this very inconsistency seems to have constituted the pith of intergroup frustration and antagonism in European medieval cities.

Albert Vorspan (1969:213-215) is probably somewhat censorious in his depiction of Jewish attitudes toward the current racial crisis in the United States. As he puts it, however, the characteristic Jewish alienation observed by its immemorial critics seems to emerge:

The American Jewish community is silent on the paramount moral choices facing the nation . . . As the inner city has become the new racial frontier in American life, Jewish groups increasingly lag behind Christian involvement in the urban setting. Christian leaders talk about the urban crisis the way Jews talk about the Israeli crisis—as a matter of sheer survival . . . Most synagogues stand in suspended isolation from the central problems of the community.⁹

traditional prejudice and presumed usefulness of a scapegoat in internal and international affairs keep it alive" (italics added).

It is conceivable that the Jews as a tribe or nation of peoples would be more intolerant than Christians. The need for group solidarity and the ethnocentric idea of a "chosen people" tend to persist. It was the ecumenism of Christianity which produced its final break with Judaism. It seems inconceivable, furthermore, that anti-Semitism, in its most frightful form, has not been particularly an expression of the "lower middle class" but of the ruling class. It was medieval city councils that made decisions to humiliate or expel Jews. Preoccupation with incidents of anti-Semitic brutality tends to be a diversion.

⁸ Cf. Oliver C. Cox, (1959:97-98, 180-181).

⁹ "Albert Vorspan is Director of the Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Central Conference of American Rabbis." See Nat Hentoff (1969:190).

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"Pluralism" as a Program of Jews for White Americans

Recently, Jews have been campaigning intensively against the tradition of cultural assimilation in the United States. Assimilation has been disparaged and referred to in pejorative terms. As William S. Bernard (1927:7) observes typically:

It is evident today that the host society is gradually altering its views, both theoretically and practically. The old concept of the "melting pot," which mysteriously transmuted alien dross into native American gold, has been abandoned, as has the glib idea of pure assimilation, which divested ethnic [groups] of their past cultural identity and re clothed them in the shining garb of "150% Americans." Instead, the various meanings of cultural pluralism are being explored.

If, then, Americans could conceive of their ideal society as a stable network of national cultural "ethnics," they could reverse their traditional tendency toward cultural assimilation and establish a new kind of society hospitable to the peculiar Jewish isolationism. The desideratum comes in many guises. In one expression of it, Rabbi Jay Kaufman (1969:72) explains:

Jews work with people of all races, religions, and national origins during the day but return to largely segregated social lives at night and on weekends. This is true of most groups in the United States harboring a keenly-felt sense of group identity.

To the same effect Albert Vorspan (1969:210) admonishes: "It is in the deepest self-interest for us as Jews and for the American people to create a society which cherished diversity. That is what pluralism is all about."¹⁰ That, indeed, is the very opposite of Israel Zangwill's hope: an American cultural union vis-a-vis the limitations of abiding social conflict characteristic of minorities in many European nations.

That the American Jewish way of life would be most satisfactorily accommodated to a peculiar "pluralistic" type of society is hardly doubtful.¹¹ As we

¹⁰ In a recent article, Harold J. Abramson (1971:18, 28) explains: "What ties the past to the present . . . is pluralism—the diversity of different ethnic groups co-existing in some degree of accommodation under the roof of the same society." And he says, in conclusion to this study of ethnic groups in Connecticut: "Some trends of the present may de-emphasize ethnic diversity, but the reality of the American past . . . suggests that ethnic pluralism is not just romanticism but a force in American society . . . which we may be just beginning to understand."

It should be noted, however, that, for modern Israel, Jews seem to consider the *melting pot* as a model. For example, after a discussion of forces exerted upon immigrants from various countries into Israel, J. Isaac (1956:234-266) in his article, "Israel—A New Melting Pot?," cites approvingly Ben Gurion's prediction which says in part: "Within the State the differences between various kinds of Jews will be obliterated in the course of time, the communities and tribes will sooner or later fuse into one national and cultural unity. Common education, the Hebrew language, universal service in the Israel Defense Forces . . . mixed marriages between the various tribes, common political action in noncommunal parties, and so on, will produce a new type of Jew with the favorable qualities and characteristics of all the tribes of Israel." In W. D. Borrie, ed., (1959:266).

¹¹ On this point of Jewish pluralism, G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger (1975:232ff) observe: ". . . in the United States today the forces of assimilation seem to be weaker among Jews than the forces of pluralism . . . Most Jews continue to think of themselves and to be thought of as a distinctive ethnic community." The authors list apparent reasons for this. For further descriptions of the pluralistic point of view see Brewton Berry (1958:16-17, Ch. 12).

have seen, this social trait is an ancient characteristic of the group. The question arises, however, whether such a social pattern would be best also for the American nation and for Negroes in particular.¹² Some Jewish leaders insist that it would, and that Negroes should strive directly to attain it. The argument, as we have already suggested, is a subtle one. It identifies the interests of American Negroes with the objectives of black nationalists. In so doing, however, the essential purpose of relevant Jewish self-interest seems to be revealed. Accordingly, Rabbi Miller (1969:111) asserts:

"... black and Jew . . . share a basically common agenda. The right of both to live authentically two civilizations is at stake. As Professor Leonard Fein shrewdly observed: "[If black militance succeeds in the United States] we (Jews) will be among its unintended beneficiaries . . . One must separate out the ideological implications of the new Negro cohesiveness from its occasional anti-Semitic manifestations . . ." The ethnic and tribal sense of self-value which preserved the Jew from inner deterioration in the ghetto is being created by the black man to save his own sense of self-value . . . Black and Jew share a common American purpose.¹³

Manifestly, then, if black nationalism succeeds, Jewish interest in American "pluralism" would be enhanced. Jewish self-concern frequently tends to be so overriding that, in serving it, the valid Negroes' cause and even the nation's welfare may be overlooked.¹⁴ Observe still further, for example, how another Jewish leader extracts value—realizable value—from possibilities of the Negroes' gamble with black power. Thus Vorspan (1969:220) explains:

The drive for Black Power is, ideally, opening America to a new and true pluralism in which Jews will be one of the important beneficiary groups. This new pluralism will require a positive expression of Jewish values and ideals . . . At Cornell University, one-thousand Jewish students petitioned for special Jewish studies. At Barnard, Jewish students have demanded similar programs. On hundreds of college campuses—and increasingly at the high-school level as well—Jews are learning from blacks to confront the roots of their own institutions and to probe their own heritage.¹⁵

¹² In his review of *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* by M. Novak and *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* by A. Greeley, Peter I. Rose observes: "Both Greeley and Novak seem to think that the new tribalism is good for ethnics and for the country. But neither comes close to proving it." See *Contemporary Sociology*, January 1973, p. 17.

¹³ In their discussion of abolitionism, R. G. Weisbord and A. Stein (1970:26, 212) refer to this trait of Jewish self-interestedness. As they put it: "This fact has not gone unnoticed. In its thirteenth annual report presented in New York in 1853 the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society stated: 'The Jews of the United States have never taken any steps whatever regard to the slavery question. As citizens they deem it their policy to have every one choose which ever side he may deem best to promote his own interests and the welfare of his country . . .'"

¹⁴ For a cogent discussion of the development of American Jewish solidarity with the rising state of Israel and the current problem of "dual loyalty" among Jews, see Norman Podhoretz, "Now, Instant Zionism," *New York Times Magazine*, February 3, 1974, pp. 111f.

¹⁵ Negroes should probably be cautious about identifying themselves with this "new and true pluralism." Decades ago Professor Hertzler (1942:77) said: ". . . in maintaining a dualistic [pluralistic] relationship [Jews] run counter to all the principles of acceptance and assimilation . . . To become one with a people . . . you have to cease being, and wanting to be, something else at the same time. Other nationality groups in large part give up their old national loyalties when they become members of another nation . . . Thus the great bulk of Americans are part of a new whole with its unique and characteristic values and objectives, and they desire no others . . . A large number of Jews want all the privileges of being an

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It seems appropriate to repeat, however, that the Negroes do not have a culture in the sense that Jews have one. Jews could consider themselves descendants of an ancient Hebrew people, the chosen tribes of Judah, a book-devoted people moving in and out of great ancient civilizations, and surviving culturally into our own times.¹⁶ Negroes, to the contrary, descend from a multiplicity of unassimilated West African tribes—most of them preliterate, some of them culturally antagonistic, and thus with hardly any direct cultural continuity and compatibility—into the United States. Again Weber (1952:336 and 417) seems to emphasize the fact in saying:

Prophecy together with traditional ritualism of Israel, brought forth the elements that gave to Jewry its pariah place in the world . . . The ancient aversion to Jews was far from constituting a "racial" antipathy. The tremendous scope of proselytism . . . is sufficient evidence against this. It was, rather, the negative attitude of the Jews themselves which was devisive for the mutual relation.¹⁷

As Rabbi Miller sees it, however, this difference need not be an insuperable roadblock. Negroes may produce a comparable "civilization" by imitating Jews. Jewish civilization is, of course, "a religious civilization *par excellence*." The envisioned Negro will, therefore, embody "a naturalistic and humanistic religion." Accordingly, Miller (1969:9-11, 113) continues:

Crispus Attucks, Phyllis Whatley, Paul Lawrence Dunbar . . . will function in Afro-American religion the way Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, . . . function in Jewish religion . . . (Swahili would be the Negroes' linguistic *sanctum*) . . . In view of the fact that the principle of separation of church and state frowned on religion as such being taught in public schools, perhaps the pattern for black cultural centers could be the Jewish Yeshivah, Jewish day schools . . . which supplement regular school . . . Within the public school system Afro-American civilization should receive the same respect accorded Jewish and Christian civilization.

In the view of this enlightened Jewish thinker, these three civilizations—Afro-American, Jewish, and "Christian"—would properly form the basis of *American pluralism*. Negroes, furthermore, should observe and follow the Jewish emphasis on education and economic achievement. Rabbi Kaufman (1969:68-69) says:

I believe, though the differences are enormous, the direction must be identical . . . What is significant and makes a difference is that the Jews who . . . arrived in the United States had a great advantage over the Negro of a strong family unit, male literacy, devotion to education and a white skin . . . But even these would have been offset if the Jews had adopted self-ghettoization and moved toward social and economic apartheid.

There is, manifestly, inconsistency in the latter suggestion; but we have followed the reasoning at some length because of its seminal importance to the

American . . . and, at the same time, look upon themselves as eternal members of the world Jewish community."

¹⁶ Cf. for an erudite account: Theophile J. Meck, *Hebrew Origins*, New York, 1950, pp. 30 passim; and for a brief discussion: Herbert Krosney, "Israel at Twenty-Five," *The Nation*, April 30, 1973, pp. 550-553.

¹⁷ The author uses the term "pariah" to mean a relatively low status group, unassimilable but not part of the Hindu caste structure. See Weber (1952:3-5).

subject and the need to indicate the fictitious supports employed by both Negro nationalists and sympathetic Jewish pluralists.¹⁸ Perhaps it should be obvious that American Negroes cannot create for themselves a culture with the peculiar difference and viability as that of Jews. Cultures are spontaneous social phenomena—traditional structures—not such artificialities.

The main point here is the argument that the Negro should do everything possible to integrate himself in the educational and economic life of the nation: "Just as the Jews did . . . he is going to gain the skills and degrees that permit him to work in the big American corporations, break into the lily-white labor unions and thereby gain his livelihood . . ." (Kaufman, 1969:70). He should, nevertheless, value "social segregation." As Rabbi Kaufman (1969:72-73) puts it typically: "Negroes should be cautioned against confusing social segregation, which is natural and sometimes desirable, with economic segregation."¹⁹ Although the motives of Kaufman and Booker T. Washington are obviously divergent—for Washington the social will come later—the latter, in like manner, cautioned Negroes.

As we have seen, Jewish "social segregation" is a positive dimension of Jewish culture. Social segregation, in other words, is an inherent element of the structure of that culture. Among its in-group uses, segregation conserves Jewish social solidarity and facilitates endogamy. It is particularly this characteristic of "social segregation" which Jews seek to protect in their current drive toward reconstruction of American society on a pluralistic basis.

Negroes cannot adopt such a pluralistic society at will, however, any more than they can devise a typically Jewish cultural structure for themselves—assuming, of course, that they wanted one. Jews are unique in that they have been the only people who have been able to take full advantage of material resources in larger host societies everywhere without giving way eventually to social assimilation. They have, in other words, maintained divided loyalties—"dual citizenships." This trait, as we have indicated, has been a factor in universal anti-Semitic tendencies.

No matter, therefore, how specious or inapplicable such a program might be for Negroes, it still will be advocated for them if it seems to serve the pur-

¹⁸ The celebrated drama, *The Melting Pot* (already referred to), written by a British Jew and oriented toward the assimilation of American immigrants, including Jews especially, was attacked as anti-Semitic. This episode probably illustrates the inherent, assimilative difference between Negroes and Jews. "America," wrote Israel Zangwill (1922:33) in 1908, "is God's Crucible, the great Melting-Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming . . . Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians . . ." Many Jews took exception to this conclusion. The author therefore explained: "While a distinguished Christian clergyman wrote that [the production] was 'calculated to do for the Jewish race what *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did for the colored man,' the Jewish pulpits of America have resounded with denunciation of its supposed solution of the Jewish problem by *dissolution* . . . Discords, together with the prevalent anti-Semitism and his own ingrained persistence tend to preserve the Jew even in the 'Melting Pot,' so that his dissolution must be necessarily slower than that of the similar aggregations of Germans, Italians, or Poles. But the process for all is the same, however, tempered by specific factors" pp. 208-210. (Italics added.) Zangwill admitted that in the latter conclusion he may be over-optimistic.

¹⁹ Another Jewish writer, John Slawson (1966:43-50), advocates "mutual aid" among Negroes as an implicit means of achieving ethnic identity.

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And yet, the long-run tendency has been for Negroes to become unlimitedly identified with American "white society" and thus to develop traditional *cultural* anti-Semitism. Moreover, the desire among Jews to retard Negro assimilation in the interest of social pluralism may supply fundamental and ineradicable sources of anti-Semitic alienation. The political divergence between Negroes and Jews in the 1972 election—Democrats and Republicans respectively—may be a telltale straw in the wind.²¹

"Ground Rules for the New Pluralism"

Achievement of "pluralism" in the United States has been envisaged by the American Jewish Committee (A.J.C.) as a practical possibility. It has been partly excited in the great cities by the Jewish-Negro antagonism of the late sixties. As the A.J.C. explains: "Black-white conflict . . . was the concern which brought the [Jewish] National Project on Ethnic America into being [in 1968]."²² Three concepts seem to dominate the "ground rules" of this Jewish movement: ethnic identity, integration, and indeed pluralism itself. By propagating and legitimizing general white ethnicity—"ethnic awareness and self-identity"—Jewish unassimilability also may be legitimized. Among white American ethnics, it has been assumed, the "lower middle class" would be most susceptible to "folk" and "nationalistic" appeals.²³

As one advocate puts it: "Another name of cultural individuality is ethnicity . . . What makes a German socially and culturally different from a Frenchman . . . or a black American from an American Indian . . . is their ethnic background, their ethnicity" (Bernard, 1972:3-4). In this drive for ethnic-revival, however, Negroes are not directly included. In fact, the movement may be thought of as a reaction to Negro militancy. It was started in 1968 to "test new approaches to the needs and problems of white ethnic groups . . . [And] much of the discussion of white ethnic problems in the mass media in recent months has grown out of these efforts" (American Jewish Committee, Flyer C, 1972).

According to Andrew M. Greeley (1971:157, 163): "If demands for black power . . . are valid . . . so too are the demands of ethnic groups for more power over the control of their destiny . . ." But blacks, above all, must understand that "white ethnics are deeply committed to American society," so that "when a member of the Black Panther party postures like Mussolini on the

²⁰ Weisbord and Stein, *Bittersweet* (already referred to), is a contribution in this category.

²¹ For an analysis see "The Jewish Swing to Nixon," in *Time*, August 21, 1972, pp. 12ff. As the author implies, intense Israeli nationalism has been added to immemorial Jewish tribalism to complicate the American situation.

²² American Jewish Committee, "The Group Life Report," No. 2, January 1972, mimeographed.

²³ The American Jewish Committee, "National Project on Ethnic America," Information Flyer C, 1972.

television screen and warns that he is going to destroy a city, the white ethnics are quite prepared to take him at his word."²⁴

As we have indicated, another basic concept of the "new pluralism" is *integration*. In this context integration may be thought of as permanently partial assimilation: a social condition which allows achievement of a definitive, pluralistic society. If, then, integration and not assimilation could be regarded as a basic American cultural ideal, "white ethnics" may identify their cultural situation with that of Jews.

Indeed, American society may be properly definable as inherently "pluralistic." Accordingly "the American Jewish Committee (1972, flyer C) . . . undertook to apply its specialized understanding of pluralism . . . to help develop more positive approaches . . . to the needs of lower middle class whites." The movement has been centered in colleges and universities of the nation; it has appealed with remarkable success to great research foundations—for example, \$262,500 from the Ford Foundation in 1971—it has put out considerable literature (purportedly scientific and impartial) and influenced public information media; and, most spectacularly, it has sponsored an Annual Conference of Ethnic Communities in many large metropolitan centers.

Ethnic Community Celebrations

In the process of producing these national celebrations, the Jewish promoters are largely hidden. Highly visible, however, are city governments, mayors, news media, and scholars reading sympathetic papers on all aspects of "ethnic" integration and pluralism. A superficial examination would seem to suggest that the purpose of the occasion is simply satisfaction of the city's interest in promoting "minority pride and fun." For instance, on July 17, 1972, the *Detroit News*, under a journalistic heading, "Ethnic Festivals a Civic Treat," wrote in part:

Detroit has discovered through the series of summer weekend ethnic festivals that diversity can be fun. The Irish, Germans, Afro-Americans, Poles—in fact, virtually every race, religion and nationality—have found cultural expression in these remarkable events . . . Mayor Gribbs, who two years ago pledged city assistance to the first few events, deserves much of the credit for the festival's success . . . Detroiters, who [previously], like most Americans, always sought to play down background differences

²⁴ Father Greeley is a converted Irish ethnic contributing directly to publications of the American Jewish Committee. See, for example, Seymour M. Lipset, *Group Life in America*, A Task Force Report, the American Jewish Committee, New York, 1972.

One gets this theory, apparently effortlessly, even from popular media. For example, under an article heading "Year of the Ethnics" (*Life*, Aug. 25, 1972, p. 12), we are informed that "Much of what bothers the ethnics involves the Blacks . . . Opinion polls show increasing acceptance of integration in transportation, jobs, and public places. The rub comes on such black-associated subjects as crime and welfare . . . Oddly enough, the blacks taught the ethnics their new vocalness. From black pride they took the message: why not accept whatever in your origins you can't change? . . . The WASP, just as much as the ethnic, is likely to have his own private quarrel with what passes as present American culture . . . WASPs [now] prize, more than they used to, the diversity of customs . . . that make up the actual America . . . Now that the right to variety in American life is recognized and assimilation is less insisted on than it once was, ethnics don't have to be so defensive about their pasts. Their pride is admirable."

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The scholarly part of the annual Conference is organized, with papers listed, as if they were periodic meetings of scientific societies.²⁵ Immemorially, of course, there have been, in certain first-generation, immigrant neighborhoods, seasonal folk dancing, marching, and so on in the streets. Ordinarily, however, they have been disregarded by the American public or vouchsafed only transient notice. As just noted, though, the current movement has been promulgated, facilitated, and sometimes even financed by the city government.²⁶

In the pivotal New York situation, for example, the *New York Times* (May 14, 1972) carried an article titled, "Lindsay Administration Begins Cultivating Various Ethnic Communities"; and the writer seems to indicate not only that ethnic festivals are now being encouraged by the major but also that a minor city office has been set up in City Hall to discover nationality groups and encourage their folk traditions. Among the celebrations scheduled for May 1972, there was one titled "a salute to Israel."

It seems as if the city government should neither promote nor abolish spontaneous nationality celebrations. But government has a normal obligation to celebrate only Americanism and American national unity. Entrance of city administrations in "ethnic conferences" excites inter-cultural invidiousness and competitiveness.²⁷ Perhaps, however, such an outcome is precisely what the American Jewish Committee is striving to achieve: "integrated pluralism." Reversion of the United States census to enumerations of nationality groups²⁸ manifestly contributes to such a purpose. In fact the census might have come under direct pressure. Consider again the way the movement put it:

Ethnicity has come to the front as never before. The 1970 Census, for example, reveals that over 75 million Americans identify themselves as belonging to major ethnic groups . . . A growing number of these ethnic Americans are engaged in reviving heritage . . . They are demanding that their ethnicity be recognized and tolerated in a pluralistic society . . . Whether the ethnic groups . . . are aware of it or not . . . they

²⁵ See, for example, the program "Ethnic Communities of Greater Detroit, Second Annual Conference" at McGregor Memorial Center, May 19-23, 1971.

²⁶ A news release on October 20, 1971, from the City Hall of Detroit said in part: "A fourteen-week series of Ethnic Festivals in Detroit attracted two-and-a-half million residents and visitors . . . Mayor Roman S. Gribbs welcomed Festival attendees each Friday evening . . . Planning the Festivals was divided between the Mayor's Committee for the Cultural Center and the Central Business District Association. Ethnic groups were contacted through churches . . . civic and social organizations and the [Jewish] International Institute of Detroit . . . At each Festival there were 30 to 50 booths displaying items representative of the ethnic group's culture . . . One of the most popular aspects of the festivals was the opportunity to sample tempting food treats of the world. Entertainment was free . . . In addition to 1971 participants there will be for 1972 Israeli, Irish, and Arab Festivals."

²⁷ Bayard Rustin, the Negro labor specialist, seems to have recognized this in saying: "White ethnicity and racial consciousness can signify a pride in Italian cooking or Puerto Rican folk dances, it also means that each of these groups, along with all the others, now feels a compelling need to protect its own turf from encroachment of outsiders and to enlarge that turf at the expense of those who are no more privileged or better off." *Black Power's Legacy*, *Newsweek*, Vol. 80, No. 20, Nov. 13, 1972, p. 19.

²⁸ U.S. Census, *Characteristics of the Population by Ethnic Origin*, Nov. 1969.

are striving for ethnic identity, equality, and acceptance. Such goals are clearly legitimate, and will be pursued with vigor.²⁹

Some decades ago, when assimilation was considered an American ideal—and fundamentally it doubtlessly still is—emphasis upon cultural differences was regarded as questionable. In his study of a classic situation of differences in Europe, Max Handman (1934:92-93) reminds us of possible consequences of nationalistic devotion to apparently minor cultural disparities. Thus he explains:

There follows a whole series of minor differences which accentuate and visualize the disparity among the groups and prepare the ground for further tension. Their costumes are different . . . Their dietary habits are different: what is food to one is a nasty habit to the other. When Doctor Johnson's definition of oats as a food for men in Scotland and for horses in England is remembered, it is not difficult to understand the source of national aloofness and contempt which resides in food habits. And then there is the whole realm of folklore and folk customs at birth, courtship, marriage, and funerals, the differences in song and dance, in amusements, in the folk arts . . . In short, wherever matters of taste enter . . . differences of opinion are sure to arise which will run into attitudes of national depreciation because they are seen as national traits, not as individual idiosyncracies.

It seems as if Negroes would be well advised not to look with longing upon these displays of white ethnic culture and nationalism. Already an identifiable culture of superlative design and capacity has emerged in America. Although they are still of relatively lower status, mainly because of persisting racial restraints, Negroes nevertheless are inevitably identified with this culture. In this respect, they are culturally similar to the majority of native white Americans who naturally have no foreign artifacts to display. Indeed, life itself, in the phenomenal mainstream, includes their increasingly indistinguishable folkways. The ethnic celebrations are manifestly attempts to resuscitate, among immigrants, waning nationalism; something Negroes would have to produce largely from scratch.³⁰

Black Anti-Semitism

Black anti-Semitism seems, accordingly, to derive from three endogenous sources: posture of Jews toward white opportunism, Jewish self-interestedness, and Negro assimilationism.

(a) In the Western world Jews are ordinarily regarded as white, and they tend normally to exploit advantages of whiteness in racial situations. In South

²⁹ William S. Bernard (1972:4-5).

³⁰ For a recent point of view indirectly opposite to this, see Peter Schrag, *The Decline of the WASP*, New York, 1971. Schrag explains that his experience as a Jew in America led him to a conviction that "the real objective of social policy is not to make men identical but to enable them to remain different and distinct." p. 245. Says he further, on the value of pluralism: "So far there is little evidence that what has been accomplished through integration might not have been achieved more easily by making it possible for any student or parent to secede from the public schools and with an equivalent amount of tax money, to run the education system . . ." pp. 245-246. The Black Muslims are excuplated on grounds of their "emphatic ethnicity" p. 237. Surprisingly, however, following this unrelenting attack upon mainstream society (i.e., the WASP) and advocacy of ethnic separation—"We have to support community leadership and institutions in Harlem. Little Italy . . ." p. 245—the author

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Africa, for instance, their prerogatives as whites are so decisive that native anti-Semitism seems hardly distinguishable from the general color pattern. In the cities of the United States, however—and especially in such major urban places as Detroit and New York—Jews tend consciously to be included in the Negro's anti-white reactions. As Miller (1969:100) puts it: "To benefit on any level from American civilization is to derive sustenance from the fruits of exploitation."

Where the races converge competitively in the Negro community, this fact may become starkly obvious.

The existential human contacts between Jews and Negroes in the inner city are merchant-customer, landlord-tenant, social worker-client. These are inherently tense, unequal relations. They are fraught with conflict and resentment (Vorspan, 1969:215).

The Negro job in the small, Jewish community-business may appear particularly to be exploitative. Other relationships, such as teacher-pupil, conform to the pattern of subordination.

(b) The ire of American Negroes may be aroused by the normal self-interestedness of Jews. The dynamics of Jewish success tend to dissociate them from the Negro problem. It commonly has been remarked among blacks, perhaps inconsiderately, that "Jews take money out of the Negro ghetto into their own racially-segregated suburban communities." Thus Vorspan observes further: "The flood of Jews to suburbia has left another which exacerbates black-Jewish relations" (1969:215). Black envy of Jews, who seem so physically near and yet so psychologically remote, may be an element in this relationship. They are two American "minorities" who seem never to be able to achieve dependable alliance.³¹

(c) The most far-reaching characteristic of American-Negro, Jewish relationship involves an essential trait of Jewishness itself. Negroes, in spite of nationalistic diversions, are becoming increasingly assimilated to American culture. They are not endogamous in the sense that Jews are. "The objection of the Jew to intermarriage . . . sets him noticeably apart" (Hertzler, 1942:79)—to the extent that civil rights are activated. To that extent, also, barriers to black assimilation tend to be lowered. But American culture, like the culture of European medieval cities, remains, in a rudimentary sense, anti-Semitic. Anti-Semitism, therefore, must be more or less continually restrained. Negroes, in the process of assimilation, are thus subjected to the same anti-Semitic cultural imperatives as American whites. It is this point which Rabbi Miller (1969:84) seems to be making when he writes:

If just being Jewish entails being hated, then attitudes on the part of Jews to their qualitative and quantitative survival will surely govern how they react to anti-Semitism . . . I find it impossible to take seriously the threat of *black* anti-Semitism as if this were a special phenomenon which differs in kind and degree from other kinds of anti-Semitism.³²

reaches the following conclusion: "If the minorities no longer accept the mainstream . . . they are even further from accepting each other as models of what one ought to be or become. Someone or something will have to mediate to keep people from tearing each other apart" p. 251.

³¹ Cf., Peter I. Rose, *They and We*, New York, 1961, pp. 37-38.

³² Italics in text. In his detailed statistical study of Negro-Jewish relationships, Gary T. Marx (1967:126) recognizes this fact, saying: "The widespread and enduring character to anti-

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And yet, it should be recalled that capitalist culture is also intrinsically racist. *Racism*, however, is not *anti-Semitism*.³³ To the extent that racial discrimination is controlled or abolished, in answer to larger societal changes, racism tends to be ameliorated. Although it may be shown that some of the greatest champions and martyrs of civil rights have been Jews—there have been many famous, white-Christian, anti-racists also—it has not been established that Jewry of itself is an unerring antidote to race prejudice. As already noted, Jews live racially as whites in South Africa and in the United States. Moreover, it is conceivable (though we have no illustration of it) that American Negroes may participate with Christian whites in a pogrom.

Given certain chance situations, however, the continuing common concern involved in both racism and anti-Semitism may still cause Jews and Negroes to identify a common enemy—the conservative white ruling class. Perhaps in the 1972 presidential election, both Negroes and Jews saw in the candidacy of Governor George Wallace of Alabama a common danger. Even so, the meaning of political conservatism for Negroes and for Jews recently has become still more complicated by the identification of the international vicissitudes of Israel with the position of American Jews.

The Democrat-Republican split between Negroes and Jews respectively in that campaign was affected partly by the Republican attitude toward Israel. As Seymour Lypset (1972:54-55) observes: "Some of the most pro-Israel Senators are among the most conservative Republicans in Congress . . . [and] Israel receives somewhat less support from blacks than from other Americans." We may assume that the long-run trend in the United States will be liberal. This international element is obviously a complicating new concern. We should expect, however, to observe Jews increasingly involved with ethnic and "black pluralism" as movements supposedly leading toward normalization of Jewish status in the United States.

Semitism in American life forces the conclusion that . . . anti-Semitism is a 'normal' aspect of our culture . . . As Americans, Negroes are exposed to this common anti-Semitic component of our culture, and negative attitudes toward Jews may be as 'normal' . . . among Negroes as among whites."

³³ Similarity of these two social phenomena is usually affirmed by a presumption of identity of suffering or oppression. As one writer puts it: "the Southern pattern of systematic humiliation which characterized the last century of Negro life was not much different from the Czarist Russian brutality heaped on the Jew and was far better than the Nazi treatment of Jews." Jay Kaufman, (1969:69). Of primary significance perhaps is not so much the intensity of physical suffering as difference in the social system and situation which produce it.

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Mr. Tannenbaum
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For your information.

September 16, 1974

Mr. James L. McCartney
THE SOCIOLOGICAL QUARTERLY
University of Missouri-Columbia
1004 Elm St.
Columbia, Missouri 65201

Dear Mr. McCartney:

Yes, I certainly did write the letter for publication, and I'm afraid that neither you nor your reviewers are capable of distinguishing between things that might be offensive to a group and bigotry. Professor Cox's article was an exercise in bigotry. To compare it to Myrdal is amusing, but scarcely what one would expect from serious social scientists.

Cordially yours,

AMG.vr

Andrew M. Greeley
Director, Center for the
Study of American Pluralism

bcc: Mr. M. Himmelfarb
Mr. M. Tannenbaum

The Sociological Quarterly

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September 12, 1974

Professor Andrew M. Greeley, Director
Center for the Study of American Pluralism
University of Chicago
6030 South Ellis Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60637

Dear Professor Greeley:

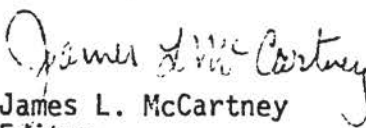
I can sympathize with your pique at having been referred to as a convert. It is clear from your letter that you have never been a "convert to anything."

As for the other accusations in your letter, we do not feel it necessary to agree with the content of every article that we publish. We rely on the recommendations of our reviewers, and in the instance of Professor Cox's paper, three reviewers gave strong endorsements to it because they felt that, although it was provocative, it raised an issue about the relationship between two ethnic groups that deserves scholarly attention. It will be a sad day for scholarship when editors refuse to publish anything that might be offensive to any group. By the same reasoning one might argue that a work such as Myrdal's American Dilemma should never have been published because it reflects unfavorably on white Americans.

We would be pleased to receive a rejoinder or critique from you about the Cox article. If you would send it soon, we could include it either in the November, 1974, or February, 1975 issue.

I assumed that your letter was not intended for publication, but if I am mistaken in this assumption, please advise me.

Sincerely,


James L. McCartney
Editor

JLM:nf1

October 4, 1974

Bertram H. Gold
Milton Himmelfarb
Black antisemitism

A 1973 UCLA doctoral dissertation, by Ronnie Tadao Tsukashima, is entitled The Social and Psychological Correlates of Anti-Semitism in the Black Community. The Abstract and the end of the Conclusion ("Practical Implications of Findings") are enclosed.

Tsukashima concentrates on highly local factors. He does not inquire into such things as the possible influence of Third World ideology.

Like other researchers in the past several years, he is struck by the difference between whites and blacks: Among whites, the older the respondents, the more likely they are to be anti-semitic; among blacks, the younger the respondents, the more likely to be antisemitic. Among whites, normally, the greater the education, the less the antisemitism. Not so among blacks.

MH:rg

cc: Milton Ellerin
Harry Fleischman
Irving Levine

Seymour Samet
John Slawson
Marc Tanenbaum

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Social and Psychological Correlates of
Anti-Semitism in the Black Community

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Sociology

by

Ronnie Tadao Tsukashima

1973

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Social and Psychological Correlates
of Anti-Semitism in the Black Community

by

Ronnie Tadao Tsukashima

Doctor of Philosophy in Sociology

University of California, Los Angeles, 1973

Professor Gene N. Levine, Chairman

AMERICAN JEWISH
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The present survey has chosen to examine the issue of anti-Semitism in the Black community. In drawing a sample to study this problem, Census Blocks were randomly selected from two Black areas of Los Angeles--the communities of Avalon and Crenshaw. From these blocks respondents were selected using quotas based on age, sex, and employment status to approximate the 1960 population in these two areas. About one hundred and sixty Blacks were gathered from each community.

In setting the parameters of our dependent variable, the measures of anti-Semitism were delimited to beliefs about Jews that are potentially negative or that provide a basis for hostile sentiments toward Jews. In our measures of this concept we do not find any monolithic structure of intolerance within the Black community but rather a considerable variation. Given this variation, two

questions are asked: 1) Along our index of anti-Semitism, are the Blacks sampled in this survey differentiating between Jewish and non-Jewish Whites by directing their hostility against Jews as a particular group of Whites, or are they expressing hostility toward White people in general? 2) Under what conditions are respondents more or less likely to voice intolerant responses toward Jews by scoring high on the index of anti-Semitism?

With respect to the first question, we find that a majority of persons do not differentiate between Jews and Gentile Whites, but rather see them as just another group of Whites. However, a sizable handful, 22 per cent of the sample, score high on the index of anti-Jewish beliefs but low on the measure of antipathy toward Whites in general.

In Chapter IV through VIII correlates of anti-Semitism are examined. Significant among the explanatory variables observed in this study is the role of age. The data in Chapter IV establish that age is powerfully, but inversely, associated with the dependent variable. Clearly, the young are much more hostile toward Jews than the old--even when education is taken into account simultaneously. But this same group is also likely to score high on intolerance toward other Whites as well. Using independent measures of time, it was reasoned that age differences in this minority community are indicative of a growing mood of antipathy toward White society.

In the following chapters the analysis is broadened to include Black-Jewish interaction. In previous studies of ethnic contact particular types of association have been found to correlate with tolerance toward minorities. Most notable has been what sociologists have called "egalitarian social contact" and the quality of such interaction, "intimate, equal-status contact." This investigation finds a like relationship between the two contact variables and anti-Semitism, especially in the case of the latter when examined in a neighborhood context. However, the point of interaction receiving the most attention is the issue of economic relations. Unlike social contact, this facet of interaction is highly correlated with intolerance. The mere exposure to economic dealings with Jews as merchants is associated with anti-Semitism. However, given the quality of those relations, economic mistreatment, this type of interaction is more firmly correlated with antipathy toward Jews, regardless of the context in which it transpires. In comparing the effects of both social and economic contact, the latter explains much more of the variance in the dependent variable than the former. Further, definitional situations of those economic relations, perceived exploitation, is also sharply associated with anti-Semitism and equally as pronounced as economic mistreatment.

In the last chapter we inquire if persons who live in

highly segregated and poor ghettos (Avalon) differ from the more affluent in less segregated areas (Crenshaw) in their levels of antipathy toward Jews. Surprisingly, no difference is witnessed, it is dependent upon age and education jointly. Given the importance of the above factors, we end on a summary note by asking: How much of the variance along the index of anti-Semitism is explained by age, education, social and economic contact, and perceived exploitation? We find about 44 per cent of the total variance in this index is accounted for by the independent variables observed in this study. And of this percentage, perceived exploitation and economic mistreatment explain most of that variation (90 per cent).

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Understandably, social scientists have devoted considerable attention to anti-Semitism over recent decades. In most instances these studies have focused upon samples of majority Whites. Far less frequent have been studies of anti-Semitism among minorities. In this respect, the present survey departs from most investigations on this topic. Here we have chosen to study intolerance toward Jews in the Black community.

The measures of anti-Semitism have been delimited to beliefs about Jews that are potentially negative or that provide a basis for hostile sentiments toward Jews. In our measure of this concept (Chapter II) we have not found any monolithic structure of intolerance within the Black community, but rather a considerable variation. Given this variation, two major questions have been asked:

- 1) Along our measure of anti-Semitism, are the Blacks sampled in this survey differentiating between Jewish and non-Jewish Whites by directing their hostility against Jews as a particular group of Whites, or are they expressing hostility toward White people in general?

- 2) What factors account for this variation? That is to say, under what conditions would respondents be more or less likely to voice intolerant responses toward Jews by scoring high on the index of anti-Semitism?

With regard to the first question, we have found that a majority of the respondents do not distinguish between Jews and Gentile Whites, but rather see them as just another group of Whites. For example, a considerable degree of overlap between anti-Semitism and anti-White attitudes has been observed. For the most part, those highly intolerant toward Jews are also hostile against other Whites. It should be noted however, that a sizable handful, 22 per cent of the sample, do make a clear distinction by scoring high on our measure of anti-Jewish beliefs but low on the index of intolerance toward Whites in general. In addition, an almost equal proportion (16 per cent) score in the reverse direction.

Similarly, in comparing the economic treatment of these two groups as merchants, landlords, and employers, about half do not view Jews as a separate category of Whites. But unlike the above, for the other half who do, Jews are seen in a less favorable light.

In Chapters IV to VIII the conditions under which persons are more or less likely to score high on the index of anti-Semitism have been examined. Like a woven tapestry of many patterns, each chapter introduced a

different thread into the web of complex relationships, unfolding its own pattern about the picture of antipathy toward Jews in the Black community. Significant among these patterns is the role of age. The data in Chapter IV established that age is powerfully, but inversely, associated with the dependent variable. Clearly, the young are much more likely to score high on the index of anti-Jewish beliefs--even when education is taken into account simultaneously. But this same group is also likely to score high on intolerance toward other Whites as well-- suggesting that in general, Blacks do not distinguish between hostility toward Jews on the one hand and toward non-Jewish Whites on the other. In fact, those most likely to be intolerant of Jews are the young with the most formal education (at least some college). This we noted is in striking contrast to the findings based on White samples. Further, we indicated that age could be used to reflect the dimension of time, thus adding process to the analysis. It was hypothesized that these differences in age represent a generational change in the Black community rather than a maturational effect. Using independent measures of time, it was reasoned that the age differences in this minority community are indicative of a growing mood of hostility toward White society, and that this changing climate of opinion is not to be explained by differential education.

In the following chapters the scope of the analysis was broadened to incorporate other facets of the intricate web of ethnic intolerance. Moving from individual attributes (age and education) to structural variables, the analysis went on to consider interactional aspects of Black-Jewish relations--first social and then economic (Chapters V and VI respectively). In either instance both the quality and the context of interaction were examined. In previous studies of ethnic contact particular types of association have been found to correlate with tolerance toward minorities. Most notable has been what sociologists have called "egalitarian social contact" and the quality of such interaction, "intimate, equal-status contact." This investigation has found a like relationship between the two contact variables and anti-Semitism. It was reasoned that such contact, especially the latter (intimate) tends to expose one to people who differ ethnically, racially, or religiously, but who have similar life styles. As a result, commonly held stereotypes of others are challenged. We further observed that these associations are particularly pronounced when the extent of that exposure is specified, which in part is dependent upon the setting--situations that facilitated diffuse associations on the one hand (in a neighborhood) and highly segmented roles on the other (at work).

In coming to grips with the complexity of anti-Semitism, it was noted that social contact is just one of the many facets of interaction between Blacks and Jews. The point of contact receiving the most attention has centered around the issue of economic relations. It will be recalled in Chapter III that when Jewish merchants, landlords, and employers are compared with their Gentile counterparts, almost 1 in 2 do not distinguish between the two groups. But among those who do, Jews are more unfavorably evaluated by 3 to 2. At this juncture we merely mentioned that this finding might be indicative of one of the areas of friction between these two groups. Later, in Chapter VI, we were able to test and clarify this hypothesis. It was reported that the mere exposure to economic dealings with Jews (economic contact) is conditionally associated with the dependent variable (contact with Jews as merchants). In specifying the quality of these dealings, however, such as mistreatment, this variable proves to be more powerfully related to the index of anti-Semitism, regardless of the contextual setting. This finding is particularly striking among the most vulnerable stratum, the poorest Blacks. Thus, like social contact the character of economic relations with Jews is more significant for anti-Semitism than the contact itself. An interpretation of this relation offered is that such interaction is often viewed by minorities

as a device through which vulnerable groups are maintained in subordinate positions of economic control and profit. By maintaining Blacks in subordinate positions and reaping the benefits from their inferior status, their positions of dependency have continued, thus reaffirming the influence and gains of those already in superordinate positions to Blacks. Consequently, in a society that has benefited from this status of minorities, economic positions often occupied by Whites have become the targets of angry Blacks for their abusive business practices. And for those who have been mistreated, it has made little difference where such practices transpired. The consequences in the last analysis have been the same and are more far-reaching in their effects than mere exposure to economic contact.

On a comparative note, the two types of contact, intimate, equal-status contact and economic mistreatment are correlated with anti-Semitism, controlling one against the other. In so doing, the economic aspect of Black-Jewish relations is much more strongly related to antipathy toward Jews than social contact. And we have suggested that this is not a mere function of the extent of social and economic contact with Jews but rather a reflection of the historical structure of inequality in Black-White relations. As a result, many Blacks have come to expect their encounters with most Whites to

follow a similar pattern and to suspect the motives of Whites in situations involving egalitarian contact of an intimate nature.

Having examined some behavioral features of Black-Jewish relations and having demonstrated an especially strong association between economic relations and anti-Semitism, the analysis broadened to incorporate the social psychological correlates of economic contact. More exactly, in Chapter VII we focused on the subjective factors of economic relations, how respondents defined their economic relations with Jews (perceived exploitation). In some respects perceived exploitation resembles its structural counterpart, economic mistreatment. It too is both positively and powerfully associated with the dependent variable. Among the young, this pattern appeared with special sharpness. Like economic mistreatment, the notion of control and profit have been utilized in interpreting the findings in this chapter. But here profits are seen through the control of minority neighborhoods by interest groups foreign to the Black community (external control)--thus structuring again their continued dependency and vulnerability. More important was the fact that this form of control was viewed as part and parcel of a larger system of societal control and thus one possible explanation for the close association between definitional situations of

exploitation and hostility toward a group of Whites (Jews). Consistent with this interpretation, independent measures of external control are highly correlated with scores on the index of perceived exploitation. Having established before the importance of economic mistreatment and now the significance of definitional situations of those relations, it has then been found that both factors are also independently associated with the dependent variable. From here, we have proceeded to examine their relative and cumulative effects. It was reported that how respondents define or perceive their economic relations with Jews explains about as much of the variance of intolerance on the index of antipathy toward Jews as its structural counterparts (economic mistreatment). However, when both economic variables are taken together, a much stronger relationship is observed with the dependent variable than any variable considered singly. Thus, a more encompassing picture of anti-Semitism in the Black community is achieved by dovetailing two angles--the types and character of interaction with Jews and the definitions of those relations.

Besides age, patterns of interaction and definitions of those contacts, still other factors are found to play a vital role in explaining the variation on the index of anti-Semitism, notably the neighborhood. In the last

Chapter (VIII), we inquired if persons who lived in highly segregated ghettos of lower economic background (Avalon) differ from the more affluent in less segregated areas (Crenshaw) in their level of antipathy toward Jews. In light of what has been written about ghetto life, one might have hypothesized the former to score higher than the latter. Surprisingly, no difference is found between these two communities. At this point it was suggested that the effect of the neighborhood was being masked by age and education. But each variable taken separately produced quite different results. On the one hand, among those under 40, the tendency is for Avalon residents to score higher on our measure of anti-Semitism than Crenshaw dwellers. On the other hand, when controlling for education, the difference between neighborhoods is reversed. But what could these patterns mean? For this, we proceeded to a four variable table including age, education, neighborhood, and anti-Semitism. Among those with some college, Avalon residents display a greater tendency toward ethnic intolerance than their brethren who live in the more affluent and educated community of Crenshaw, regardless of age. However, this finding was reversed when we focused upon the partial with less than college. Living in Crenshaw is more likely to be associated with anti-Semitism than living in the neighboring district of Avalon,

but in this case, only among those under 40. It is suggested that these diverse findings could be explained by conceptually joining both individual and community level of education, thus creating a new and different factor called "status inconsistency." This state was reasoned to entail stress and discomfort because of the differential treatment associated with such inconsistency in contact situations with Jews, thus the last factor examined related to anti-Semitism among Blacks.

Explaining the Variance in Anti-Semitism

Given the importance of the above factors, taken together, what do they tell the reader about the dependent variable? More exactly, how much of the variation in anti-Semitism is explained by age, education, social and economic contact, and perceived exploitation? In addressing this question, we have employed a multiple regression analysis. In so doing, we find about 44 per cent of the total variance on the index of anti-Semitism is accounted for by the independent variables examined in this study. But of these factors, which provides the best prediction possible with the fewest number of independent variables? Is it possible that only one or two factors account for this variation? Through a method called "stepwise regression," a variant of multiple regression, one means of handling this problem is provided. Briefly, this

statistical procedure involves the following:

The method recursively constructs a prediction equation one independent variable at a time. The first step is to choose the single variable which is the best predictor. The second independent variable to be added to the regression equation is that which provides the best prediction in conjunction with the first variable. You then proceed in this recursive fashion adding variables step-by-step until you have the desired number of independent variables or until no other variable will make a significant contribution to the prediction equation.¹

Table 9.1 contains the findings of our stepwise analysis. In column one are presented the multiple correlations between the independent variables taken together (from one to all five) and the dependent variable. The square of these scores in the second column represent the proportions of the total variation in anti-Semitism accounted for by the explanatory variables acting together. Differences between the squared scores and the simple correlations are listed in the third and fourth columns respectively.

In column two of Table 9.1, economic mistreatment and perceived exploitation appear to be the best predictors of intolerance toward Jews. Together, they explain about 40 per cent of the variance on this index or about 90 per cent of the total variation explained by all five factors when jointly considered.

Notice in the same column that age ranks a distant third, adding little to the first two variables,

TABLE 9.1
STEPWISE MULTIPLE REGRESSION OF FIVE INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

Independent Variables	Multiple R (1)	R Square (2)	RSQ Change (3)	Simple R (4)
Economic Mistreatment	.547	.300	.300	.547
Perceived Exploitation	.639	.408	.108	.540
Age	.656	.430	.022	-.352
Intimate Equal-Status Contact	.660	.436	.006	-.101
Education	.661	.437	.000	.121

N=273

contributing an additional 2 per cent to the explained picture. This, however, cannot be taken to indicate that it is of little or no importance for anti-Semitism. A definite correlation between age and anti-Semitism is observed in column four--the younger the person, the greater the likelihood of scoring high on the index of anti-Semitism (-.352). More striking is the finding that intimate, equal-status contact and education add even less to the picture, contributing less than one per cent of the variation. And of the five factors, they are least correlated with the dependent variable (.101 and -.121 respectively). In short, it is the economic aspects of Black-Jewish relations that uncover the greatest portion of the picture of anti-Semitism in the Black community. This facet of interaction includes both the quality of contact with Jews in economic contexts and the definitions of those relations (economic mistreatment and perceived exploitation). Thus, the hypothesis proposed in Chapter III--that the economic dealings with Jews may be one source, or at least correlates of antipathy toward Jews among Blacks--is clearly supported in this investigation.

Practical Implications of Findings

After demonstrating the predictive value of the variables we draw our analysis to a close by considering

the practical import of the findings reported. One of the major tasks of researchers is to establish patterns in as many different settings as possible for the problem at hand, and to extrapolate inferences from them to untested situations. In many of the studies of race and social conflict, sociologists have centered largely on the antipathy of Whites. And from these investigations, the following patterns have been found: 1) persons with some college education tend to be more tolerant toward minorities than those who have received less education; 2) the older the respondent, the greater the likelihood of scoring high on measures of prejudice; and 3) if the old are more inclined to be intolerant than the young, this is interpreted as being due to their educational background. Using these data as a springboard for programs of social change, researchers oriented toward policy making have looked to the role of education as one major source of attitude change--one means of breaking strongly held ties among Whites to traditional provincialism and stereotypes. In addition, these engineers have viewed the young as more receptive to attitude change, less set in their ways than the old. And as a result, they have hypothesized that more productive results (i.e., in reducing racial intolerance) would be achieved by selecting the youth to "educate." However, this line of reasoning has not clearly

delineated the parameters of its application. Consequently, we have been implicitly led to believe that these findings also hold for other groups as well--in particular, for minorities.

In stark contrast to the "education-age" approach applied to Whites, the present data regarding anti-Semitism among Blacks indicate that it is not the less educated and the old who are most inclined toward intolerance against Jews but precisely the reverse--the young, educated Black. Further, regardless of education, the young continue to be more hostile than their elders. For example, among respondents who have at least some college education, fully 77 per cent of those under 30 score high on the index of anti-Semitism. Among those in their middle years (30-49), 69 per cent score as high, but only 22 per cent of the oldest group (50 and older) are as intolerant. In short, the relationships among age, education, and prejudice established among samples of Whites cannot be presumed to hold for all groups in American society, as this sample of Blacks give witness. Unlike majority Whites, then, we cannot assume:

- 1) that elderly Blacks as well will be more inclined toward anti-Semitism than the young (the older, the more prejudiced);
- 2) nor can we assume that education explains anti-Semitism among certain age groups of Blacks in the same vein (the better the education, the less prejudiced).

It will be recalled that in Chapter IV age is not a static variable, but one that has implications for social change. It was reasoned that differences by age in the scores of antipathy toward Jews are indicative of a growing mood of disenchantment within the Black community that affects the young in particular. If anti-White sentiments are becoming more prevalent in this community wherein each successive cohort is becoming more hostile, we are faced with the following prospect: Social engineers may have to reconsider their standard approach in confronting racial conflict. The liberalizing effect education may have had for other groups (Whites) may become less effective with each succeeding generation of Blacks. What direction of ethnic research then might policy makers consider? One path suggested by our data can best be seen by noting the shifting strategies among minorities in coping with racial intolerance. That is, these strategies may be instructive in pointing to issues that Blacks have defined as more salient to their concerns and consequently of greater significance for attitude change.

After World War II, through the Fifties and up into the early Sixties, the civil rights movement became a rallying point for many minorities. The goal espoused by this movement is well known to many--integration, especially of the public schools. Prominent among its

supporters, at least among its rank-and-file (and in some cases its leadership) were the young and the college educated. Implicit in their approach were attempts to draw together on a more personal and cooperative ground. This exposure among social equals would perhaps have more favorable and lasting effects than the impersonal, caste-like relations of the past. In the context of this study this approach strongly resembles what we have referred to as "intimate, equal-status contact." But egalitarian contact of an intimate nature as one form of integration appears to be just as ineffective as education in dealing with the growing mood of Black hostility (Table 9.2). If any major effect is noted, it is only among those 50 and older, where 2 in 10 (22 per cent) exposed to such contact with Jews score high on our measure of anti-Semitism. In other words, the potential modifying effect of this factor appears limited to the older generations of Blacks. However, for those between 30 and 49, about half (55 per cent) score as high. Perhaps most discouraging for those still hopeful that the strategy of integration works in predictable ways to reduce intergroup hostility is the finding that 2 in 3 (67 per cent) among the young (20-29) having such contact with Jews score as intolerant.

Since the mid-Sixties, minorities in increasing numbers have looked to other strategies. They have charged

TABLE 9.2

SHIFTING STRATEGIES IN COPING WITH RACIAL CONFLICT
IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY BY SCORES ON THE INDEX OF
ANTI-SEMITISM, CONTROLLING FOR AGE

	Per Cent High on Anti-Semitism		
	20-29	30-49	50 and older
Intimate Equal- Status Contact ^a	67% (27)	55% (40)	22% (23)
Economic Mistreatment ^b	89% (46)	80% (66)	50% (18)
Perceived Exploitation ^c	83% (58)	74% (83)	47% (38)

^a Those exposed to at least one instance of equal-status contact of an intimate nature with Jews. See Chapter V.

^b Respondents having experienced at least one case of mistreatment in economic dealings with Jews. See Chapter VI.

^c Persons who score three or more on the index of perceived exploitation that ranges from a low of zero to a high of five. See Chapter VII for details on this measure.

that the goals of integration have fallen far short of expectations. The subordinate and dependent status of minorities remains a constant reminder that alternatives are necessary. As a result, rather than working for integration, the problem of confronting tactics of racial oppression received increasing support during this decade, in particular from the younger generation of Blacks. Two indicators for this shift by generation can be observed: 1) economic mistreatment of minorities; and 2) minorities' definitions of their relations with Whites (i.e., perceived exploitation). For the first indicator, note that the relationship between economic mistreatment and anti-Semitism becomes more pronounced with each successive generation. For those under 30, almost 9 in 10 (89 per cent) express their antipathy against Jews by scoring high on the index of anti-Jewish beliefs, whereas 1 in 2 of those 50 and older score as intolerant (50 per cent). Despite the fact that each age group has been exposed to the same form of mistreatment, the young are far more hostile toward Jews than the old. Likewise, the same can be said for their definitions of economic relations with Jews (83, 74, and 47 per cent). The most distinctive differences by age occur between persons less than 50 and those 50 and older. Further, observe that within each age category, both economic factors are far more predictive of the

dependent variable than the strategy of integration (intimate, equal-status contact). This should not be surprising. These data are consistent with findings in the previous table (9.1).

Thus, in the shift in strategies from integration to "get-Whitey-off-my-back," we are suggesting that Black hostility may be linked to more basic issues than education and intimate, equal-state contact. The very structure of oppression for them is the focal point that has been so costly. This oppression has not been unique to the economic sphere, but characteristic of the complex web of institutional and informal networks of relationships with White society. Economic mistreatment and continued awareness of exploitation have merely reaffirmed the oppressive nature of Blacks' relations with White society. For many minorities, then, education and intimate, equal-status contact have appeared at best as piecemeal approaches. They have not altered the basic position of minorities in this society as a group subordinate to Whites. This situation is perhaps what the young have meant by "politically conservative tactics"--combating racial conflict by informing parts of the public through education and integration, while the structure of oppression is unaltered. By implication, then, attitude change among each successive generation of Blacks may not be linked to the

"established methods" of approach, but to oppressive relations that many Whites, as well as some minorities themselves, have found profitable.



THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date June 6, 1974
to M. Tanenbaum
from M. Ellerin
subject

memorandum

I thought this might be helpful for the National Conference.



NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION

Little Rock, Arkansas
March 15-17, 1974

AMERICAN JEWISH
by Milton Ellerin
ARCHIVES

Trends Analyses Division

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The American Jewish Committee

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New York, N.Y.

June 3, 1974

NATIONAL BLACK POLITICAL CONVENTION

Little Rock, Arkansas
March 15-17, 1974

The second National Black Political Convention, under the auspices of the National Black Assembly, held in Little Rock, Arkansas - a site selected, according to the conveners, because it symbolizes gains blacks have made in their struggle against white power - differed significantly from the first National Black Political Convention held in Gary, Indiana just two years previously. The Gary Convention widely publicized before, during, and after the event, was viewed (by most blacks) as a significant coming together of disparate segments of the black community to advance black political, social and economic needs with the various groups and ideologies submerged for the greater good. "Unity without uniformity" was the proclaimed theme, and the hoped for adhesive which would bind blacks together for the common good.

The high resolve of the Gary Convention - political action addressed to black needs - was to be implemented through the formation of local black assemblies, which would determine local black needs, and provide the nucleus for grass roots, black political power. If the black assemblies were to function between black political conventions, and if it was anticipated that strong, local black organizations would give cohesion and force to a National Black Political Assembly, they failed in that task.

The "unity without uniformity theme" proved to be a thin veneer, which could not cover over widespread ideological differences and personality clashes in the immediate aftermath of Gary. The Gary Convention's harsh and gratuitous anti-Israel resolution among others, caused serious defections, particularly on the part of black elected officials, most of whom were now wary of participating in proceedings which would jeopardize local power bases should it call for a black political party and gave every indication of perpetuating an anti-Israel posture.

The Little Rock Convention was poorly organized, poorly planned, and poorly attended. The ruling triumvirate of Congressman Charles Diggs, Mayor Richard Hatcher, and Imamu Baraka, conveners of the Gary Convention and co-chairmen of the parent National Black Assembly, split when Diggs withdrew as a convener of the Little Rock Convention. Some 3,500-4,000 delegates were expected. Some 1,718 came in contrast to the estimated 6,000 to 8,000 delegates and alternates present at Gary. In the majority of cases, local black assemblies or state conventions were not held until a month or two preceding Little Rock, and reports indicate that only 29 states and the District of Columbia actually did meet. In theory, all delegates were supposed to have been chosen in community elections open to every black resident, but methods varied. In one instance, delegates were democratically selected through ward conventions involving more than 1,000 participants.

Other delegations were hand-picked by state and local assembly leaders. In many instances, delegates discovered that there was no money to pay for their living expenses and travel.

In the interval between conventions, most black officials did not participate in local assemblies for a variety of reasons, thereby creating a vacuum into which rushed the black nationalists, who thereby dominated the planning for and subsequently, the proceedings at Little Rock. Impartial observers concluded that nationalists were more concerned with creating and dominating a political structure than in working within the existing political parties.

Black nationalists, themselves divided by ideological disputes, sought to organize the Little Rock Convention around the theme: "Organizing for Political Power."

The Convention's Executive Committee meeting in Little Rock a week before the formal proceedings, fought, bickered, and quarreled over such questions as format, and who was to be the keynoter. The selection of newly elected Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson, was bitterly opposed by some because he had not previously participated in the organization. For reasons not yet clear, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, an important and charismatic figure at Gary, was (according to press reports) not invited, although he subsequently did put in a brief appearance.

Lack of planning, and poor organizing by the convention planners, and a lack of finances were also manifest at Little Rock. Convention planners quarreled with members of the community. Leon Modeste of New York, Chairman of the Planning Committee for the Black Convention, complained bitterly over a purported lack of courtesy on the part of the Little Rock officialdom, and that hotel operators were "cold" to the delegates and that merchants refused to extend credit insisting that all supplies be paid for in cash.

Convention officials had hoped to use Central High School for the convention because of its historical significance but initially were unable to do so because of the \$1,300 rental fee demanded by the local Board of Education. (Ultimately, things took a turn for the better when two local officials signed a \$5,000 bank note to provide ready cash and city Convention Bureau officials helped in locating rooms for the delegates and creating a clearinghouse for information on hotel room availability.)

Convention proceedings themselves were frequently chaotic and press accommodations were so poor that it was impossible to learn authoritatively what was transpiring. Many white reporters left sessions in disgust, and black reporters complained bitterly not only about poor facilities but paradoxically the lack of cooperation given them in contrast to what they felt was the favored treatment

shown the white reporters and television representatives. Ethel Payne, a prominent black commentator on the C.B.S. radio network and columnist for the Chicago Daily Defender, spoke of harassment and intimidation of black reporters by overzealous security people. Queried about these complaints, black reporters for the major white dailys covering the Convention denied that there was any difference in treatment, and that they too found Convention officials uncooperative.

In the five or six weeks preceding the Convention date, there were persistent rumors that another anti-Israel resolution would be introduced, a significant factor in the determination by all but two members of the Black Congressional Caucus and other prominent black elected officials not to attend the proceedings. Diggs, generally considered to be the most politically powerful black member of Congress, in February 26th letters to Mayor Hatcher and Imamu Baraka, declared that he would not be a candidate for reelection to his post as Chairman of the National Black Assembly, although he would retain his membership in the Michigan Black Assembly. Diggs is reported to have said that increasing Congressional responsibilities made it impossible for him "to devote the proper time to the National Black Assembly and that he thought he could make his contribution best felt through his activities in the U.S. Congress." There were well informed reports, however, that Diggs was unwilling to attend out of a desire not to offend Detroit Mayor Coleman Young, who, as a delegate to the Gary Convention walked out of the proceedings, and because of the Congressman's concern about the anti-Israel resolution. Other black elected officials, sensing perhaps the lack of political muscle by local black assemblies fearful of falling from grace with their parties hierarchy by becoming enmeshed in proceedings which would create a black political party, or involvement with militant black revolutionaries, stayed away in significant numbers. The only national black elected political figures at the Convention were Congressman Ron Dellums of California and Charles Conyers of Michigan.

The dominant pre-Convention organizer and personality again was Imamu Baraka, the Newark poet/politician. Authoritative reports indicate that it was Baraka who insisted on the introduction of a strong resolution condemning Israel despite warnings from more politically astute and experienced members of the Convention who recognized that any such a resolution would have a divisive affect. Several prominent blacks including Congressmen Conyers and Dellums (again, according to reports), sought unsuccessfully to dissuade Baraka.

The Convention opened on Friday, March 15, with the reading by Imamu Baraka of a report of the steering committee. It assessed the black situation in America today as one "of unrelieved crisis

for our people" and declared that "white politicians offered no hope for a real change." The nation's cities were described as "crime haunted dying grounds" where countless blacks faced permanent unemployment. Further, that "neither the courts nor the prisons contribute to anything resembling justice or reformation"; that schools are unable or unwilling to educate our children; that "in every area of our lives, the American institutions in which we have placed our trust are unable to cope with the crisis" and that corporations are marked by their single-minded dedication to profits for some and white supremacy above all.

Acrimonious debate over the adoption of reports by the Rules and Convention Committee and other speeches occupied the delegates attention on the opening night proceedings which were frequently punctuated by angry outbursts from delegates.

Saturday's session consisted, in the main, of "how to" workshops, followed by a general session devoted to speeches and parliamentary maneuvering marked by delegates complaints over the use by the chair of procedures dictated by Roberts Rules. Major debate evolved around the question of how to reduce the 200 prepared resolutions down to a workable number.

Most of the daytime sessions on Saturday were given over to "how to" workshops with Convention organizers frequently emphasizing that they were the most important aspect of the entire proceedings. The workshops, which covered seven areas, included one led by Congressman Conyers, which was concerned with "campaign financing." Other workshops included community struggles, housing, education, criminal justice, labor, and black assemblies. Reports from the convention indicated that the session on labor was debated from a Marxist perspective and, among other things, embraced a theoretical discussion of Communism.

Throughout the Convention, its lack of organization was manifest with all sessions starting late, sometimes as much as two hours behind schedule. Keynoter Maynard Jackson emphasized the need for blacks to organize and develop a strategy capable of winning greater political victories, and called for a "door to door effort" to organize the vast potential in the "vast black belt extending from Virginia through Arkansas." Mayor Richard Hatcher, in a widely publicized speech, delivered on Saturday evening, ignored an unwritten rule that black leaders do not criticize other black leaders in public. He bitterly castigated political leaders and other prominent blacks who refused to participate in the Convention. With considerable rhetorical flourish, Hatcher asked: "Where are the newly elected officials? Where are the mayors, congressmen, the political paupers who became political prima donnas as a result of our awareness after Gary?" Singled out for special scorn were Congressman Diggs, Roy Wilkins, Vernon Jordan, Floyd McKissick, and Senator Edward Brooke. Hatcher's speech was severely criticized by the influential James Hicks of the Amsterdam

News as "regrettable because at the very time he was calling for unity among blacks, he was systematically destroying the very unity he was calling for." Congressman Ron Dellums, in an apparent allusion to the anti-Israel resolution in Gary and the contemplated anti-Israel resolution in Little Rock, declared that: "We need to stop passing resolutions and stop fighting each other over twelve words on a piece of paper that doesn't mean anything when you pass it."

Baraka, officially designated Secretary General of the National Black Political Convention, in a Saturday night speech before an estimated 1,600 people called for "total overthrow of all forces that seek to define the experiences of black people and urged that blacks adopt "a revolutionary ideology" based on the experiences of "anybody who has been successful in revolution." Baraka charged that: "Capitalism and the industrial revolution have enslaved blacks" and declared that "black people all over the world must try to find a way to take money away from the large corporations who have become rich riding on the backs of the Negro." Obviously pandering to the sentiments of the delegates, he bitterly attacked black members of Congress for embracing Israel in its struggle against the Arabs. ("If the Black Congressional Caucus was doing its job, \$2.5 billion would not go to defeating the Arabs, while a piddling \$25 million went to six African nations to fight the drought in the Sahel.") Baraka, as did Hatcher, received a standing ovation.

North Carolina's Owusu Sadaukai, the third speaker to bring the delegates to their feet for a standing ovation, was the most outspoken revolutionary at the Convention. He condemned "slick talking black elected officials" for "riding the crest of the black movement" for their own personal aggrandizement. Sadaukai, President of the Malcolm X Liberation University and National Chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee, the prime organizers of nationwide African Liberation Day demonstrations, challenged the assembly to become a fighting organization "sitting in with welfare mothers, marching in the street, supporting rent strikes, and other local activities" which, if successfully carried through, will enable us to "quit begging anointed leaders to return because we will get new leaders." Said Sadaukai: "We can no longer afford the myth of power of black elected officials in the system of capitalism." (Subsequently, Hatcher, commenting on Sadaukai's speech, observed that it would now be extremely difficult to convince black elected officials that this is an organization that really welcomes them.)

Hatcher, Baraka, and Sadaukai, the Convention's three major speakers, apparently spelled out areas on which each ideological faction would not compromise. Hatcher patently desires a movement which will embrace all political groups in Black America; Baraka is seeking to develop a revolutionary

movement that is Socialist, anti-capitalist, and anti-American, while Sadaukai, who according to reports had strong differences with Baraka, believes that the future of Black America lies in struggle, not in electoral politics. Judging from the applause, it was difficult to determine who struck the most responsive chord or what the delegates really felt. It is apparent, however, that both Baraka and Sadaukai were appealing for a militant nationalist philosophy with both denouncing neo-Colonialist, petty bourgeois black elected officials with Sadaukai generally adhering to a Marxist Leninist philosophy.

As was the case in Gary, the concluding Sunday session was given over to resolutions and sparked the most controversy and debate. Like Gary, the resolutions were offered in the waning moments of the Convention when no more than 300 of the 1,718 elected delegates remained on the floor.

As of this writing, it is impossible to determine precisely the wording of the 9 resolutions out of the approximately 200 that were considered and passed by the resolutions committee. Copies of the resolutions were unavailable to the general press, and most reporters, dismayed at the chaos on the floor at the time resolutions were being debated, had given up and departed from the convention hall. However, it is known that in the main they were "nationalist" in origin, and many dealt with Africa. Reports suggest that others ignored ideological questions to grapple with the gut issues of jobs, hunger, justice, housing, political influence, better schools, watchdog committees over prisons and mental institutions, all of which seemed to proclaim that as yet there had been no significant improvement in the black condition.

Convention drama and tension revolved around two key resolutions - the one anti-Israel, the other calling for the formation of an independent black political party. The first, submitted to the Resolutions Committee by the New Jersey Black Assembly, itself led by Baraka, reportedly would have placed the organization on record "in support of Arab struggles of national liberation" and in opposition to "Zionist-Israeli expansionism, racism, and imperialism." Debate within the Resolutions Committee was sharp, according to observers with one unidentified "influential black politician" predicting that if the resolution passed, the "organization is gone."

The precise language of the anti-Israel resolution which ultimately passed by a Convention voice vote is not known. It is believed however that the resolution, as read at the Convention, was substantially as follows:

Whereas most of the Palestinian people have been removed from their traditional homeland and remain removed from their traditional homeland and

Whereas the United States Government has voted 2.2 billion dollars in military aid to Israel to wage war against Arab peoples while at the same time appropriating less than 25 million dollars to help six African nations suffering from drought in the SAHEL and

Whereas page 15 point 12 of the National Black Political Agenda supports the position of the Organization for African Unity and the UN Commission on Human Rights in opposing the Israeli Government's expansionist policy

Be it therefore resolved that this convention condemn the racism of all elected officials who voted for the 2.2 billion dollars mentioned above.

As was the resolution on Israel, the one looking to the formation of an independent black political party was promoted by the nationalists, but after heated floor debate, was tabled by an overwhelming voice vote. It appeared to be the consensus of the majority that Black Assemblies had failed to do the necessary organizational work in the communities to justify the formation of a national party. While some delegates argued that ideological differences made the proposal for a black party "unrealistic," the prevailing sentiment was that the best way to build a party was to go home and build a solid base.

Either in the spirit of conciliation or resignation, Baraka subsequently called the tabling of the motion "reasonable", and promised that it would be again brought up in a contemplated September meeting of the parent Black National Political Assembly.

The other resolutions, in essence, called for:

- ... The formation of a national black United Fund of \$2.5 million by the end of the year and a goal of \$10 million by 1976.
- ... Enactment of an "Urban Homestead Act" that would enable black city dwellers to own homes.
- ... Support for progressive "revolutions" in African countries.
- ... Formation of a "black court of appeals" to assist black "political prisoners" in obtaining their release. The measure also demanded that black defendants be afforded a "true jury of their peers."
- ... Opposition to most forms of psychological testing in public schools on the grounds that they do not relate to black students. The measure also called for more open admission standards in the country's law schools.

- ... Self-determination for the black residents of Washington, D.C. and opposition to the Home Rule Bill recently passed by Congress.
- ... Opposition to new rules for choosing delegates to the Democratic National Convention.
- ... Support for African Liberation Day

The emotional highlight of the Convention was a special testimonial on Saturday, March 16 at Central High School for Daisy Bates, local NAACP leader in a fight to breach the segregation barriers 17 years ago. Also honored at the meeting were parents of the other students who were the first nine blacks to attend the formerly all white high school. Central High School became available when a \$1,000 check was deposited with the school board. The attending police and firemen waived their customary fees, which in no small measure contributed to the availability of the historic site.

Social critic and comedian Dick Gregory closed the Convention. He admonished the delegates "not to worry about some of the things they were worrying about" and complimented them for bringing disputes into the open rather than hiding them behind closed doors. Noting that there had been some heat at the Convention over the Arab/Israeli resolution, Gregory contended that it was a phony issue. "There isn't any Arab/Israeli conflict", he said, "it's a Russian/American conflict."

Shortly after the conclusion of the Convention, criticism surfaced from within the black community. Generally speaking, important black newspapers criticized the Convention for arguing ideology instead of attempting to forge a unified political entity, and for attempting to equate Baraka's ideology with national black ideology. Charles Kenyatta, writing in the Amsterdam News of March 30th, opined that events appear to have been stage-managed and that "it was not an open convention." Muhammad Speaks, official organ of the disciplined Black Muslims, irked perhaps because a representative of the movement was denied permission to address the Convention, declared in its April 5th issue that most of the leaders at the Convention were concerned with seeking positions of prominence for themselves either to satisfy their quest for power, money, or ego satisfaction.

On Monday, March 18, immediately after the delegates departed, representatives of three local black organizations at a press conference denounced the Convention as "disgusting", a "failure," and "a mockery," and charged that Convention leaders were more interested in making speeches and enhancing their political image than in dealing with the problems of suffering and oppressed blacks. The Afro-American of April 2nd declared: "It is nonsense to demand unity when members of the Convention are not sufficiently mature and sophisticated to see the need of compromise for progress," and said the Afro-American, "decrying leadership that has its strength in the electorate or in the

power and influence of its organization is a self-defeating strategy."

Delegates themselves in the main expressed satisfaction with the proceedings, with the prevailing belief being that despite differences of opinion and ideology, the Convention was a success simply because delegates did come. Hope was predominate that somehow in the future a greater degree of unity would develop among blacks. A consensus of the attending delegates, despite little supportive evidence, seemed to be that the agenda including the anti-Israel resolution was sufficiently moderate so that any black official could live with it.

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Any objective assessment of the Convention and the basic structure that implements resolutions of biennial Conventions must take into account the obvious problems which remain. First and foremost, as yet there has not emerged a black ideology that is anywhere near reaching a consensus. And prospects for developing something that the masses will support are indeed bleak. What now remains is a symbiotic relationship between nationalists, Marxist revolutionaries, and those who wish to work within the existing political system. The Convention's divisiveness suggests that the stresses and strains on the fragile unity may be too great. It will be difficult at best to convince the rank and file black voter that the National Black Assembly has the potential for becoming a political force capable of submerging specific causes of those who control the apparatus to the needs of most blacks.

The Black Assembly leadership appears to be badly splintered what with the influential black politicians avoiding participation in the National Black Assembly and questioning the need for an apparatus that seems destined to create more divisiveness than unity. Mayor Hatcher, one of the few prominent black officials who actively participated in the Convention is reported now to have serious afterthoughts. Hatcher, reportedly remains convinced that the road to success lies in concentrating on the basics of political organizing and electing blacks to political office. Baraka,

still the dominant force in the parent National Black Political Assembly and still passionately anti-Israel, on the other hand appears to be unyielding, and committed to "a total overthrow of all systems that define [sic] us at this point."

Baraka's post-Convention assertion that a black political party is a certainty is debatable. Those who presently control the Black Assembly apparatus suffer from what appears to be a lack of organizing ability, the know-how which could come from the participation of black elected officials, or the means to obtain the requisite finances necessary to create a viable structure. Even more significant is the fact that the leadership fails to recognize or ignores the reality that the majority of blacks prefer to work within the existing system, and have given no evidence that they are ready or willing to participate in a second American revolution.



bc: Bertram H. Gold
Seymour Samet
Hyman Bookbinder
Marc Tanenbaum
Ernest Green

June 14, 1974

Mr. Bayard Rustin, Executive Director
A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010

Dear Bayard:

Thanks for sending me copies of your newspaper columns and your letter to the Wall Street Journal on the problem of quotas. I think they're great. They do an excellent job on one aspect of quotas, but we still must face the problem of what we do, absent full employment. There I think we have to stress our push for an affirmative action program, but one based on Justice Douglas' approach -- of dealing with the problems of all the disadvantaged, rather than just the minorities.

Language to achieve that approach might be along the lines of what I proposed several years ago for Mayor Lindsay's Executive Order #20 on job-training programs in New York City. I suggested that it should include a sentence saying the following: "Among its duties, the Manpower and Career Development Agency is to recruit, screen, and place individuals from the minority groups, disadvantaged persons, under-employed and underskilled in appropriate jobs and training programs pursuant to the provisions of this Order."

The underlined language avoids the difficulties of quotas, and the language is the same as that used by the Plasterers and Cement Masons Union in a national training agreement with the Portland Cement Association and the U.S. Department of Labor. It is similar to the approach of the Recruitment and Training Program Inc., which recruits heavily among Blacks and Puerto Ricans, but accepts any of the disadvantaged, under-employed and underskilled who come to its doors, including Hasidic Jews.

I'd like your reaction to this approach. Should we get together a few leading people from Black groups, Jewish groups and unions to develop and expand this approach as a new thrust for effective affirmative action?

Cordially,

HF:eak

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator

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Mr. Rustin on Quotas

Editor, The Wall Street Journal:

I agree with a number of the points in your editorial, "Judging the Racial Quotas" (Mar. 11). But you miss the point when you assert that "The idea of 'reverse discrimination' gained currency with the Negro civil rights movement of a decade past."

The controversy over quotas and preferential treatment did not originate in the agenda of the civil rights movement, except insofar as that movement provided the impetus for all subsequent efforts to enhance the status of minorities. The leaders of the civil rights movement—King, Randolph, Wilkins, and others—were explicit in opposing reverse discrimination. They were opposed on philosophical grounds, but were also motivated by pragmatic political considerations. For they recognized that to transform the demand for Negro rights into a call for the displacement of whites would inevitably elicit instantaneous and widespread resistance from a society otherwise disposed to view the civil rights agenda favorably.

The quota controversy is, in fact, a recent phenomenon. Quotas were not, we should remember, an issue in the 1968 presidential election, as they were in 1972. Which brings us to a basic point, albeit one which is often overlooked or dismissed as of secondary importance. And that is that quotas are the progeny, not of the program of the civil rights movement, but rather of the economic policies of the Nixon administration and of the shortcomings of the administration's bureaucracy.

Black unemployment has, after all, risen substantially since Mr. Nixon assumed office. Instead of an expansionist economy, which guaranteed that affirmative action efforts could succeed without the requirement of numerical goals, the labor market has tightened, and many blacks who were hired because of affirmative action programs found themselves once again out of work.

Leaving the question of the economy aside, the issue is who has been ordering, directing and enforcing de facto quota hiring. And the answer is the officials of the Nixon administration. They have been imposing quotas largely because they have been assigned a difficult job—the increase of minority and female employment—in an unfavorable economic climate, and are thus prepared to use whatever means are at their disposal, no matter how undemocratic these might be.

They are also resorting to quotas for another reason. And that is that this administration has abandoned the idea that a democratic society committed to upgrading those who have suffered from discrimination should proceed by providing compensatory education and training that would enable minorities to enter the labor force without sacrificing qualifications and standards.

This was and still is the goal of the civil rights movement. Weakening the merit principle and legitimate standards does no benefit to society, least of all to minorities. But if the finger of blame is to be pointed, it should be directed where it belongs: at an administration whose policies have worsened the plight of blacks, and whose attitudes have undermined the basic ideals of democracy.

BAYARD RUSTIN
Executive Director

A. Philip Randolph Institute
New York

BAYARD RUSTIN SPEAKS

Quotas: A Return To The Token

The debate over quotas and preferential treatment for racial minorities is one of the most troublesome problems confronting society today. Very few people will admit to favoring the establishment of numerical guidelines as a means of abolishing discrimination. But there is compelling evidence that the quota concept is being insinuated into almost every aspect of social life. Hiring practices, college admissions policies, political representation—all are being judged by the standard of whether blacks, Spanish-speaking, and sometimes women and young people are participating in proportion to their presence in the general population.

The reasons for the quota phenomenon are complex. They derive, however, from a basic source—the lethal effects of racism on American life. The only five blacks serve on the 548 member Mississippi highway patrol ten years after passage of the Civil Rights Act demonstrates that prejudice dies hard. Racism persists; the economic plight of black people is not simply the legacy of past discrimination.

Quotas, however, are not the answer to racial injustice. And for a very good reason. At its root, the quota philosophy signifies an acceptance of a social order which has historically dealt harshly with minorities and the poor. Quotas imply that the struggle to transform racist institutions is being abandoned, not for any radical or militant alternative, but for an extended kind of tokenism.

It is no accident that quotas have found favor with the Nixon Administration, given the Administration's record of racial neglect, and considering the numerous Administration efforts to divide blacks from their traditional allies.

The basic contradiction in the Administration approach is reflected in unemployment statistics. For at the same time as Nixon officials have imposed quota systems, or asked courts to impose quota systems, the deterioration of the economy has brought a nearly two-fold increase in the number of black jobless.

Quotas have thus become an ineffective substitute for a full employment economy, expanded manpower training to hasten minority entry in the skilled trades, and a comprehensive education program to help blacks overcome the handicap of inferior ghetto schools.

By legitimizing the quota principle, moreover, the federal government is perpetuating a myth that has had a devastating impact on American race relations. This is the myth that blacks must be given something in order to have something.

Certainly blacks are familiar with the image of the token—the lone black who is assigned a conspicuous place, but never given responsibility or autonomy. The civil rights movement opposed tokenism, not simply because it was an inadequate response to pervasive inequality, but also because it recognized that tokenism was a public relations maneuver that served neither the interests of black people or society.

The black who is hired because of a government-ordered quota faces a similar predicament. Society will not judge him as an equal, as someone who succeeded on his own merit. And he himself will be plagued by self-doubt.

In addition to placing specific economic and social demands before America, the civil rights movement was a struggle for human dignity and individual self-esteem. It sought to destroy the stereotypes which left Negroes psychologically-maimed for centuries.

Civil rights leaders themselves have always opposed reverse discrimination (which is, after all, the inevitable result of quotas.) They sought to enhance opportunity for all—economically, politically, and socially—so that the black man could be integrated into a society where standards were untarnished. Thus quotas did not originate in the agenda of the civil rights movement. They rather violate its most fundamental ideas.

BAYARD RUSTIN SPEAKS

Quotas And The "New Ethnicity"

The black community may soon face the formidable challenge of finding an alternative to the quota system. Although the Supreme Court, in the *DeFunis* judgement, avoided the issue for the present, there are indications, particularly the minority opinion of Justice William Douglas, that the high court may eventually declare unconstitutional the practice of establishing separate standards for blacks and other minorities.

Whatever finding the court reaches, it is important that blacks begin to consider the implications of quotas as a strategy for overcoming discrimination and achieving economic justice. I have already stated my objections to quotas: in brief, I feel quotas are an exaggerated form of tokenism which represent a poor substitute for a full employment policy and have a devastating psychological effect on the very people they are designed to help.

Another important issue is the division between blacks and their traditional allies which the quota controversy is creating.

In the *DeFunis* case, for example, most of organized labor, many Jewish organizations, and a number of white ethnic

groups opposed the policy of giving minorities preferential treatment in college admissions, while civil rights organizations supported the practice.

Further evidence of the divisive potential of quotas was provided at a recent New York Conference on affirmative action and preferential treatment. The participants included blacks, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italian-Americans, and labor unionists. These were individuals who would find themselves in substantial agreement on a broad range of social and economic issues. Many had marched side by side with Martin Luther King and A. Philip Randolph in the most crucial and dangerous campaigns of the civil rights movement.

But it was obvious that on the question of racial quotas, these historically unified forces were poles distant.

We heard, during the course of the conference:—A spokesman for an Italian-American organization severely criticize affirmative action programs, declaring that Italian-Americans were systematically discriminated against and excluded from positions of influence in government and education.

A woman insisted that only Puerto Rican (as opposed to Cuban or Dominican) teachers could relate to Puerto Rican children, just as, she asserted, only Italian teachers of Milanese dialect would relate to Milanese-Italian children.

A young law school graduate of working-class background criticized compensatory education programs for largely excluding white working class students.

As the above examples indicate, many of the complaints bordered on the absurd. The problems of white working people, as serious as they are, do not approach the grim consequences of racial prejudice.

But their frustrations are real enough. They must deal with subtle, condescending prejudice. Many live just beyond the shadow of poverty and share with black people aspirations of

upward mobility for themselves and their children.

And they are reacting of social injustice by turning inward, rejecting the possibility of broad social change while trying to grab a share of society's spoils for themselves, with little thought to the overriding consequences. They are doing this, moreover, in the name of Jewish, Italian, or Irish or Polish solidarity.

These are those who hail the resurgence of ethnic awareness as a positive development. And certainly it is important that individuals have a sense of pride in the traditions and accomplishments of their ancestors.

But much of what passes as the "New Ethnicity" is nothing more than a new tribalism, a worldwide phenomenon in which all social intercourse is judged by the degree it benefits a particular race, religion, or nationality.

Quotas are an inherent part of this phenomenon. They imply that all problems can be solved by erecting a wall around one's own group, so that all outsiders are excluded. Eventually, that wall will become smaller, as sub-groups are formed based on their accent or social class, or whether they live in the city or country. Until finally the wall become so small it excludes everyone, except the individual and his family.

This is the real danger of the quota principle. And the impulse of ethnic isolation will persist until all these—blacks, white working people, and ethnic minorities—who share common social problems join together to develop effective alternatives to tribalistic formulas. Dr. John Morsell, Assistant Executive Director of the NAACP, has already proposed that black groups initiate a dialogue with other organizations in order to develop a common solution. Dr. Morsell's proposal represents not only an intelligent formula to defuse the explosive quota issue; it is the only way by which all who suffer from discrimination can develop a broad strategy to overcome discrimination's shackles.

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BOOK OF NUMBERS

CHAPTER XII

1. And Miriam and Aaron spoke against Moses because of the Cushite woman whom he had married; for he had married a Cushite woman. 2. And they said: 'Hath the Lord indeed spoken only with Moses? hath He not spoken also with us? And the Lord heard it. -- 3. Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men that were upon the face of the earth. -- 4. And the Lord spoke suddenly unto Moses, and unto Aaron, and unto Miriam: 'Come out ye three unto the tent of meeting.' And they three came out. 5. And the Lord came down in a pillar of cloud, and stood at the door of the Tent, and called Aaron and Miriam; and they both came forth. 6. And He said: 'Hear now My words: if there be a prophet among you, I the Lord do make Myself known unto him in a vision. I do speak with him in a dream. 7. My servant Moses is not so; he is trusted in all My house; 8. with him do I speak mouth to mouth, even manifestly, and not in dark speeches; and the similitude of the Lord doth he behold, wherefore then were ye not afraid to speak against My servant, against Moses?' 9. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against them; and He departed. 10. And when the cloud was removed from over the Tent, behold, Miriam was leprous, as white as snow; and Aaron looked upon Miriam; and, behold, she was leprous. 11. And Aaron said unto Moses: 'Oh my lord, lay not, I pray thee, sin upon us, for that we have done foolishly, and for that we have sinned. 12. Let her not, I pray, be as one dead, of whom the flesh is half consumed when he cometh out

of his mother's womb.' 13. And Moses cried unto the Lord, saying:
'Heal her now, O God, I beseech Thee,' 14. And the Lord said unto
Moses: 'If her father had but spit in her face, should she not hide
in shame seven days? let her be shut up without the camp seven days,
and after that she shall be brought in again.' 15. And Miriam was
shut up without the camp seven days; and the people journeyed not
till Miriam was brought in again. 16. And afterward the people
journeyed from Hazeroth, and pitched in the wilderness of Paran.



June 6, 1974

Dr. Alvin F. Poussaint
Office of the Dean
Harvard Medical School
25 Shattuck Street
Boston, Mass. 02115

Dear Dr. Poussaint:

I am very sorry that you will not be able to join us at our Conference at Fisk University. I know that you would have had much to contribute.

Thank you very much for sending me an advance copy of the article which you wrote for Ebony Magazine. It is a first-rate piece and I know that we will want to circulate it widely after it appears. Do let us know the next time you plan to be in New York so we can arrange to get together.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Bertram H. Gold

BHG/aw

bcc: M. Tanenbaum ✓
S. Samet
H. Fleischman
H. Bookbinder

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AMERICAN JEWISH
BLACKS AND JEWS: AN APPEAL FOR UNITY

ARCHIVES

by

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One of the most alarming aspects of the DeFunis case that was recently heard before the U.S. Supreme Court was the split that it revealed between the Jewish and black communities. DeFunis, a Sephardic Jew, had charged the University of Washington Law School with reverse discrimination for refusing him admission but accepting several dozen minority students with academic records and test scores allegedly weaker than his.

For the first time in decades, some segments of the Jewish community find themselves at odds with the policies of major civil rights groups made up of black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, and American Indian organizations. However, I believe that it is important to put this disagreement into perspective and to understand that by supporting DeFunis, influential Jewish groups like the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Committee, and the Jewish Rights Council were not necessarily being anti-black, although white racism was evident in one brief filed by DeFunis's attorneys. They wrote: "The predominance of whites in the university law school may well be explained by a lack of inclination or aptitude on the part of blacks for such studies. Any observant person knows that certain races have certain bents or inclinations. The fact that the heavyweight boxing field is dominated by blacks does not prove that whites are excluded by discrimination."

Many blacks are puzzled by the stand that these organizations have taken against affirmative action programs which clearly benefit non-white minorities, and many have seen this stand as a sign of change in Jewish opinion. I think that, instead, this opposition should be seen in part as anti-quota rather than anti-black in its intent. Believe it or not, some Jews react to the term "quota" in the same way that blacks respond when called "boy,"

that is, as a sign of bigotry and a term of oppression. Jewish organizations specifically oppose quotas because in the past, and even today, quotas have been used to keep Jews out of jobs and out of universities. In other words, Jews have been held back by maximum quotas on their admission. For that reason, they have often advocated a strict merit system for admission to schools and colleges, since they believe that any system of quotas potentially puts Jewish students at a disadvantage. For example, if students or jobs were assigned to ethnic groups on the basis of population ratios alone, blacks would gain 15% of the places and Jews only 3%. Thus, from many Jews' standpoint, even though they support blacks' fight for equality, a real threat to Jewish self-interest exists if quotas become a quasi-legal American institution.

It should be emphasized, however, that university affirmative action programs do not have to lead to quotas and should not mean discrimination against Jewish and other white students. Blacks are, in effect, only demanding minimum representation for minorities in colleges and jobs in part to remedy the effects of past discrimination. Any attempt to impose a limiting quota on the admission of Jewish students should be strongly opposed by civil rights groups. Injustices against any and all minorities must be rectified in the long-range interests of America. Therefore, former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, who disagreed with the powerful Jewish groups in the DeFunis dispute, commented, "It is tragic that the two most persecuted minorities should fall apart on this issue." This is a feeling that many blacks and Jews share.

The Jewish community has long been one of the strongest allies of blacks. More than any other white group, they helped to spearhead and support the civil rights movement. Members of the Jewish community gave

a great deal of financial help to the chief civil rights organizations. Much more than that, during the height of the movement in the mid-60's, many Jews went South to man the battle lines. Many were injured and several died in the struggle for black equality. Two of the three civil rights workers murdered in Mississippi during the summer of '64 were Jewish, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, both from New York. The third victim was James Earl Chaney, a black Mississippian. These three gave their lives because they believed in justice and equality for all men. Schwerner and Goodman were like many other Jews in their special allegiance to the black cause. Despite some recent antagonism and mutual resentment between the two groups, there can be no denial of the significance of Jews' contribution to the fight for human justice.

Nonetheless, some blacks suggest that Jews joined the civil rights movement out of self-interest because they believed that relieving black oppression would strengthen barriers against Jewish oppression. Even if true, this is not a motivation for which anyone should feel ashamed. Blacks too must fight oppression against any group because the violation of one group's rights endangers everyone's rights. The late Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. taught us that it was important to be concerned with the plight of all oppressed groups. In his well-known letter from a Birmingham jail in 1963, he wrote, "It was illegal to aid a Jew in Hitler's Germany. Even so, I am sure that had I lived in Germany at the time, I would have aided and comforted my Jewish brothers."

To suggest that Jews were not sincerely interested in black liberation is to ignore some obvious historical facts. Jews had little to gain directly from helping blacks. In fact, by supporting blacks they were often risking

their own well-being and safety. For example, it became common for white racists to accuse "Jewish Communists" with instigating black uprisings. With racism as strong as it is in America, being pro-black has never been an advantage. Yet the commitment of many whites including Jews was superficial and shortlived. Many quickly left the movement and returned to live in racially restricted, all-white suburbs.

Today, some Jewish leaders and particularly Jewish lawyers continue to defend black militants in court and quietly accept some of their defendants' "hate-whitey" attitudes. Lately, in the theater, arts and the movies, Jews have often helped blacks gain entry and prominence. On our college campuses it has more often than not been Jewish professors who have sponsored and supported programs for increased minority recruitment and enrollment. However, the Jewish community is not completely liberal. There are bigots among them who continue to refer to blacks derogatorily with the Yiddish word "shvartzer." Some blacks and Jews have charged Jewish social scientists with playing a significant role in the new academic racism which implies that blacks are innately inferior. There is both good and bad in current Jewish-black relations which can get worse or better.

Despite the traditional alliance between Jews and blacks in the fight for civil rights, right now the DeFunis case has brought widespread publicity to an alleged Jewish-black split. It is true that a decision in favor of DeFunis on the single issue of minority enrollment in universities would have endangered all affirmative action programs and thus would have been a severe setback for all blacks and other minorities. Yet the disagreement is by no means so clear as that may sound, since some Jewish organizations, including the National Council of Jewish Women, in addition to countless

Jewish individuals, opposed DeFunis. Moreover, it is important to remember that some Jewish groups that supported DeFunis also officially support affirmative action programs. The disagreement between Jews and blacks thus seems to center around the methods for achieving the goals of affirmative action programs.

One of the problems is that many affirmative action programs are just beginning; at many institutions affirmative action policies are vague and confusing. The DeFunis case grew out of this very lack of clarity about acceptable approaches to affirmative action. Eleanor Holmes Norton, the black Chairperson of the New York City Commission on Human Rights, emphasizes that "affirmative action amounts to a brand new personnel technology, not simply a device for bringing in excluded groups. It seeks to make personnel systems fair and objective." The federal government could help resolve some of the present confusion if it would provide specific guidelines that would ensure that the constitutional rights of any citizen or ethnic group are not violated.

However, it would be misleading to view the current problems in Jewish-black relations only in terms of this isolated legal issue in the DeFunis case. Ever since the emergence of the black power movement in the late 1960's, some members of the Jewish community have become increasingly ambivalent about their alliance with blacks. When some civil rights groups turned to black consciousness programs, whites were brusquely pushed out of the organizations and attacked for dominating the movement. Many of the whites in the movement did display deeply racist attitudes that could not be easily changed. With this policy shift, long-standing friendships were in some cases broken: many Jews, as well as other whites, felt hurt and

puzzled. Their contribution to the black cause seemed to have been overlooked and ignored. Blacks, on the other hand, felt strongly that Afro-Americans should direct their own movement and not be controlled by any other group. Some black power advocates said that they didn't need whites anymore. As a result, many whites felt betrayed, rejected, or unappreciated, and in reaction, many previously active and sympathetic Jews began to retreat. But many of these same whites refused to look inward to examine their own racism.

It became even more distressing to Jews when some blacks began to blame them for ghetto conditions. Some black community leaders, many of whom had earlier been supported by Jewish groups, began to label Jewish merchants and landlords as the chief villains in black ghettos. During the urban riots many Jewish and white stores were specifically earmarked for destruction. Attacks should have been against individual exploiters; religious slurs invited generalizations that were bigoted and unjust. Some blacks began to refer to "Jewish oppression" of blacks, forgetting that so-called Christians have been responsible for the origin and perpetuation of black oppression in America. Nonetheless, it was evident that some segments of the Jewish community were anti-black. For instance, the Jewish community in general rejected black Jews and some ridiculed them. Others made it clear that they did not want to mingle too closely with blacks. An editor of a prominent Jewish magazine wrote: "If I were to be asked today whether I would like a daughter of mine 'to marry one,' I would have to answer: 'No, I wouldn't like it at all.'"

As the mass media played up anti-Semitic outbursts coming from a few blacks, many Jews began to believe that blacks were turning anti-Jewish, and unfortunately many began to associate black power sloganeering with anti-

Semitism. When Jews spoke up against these assaults, some blacks countered them by claiming that "black anti-Semitism exists because of Jewish racism." Such rationalizations were thin excuses for the ugly reality of anti-Semitism in the black community. However, it did not appear that Jewish leaders spoke out against growing white racism in segments of the Jewish community. They too tended to rationalize anti-black sentiments by suggesting they were provoked by black behavior. Allan Solomonow, a former staff member of the Jewish Peace Fellowship, comments: "Alas, it seems possible for a guilt-ridden Jewish community to speak in alarming ways of anti-Semitism while divorcing such convictions from their commitment to social justice in this country and throughout the world." Some black leaders did speak out against anti-Semitism, particularly Roy Wilkins of the NAACP.

Nevertheless, Jews became especially alarmed by black violence because in many of the larger cities they lived on the fringes of changing neighborhoods. This was particularly true in New York City. Jews were attacked, beaten, and mugged by young blacks and Jewish institutions were vandalized. "Hate-whitey" blacks made no exception for the Jews. It is important to understand that most blacks view Jews as white and make no other distinctions. Thus, many of the attacks on Jews were not specifically meant for them but for whites in general. Jews felt that they were unjustly receiving the brunt of black frustration. The Jewish Defense League was formed and vented much of its belligerence on the black community. But some Jews overreacted because of stereotypes they held about blacks and violence. Philip Perlmutter, New England Director of the American Jewish Committee, explains, "Jews feel that there are certain problems for which blacks themselves are responsible and which cannot be blamed on poverty or general white society

or on Jews in particular. Poor Jews, in Brooklyn or Roxbury, do not mug, rob, or attack each other. Blacks know it and so do Jews."

Besides the violence problem, there has been steadily growing contention between Jews and blacks since the late 1950's particularly around education issues. Many Jews revealed their latent prejudice with respect to school desegregation. Many began to fear for the quality of their children's education as black enrollment increased in urban schools. These fears resulted in a great exodus of Jews, historically urban people, from the cities to the suburbs. The New York City teachers' strike in the late 60's drew clear lines between the teachers' union and the black community. Black groups demanded community control while the predominantly Jewish union opposed it. Again it seemed to be black vs. Jew: Blacks felt that Jews did not want to share power with them and believed that Jews would only settle for a situation in which they could be dominant and paternalistic. Racist feelings flared on both sides, and Jews and blacks were polarized.

In the 1970's, fuel was added to an already blazing fire when some black groups emerged with pro-Arab and anti-Israel platforms. Arnold Forster and Benjamin Epstein, authors of "The New Anti-Semitism," contend that strong anti-Israel feeling often masks an underlying anti-Jewish attitude. Although I believe that an anti-Israel position cannot be considered anti-Semitic in itself, it was often associated with a few leaders who had made anti-Jewish remarks on other occasions. In recent years, some Afro-Americans have viewed the Arabs as black nations and Israel as a white "imperialist" country stealing land from the Arabs and acting as a neocolonialist power in black Africa, although Israel has given economic

aid and educational opportunities to African nations. Some feel that white supremacist attitudes may become dominant in Israeli politics. On this fear alone many are pro-Arab. However, it is at least questionable that blacks have more in common with the Arabs than with the Jews. Bayard Rustin, the 1963 March on Washington organizer, although recognizing the plight of displaced Arabs, feels that Israel's survival is important to blacks. He proclaims, "In the Middle East, Israel is a democratic society in a sea of feudal sheikdoms and military dictatorships. Moreover, blacks must know that democracy, wherever it is, must be supported, because all minorities. . . need democracy in order to attain economic, political and social justice." There are many pro's and con's in the Arab-Israeli conflict too complicated to be discussed here. However, it is surprising that some blacks can support "nationhood" for blacks and at the same time be unsympathetic to Jewish people's wish for a homeland -- particularly since they were driven out of many countries by Nazi hate-mongers.

Jews have good reason to fear and repudiate anti-Semitism coming from any source -- including blacks. They endured oppression for centuries and just thirty years ago they were victims of the worst genocidal holocaust in history, in which six million Jews died in Nazi concentration camps and gas chambers. Blacks as an oppressed group are generally sensitive to Jewish fears of anti-Semitism. Likewise, many Jews have demonstrated their understanding of black fears of racial bigotry and discrimination. Because of the similarity of their experiences, it is distressing that blacks and Jews should come to clash, especially over charges and counter-charges of bigotry.

These are difficult times in black-Jewish relations. As history moves on, some feel that group self-interest may dictate that blacks and Jews go their separate ways. Diehards say that the period of Jewish black racial

harmony is over. However, the vast majority of both communities do not share this pessimism about the future. Although there are bigots among both Jews and blacks, there are probably fewer than among other ethnic groups. Surveys of blacks indicate that they are much less anti-Semitic than whites, and that when Jews are present they are likely to befriend them. Blacks have been shown to distrust whites with anti-Semitic attitudes because they feel that such whites are also likely to be anti-black.

Much of the Jewish experience has become part of the black experience and vice versa through friendships and socio-political alliances. Many of today's black leaders had early educational and employment ties with Jews. Both conservative and radical blacks often look to Jews as models for black community development. Many preach that blacks could develop the drive and ethnic solidarity that is a strong part of Jewish tradition. Blacks also admire the intellectual traditions in Jewish culture and Jews' capacity for upward mobility. Jews should realize that on the whole blacks view them with respect.

Moral issues aside, blacks who promote anti-Semitism are politically naive and may be falling into a trap laid by their enemies. Knowing how well infiltrated the black movement has been by the F.B.I. and other government spies, one wonders if agents have been at work to divide blacks and Jews in order to weaken the thrust of the human rights movement. In a counter-intelligence memo to F.B.I. offices on March 4, 1968, J. Edgar Hoover, the late F.B.I. chief, stated that one of their goals was to "prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability. . . . They must be discredited to the white community, both to the responsible community and to 'liberals' who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalists simply because they are Negroes." Kivie Kaplan, who is

National President of the NAACP and is Jewish, warns, "White bigots are doing all within their power to keep Jews and blacks at each other's throats."

Jews and blacks represent one of the best forces for keeping America on the path to humanitarianism and equal opportunity for all citizens. A serious split between them will work to the advantage of conservative forces in America, and ultimately to the harm of blacks and Jews alike. Lenora Berson, author of "The Negroes and the Jews," warns, "As allies they are at the core of the liberal movement in the United States. As antagonists they may well hasten the nation down the bloody road of racism and reaction."

Jewish groups must continue to take a strong stand against racism and work constructively with affirmative action programs. They should avoid strategies such as the DeFunis case that are harmful to black progress. Jewish groups must speak out against exploiters of blacks who happen to be Jews; they deserve no special protection because they are Jewish. And they should not automatically associate black militancy with anti-Semitism. There is no place in the black movement for such bigotry. Black consciousness ideology has done a great deal to bring blacks closer to liberation and remains vitally important for black community development. However it does not necessitate being anti-white or anti-Jewish any more than Jewish consciousness-raising implies being anti-black or anti-Gentile. Despite the DeFunis affair, Bertram Gold, the Executive Vice President of the American Jewish Committee, believes that "Jews and blacks have many more issues in common than those that might separate them. The climate has never been more receptive in recent years than it is now for us to work together on common agendas." Eleanor Holmes Norton agrees with Mr. Gold. She reports that "a survey taken indicates that a great bulk of whites with liberal attitudes

in the New York area are Jewish. I think that Jews share some of the conservatism of other groups in this period but the climate on day-to-day issues is improving as I see it."

The historic alliances between Jews and blacks have been important to our mutual advancement here in America. When principles held by one minority conflict with those of another on a particular question, this must not compromise all else, because most issues in our lives are simply not that one-sided. Black community leaders should not relinquish this alliance over either the Israeli dispute or quota arguments. We cannot let these issues destroy the potential for even greater coalitions needed now more than ever, as both Jews and blacks strive for an equal share of the power and opportunity this nation offers.



From....

HYMAN BOOKBINDER

June 4, 1974

To: Professor Paris

I did manage to put some thoughts down on paper -- though it is only in rough draft form. But I am sending it along to you so that you will have the basic thrust of what I hope to cover. Some of the areas, as I'm sure you'll recognize, are hardly treated in substance -- like revenue-sharing and health legislation -- but time permitting I'll do a little more on them.

I continue to feel that we may have to do a lot of improvising, because the earlier sessions may well have pre-empted some of this material. But we'll have a chance to chat a bit prior to the session, and that should be helpful.

CC: Rudin

H.B. *LB*

Washington Representative, American Jewish Committee
818 18th St., NW -- Washington, D.C. 20006
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June 3, 1974

ISSUES TODAY -- A JEWISH PERSPECTIVE

The Jewish Agenda -- Steady but Changing

The Jewish agenda on domestic affairs has, generally, and in civil rights areas in particular, in its basic philosophy and goals, not changed significantly in the period since the major civil rights coalitional efforts of the Fifties and the Sixties. But the "mix" of that agenda and the amount of attention given to its implementation, actual or perceived, has been affected by a number of developments in the last decade or so:

1. Jewish communal agencies have found it necessary and appropriate to give more time and resources to two major "Jewish" concerns that became critical in this recent period:
 - The Six Day War in 1967 and the continuing threat to Israel's existence ever since, including the energy crisis with its potential for Jewish scapegoating and anti-semitism.
 - The plight of Soviet Jews and the critical assistance (diplomatic, political, and economic) required of American Jewry.
2. The fears about Jewish survival in places like Israel and the Soviet Union have added to traditional, continuing concerns here about Jewish continuity generally. Black and ethnic assertiveness, furthermore, has encouraged Jewish assertiveness and less inhibited expressions of Jewish concerns, interests, and rights. New threats of anti-semitism, at least signs of insensitivity to such threats, have been perceived and condemned.
3. Jews and Jewish organizations have not been free of the doubts and the ambivalences that have developed in the last decade about effectiveness of some of the traditional social policies and programs advocated by the civil rights-labor-liberal-religious coalitions in the past.
4. Some of the social policies and programs have created new problems --

busing, affirmative action, low-income housing sites, community control of schools, etc. -- that have pitted, or seemed to pit, Jewish groups as such against Black or other minority groups.

All of the foregoing has led to the charge by some (Jews and non-Jews) that there has been a significant retreat on the part of the Jewish community from its commitment to social action on behalf of the poor and the black and the disadvantaged generally, that there has been a turning inward, by Jews, at the expense of its traditional "universalist" concerns.

This observer believes there has not been such a Jewish retreat -- but it isn't really useful or necessary to argue that point. I prefer to reaffirm today that there must not be such a retreat -- and then discuss briefly some of the major issues on which the Black and Jewish communities can work together -- work together not only where the issues are clear and the solutions/programs fairly obvious and worthy of support, but on issues crying out for searching review and the development of better answers.

On most of the troublesome issues facing us today there is not a Jewish as opposed to a Black view. Each of our communities, in fact, shows ambivalence and division on some of the central, underlying issues of concern to the inter-group relations community at large: affirmative action (quotas, etc.); school integration (busing, city-suburb consolidation, community control, etc.); income security (welfare reform, etc.). On a more philosophical level -- but with current policy and programmatic implications -- Jewish and Black and other writers and thinkers are exploring the nature of "equality", the differences between integration and desegregation, the threats to "meritocracy", the thrust of a new pluralism, and a growing range of related issues.

These differences and searchings, notwithstanding, I believe there still is today a substantial and significant set of premises and convictions about what ails

and might cure our society's ills -- which is accepted by most of the Jewish community -- and, I believe, the Black community. Even while we accept and respect differences on some issues, even while we search for answers to new problems, and even as our respective communities pursue our own "parochial" needs, we can and must work together around the issues discussed below.

The issues that concern us affect our personal behavior, our institutional conduct, and our inter-group relationships. But the major issues involve public policies and public actions -- and this presentation will focus mainly on this public responsibility.

Words like "liberal" and "conservative" have lost much of their meaning, but it is probably ^{fair} ~~accurate~~ to stipulate, at the outset, that the overwhelming sentiment in both the Black and the Jewish communities is for an activist role on the part of government, especially the Federal branch, in the attainment of social progress. We believe the government must pursue vigilantly the "promotion of the general welfare". This explains the almost universal concerns felt in both the Jewish and Black communities early in 1973 when the Nixon Administration launched a major attack on Federal social programs, using rhetoric like "getting the government off your back and out of your pocket."

The Central Issue: An Integrated Society

Last year, on the occasion of the 10th Anniversary of the March on Washington, the American Jewish Committee welcomed the occasion:

"...to identify itself once again with the goal of a truly integrated society where men, women and children of all races, religions and national origins are free both to retain and enjoy their own cultural backgrounds and to live and work in harmony and mutual respect with all other Americans."

In that historic 10 year period, the goal of a truly integrated society remained unchanged for most of us -- and hopefully will not change in the next ten

years. But what we were only beginning to understand in 1963 we now see clearly: legal civil rights victories must be accompanied by social and economic breakthroughs. The cliché about not having the 75¢ with which to buy that hamburger at that MacDonald's in Mississippi or in New York is a profound truth -- and today's real challenge.

The "civil rights" agenda, consequently, now encompasses the whole gamut of social and economic legislation -- on top of the unfinished agenda of basic civil rights issues not yet fully resolved. The program and the activities of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights makes this point very clear.

It is one of the cruelest ironies in our history that twenty years after Brown, hundreds of communities and thousands of schools are more segregated than ever. It won't take more civil rights laws or pronouncements to change that; it will take social and economic measures that will give people options they are in a realistic position to exercise.

How Much Black Progress?

One of the less useful debates in recent years is the one raging over the Scammon-Wattenberg thesis that blacks have started to enter the socio-economic mainstream in significant numbers. Whatever the merits of the particular arguments and statistics offered, both sides in the debate are saying: first, that the blacks are still shockingly and unacceptably behind whites; and second, public policies had a lot to do with what progress has taken place and will continue to have a lot to do with future progress.

Item: The ratio of blacks (median family) income to white went from .54 in 1950 to .62 in 1972 -- but between 1963 and 1969, the most active years of Federal commitment, the ratio went from .53 to .63.

Item: Between 1964 (start of war on poverty) and 1972, more than 10,000,000 Americans rose above the "poverty" line -- an impressive rate. The white

poverty rate in these years went down from 15% to 9% -- while the black went from 50% to 32%. If you were black, in 1964 or in 1972, your chances of being poor were three times as great as those of a white American.

Whatever else these and other statistics suggest, one thing is clear: blacks (and browns too) constitute an unacceptably high proportion of our disadvantaged Americans. One-third of all blacks are still below the government's definition of poverty (about \$4300 for a family of 4). *And practically no improvement has occurred in the last three years.*

But blacks are not the only poor in America. For every poor black, there are two poor whites. (About 8,000,000 and 16,000,000 respectively.)

The further improvement in black economic progress will continue to be linked to progress for all low-income Americans. Policies must reflect this basic truth. Moreover, the 50,000,000 "near-poor" Americans (including many Blacks and ethnics) expect and deserve progress too and will not support programs they perceive as ignoring them, perhaps even hurting them.

If Economic Growth Stops...

Even though the gap between white and black, and between rich and poor, did not narrow significantly over the last 10 or 20 years, absolute progress for the less privileged groups has taken place, not sufficiently but quite impressively by world or past standards.

These gains were possible because they were not perceived as coming at the expense of the rest of society. Our economic growth was, over the years, adequate enough to allow not only for gains of the poorest (and that means a large proportion of blacks and other minorities) but for uninterrupted increases in the standard of living for the middle and upper income groups.

But now we are faced with the dire possibility of economic stagnation. If such should be the case, further improvements for the poor and the near poor will

have to be at the expense of the others. Simply stated, we may require the first real redistribution of income in recent history. The social and political consequences of such a development are self-evident.

A slowdown or a halt in economic growth could result from energy or other shortages, from mis-management of the economy, or from conscious choice (for environmental or "quality of life" reasons). Whatever the cause, or combination of causes, the result is the same: further gains for the poor will come at the expense of others.

Policy implications of the above are clear: measures must be developed and supported to foster economic growth. Underutilization of the labor force (unemployment or underemployment) and idle industrial capacity are intolerable -- especially when the country is desperately short of housing and community facilities and transportation.

To the extent that economic stagnation results from shortages in fuel or basic resources, policies must be developed and supported to overcome such shortages. Recent experience has shown that profiteering from shortages benefit some, while inflation and disemployment hurt many more.

Sharing the Burden Fairly...

Inflation and shortages hurt most American families -- but they hurt the lower-income families most, and that means a disproportionate number of minority families.

At the height of the energy crisis early this year, the American Jewish Committee initiated a coalitional declaration by a wide range of community organizations, including almost every major Jewish and Black agency, that, in summary, "the American

people can be counted upon to do what must be done to meet the energy crisis...

but they will insist upon sound public policies that assure fairness and equity."

The statement listed a number of specific program suggestions to assure such fairness and equity.

In the period ahead, this will undoubtedly continue to be a major bridge issue for the Black and Jewish communities.

Resuming a War on Poverty...

The poor of our nation, black and white, want out of their inherited poverty. Between the civil rights movement of the 50's and the 60's and the war on poverty of the 60's and 70's, we raised the expectations of America's poor and we dare not let them down.

As indicated above, a healthy economy will provide the bulwork for further progress in a war on poverty -- unless we can win popular acceptance for a major shift in income. But even a very powerful economy will not *automatically* ~~authentically~~ eliminate poverty or guarantee economic justice for our disadvantaged groups. So public policies must be advocated aimed at meeting critical social needs:

1. An income security system that provides a decent standard of living for persons and families unable to provide for themselves. (AFDC, social security, food stamps, housing subsidies, medicare, etc.)
2. Public employment programs adequate to provide jobs for all employable men and women whom the private sector fails to utilize, and an expanded unemployment insurance program that protects all employables, whether previously employed or not. (Jewish agencies are proposing programs for 500,000 to 1,000,000 public service jobs.)

Unemployment is a major problem and threat for the country as a whole -- but one problem cries out for maximum attention, the persistent concentration of unemployment among black youth. Rates of 30 to 50% in major urban areas over a prolonged period means another generation of disadvantaged, disillusioned, disabled black men and women for whom the traditional range of "social programs" in their later years will just be too late.

3. Adequate programs of education, training, housing, health, community action, etc. that will both provide basic amenities for underprivileged and prepare them for entering social and economic mainstream.

(Note current legislative efforts to retain community action, legal

services and related programs.)

Social Programs...

The "social programs" debate of the last two years has at least three dimensions:

1. The "national priorities" issue. How much of the nation's gross national product should go into public programs designed to meet the people's needs in education, housing, health, urban development, income security, etc? How much can we shift from defense expenditures? Are we prepared to seek higher tax revenues? How do we make our tax laws more progressive?

2. The "New Federalism" issue. Is the Federal government too deeply involved? Is revenue-sharing the proper vehicle for sharing responsibility with the states and localities? How will our civil rights concerns fare under revenue-sharing?

3. The "effectiveness" issue. Have there been basic errors in programs like model cities, community action, etc? Have we insisted upon adequate evaluations and necessary changes?

Generally speaking, the civil rights coalition forces have rejected the Nixon attack on social programs and have been critical of his Federalism proposals. The general "philosophy" of the Nixon administration has, however, been seriously contradicted by its 1969-70 advocacy of the FAP and by its current advocacy of a Health Insurance Plan. While, in each case, the plans have been considered inadequate, each of them represented a substantial addition to Federal responsibility for social programming.

In 1973 and 1974, major efforts have gone into preserving and adequately funding those social programs already on the statute books. This includes resistance to Presidential impoundments of appropriated funds and the over-riding of Presidential vetoes.

Health legislation and income security legislation will continue to be key new issues in the period ahead. Black and Jewish efforts in behalf of sound compromises may be very critical. With all its limitations, FAP could have meant important breakthroughs in establishing a greater Federal responsibility for income security, and in providing immediate and substantial improvements for the poorest of the poor. Unfortunately, no satisfactory strategy for getting the best possible legislation through was agreed to by the "pro-welfare" groups before the Nixon administration abandoned and then sabotaged its own welfare reform objectives.

Civil Rights Issues

New and troublesome issues have developed in the civil rights field. They have led to some disarray in the coalition, and will not be easily resolved. Charges of racism and anti-semitism have been carelessly and irresponsibly levelled.

There are racists who oppose busing. There are racists who oppose low-cost housing projects. There are racists who oppose affirmative action. There are racists who talk about "crime in the streets" when they really mean something else. But there are those -- white and black, Gentile and Jew -- who genuinely believe that massive busing may be wrong -- or that scatter-site housing can be disruptive -- or that rigid quotas can destroy genuine affirmative action -- or that there is a real crime problem that victimizes the poor and the minorities primarily.

Similarly, there are anti-semites in America, including a new and virulent form in the so-called "third-world" movement, for which some blacks are spokesmen. But there are those, untainted by any shred of anti-semitism, who genuinely believe that Jewish resistance to quotas or to some particular housing development is a cop-out on basic civil rights commitment.

That the basic civil rights coalition can be mobilized effectively was seen last month when the Senate was persuaded to defeat an extreme anti-busing amendment

to the education bill. The coalition continues to be effective and united on such matters as adequate funding for all civil rights agencies, rigid enforcement of voting rights and fair-housing and equal employment and school integration laws. These must and will continue.

Affirmative Action , Preferential Treatment and Quotas

It is this issue perhaps more than any other that has put strains on Black-Jewish relationships. There are some welcome signs that the issue is now being discussed with less bitterness and with some developing hope that some accommodations may be possible.

The issue of quotas in our society is much broader than "affirmative action" or "goals and timetables" in employment or in college admissions. Jewish concerns cannot be fully appreciated unless the broader context is understood. It goes to the very nature of a free society where group interests are not crudely distorted into group rights and group proportionalism in politics, in communication, in education, etc.

While there is no single voice for all Jews, it can be stated quite confidently that the Jewish community is almost unanimously supportive of affirmative action in its historic context and in almost all manifestations of it today. Unfortunately, there are some on both sides of the controversy who have refused or failed to distinguish between affirmative action and quotas. The latter is, in our judgment, a distortion of affirmative action and one that threatens affirmative action itself.

The history is clear. A combination of executive orders and Federal legislation outlawed employment (and education) discrimination. This outlawing did open up many doors of opportunity -- and many individuals from groups massively by-passed in the past did start walking through. But the record was far from satisfactory. Performance in many, perhaps most, places was less satisfactory than the situations

were expected to yield in the absence of discrimination. Two remedies, separate but related, seemed necessary -- and both came to be part of the "affirmative action" approach:

1. Take effective steps to enlarge the pool of eligibles from minority groups -- better training, better recruiting, better upgrading practices, review of qualifications for relevancy and bias, etc.
2. Seek maximum results by monitoring and setting goals for realistic, discrimination-free recruiting and hiring.

It cannot be stated too often or too emphatically that the Jewish community not only did not resist these "affirmative action" programs; it enthusiastically supported them and still does -- as it also supports vigilant enforcement of anti-discrimination laws and orders as such.

In practice, however, affirmative action has been a difficult concept to implement. Goals have, in too many cases to be ignored, become de facto quotas. The courts, in cases of demonstrated history of persistent discrimination, have decreed preferential hiring and quotas. While the term is variously and at times carelessly defined, a consensus has developed among Federal agencies and private experts: the term quota means the setting aside of a given number or percentage of slots for one or more particular groups, to the exclusion of others. This is contrary both to law and to sound social policy, in the judgment of most Jewish groups. It is not the same as goals and timetables.

The De Funis case, unfortunately and unhappily, was a very poor case to be the first one reaching the Supreme Court. The facts and the special circumstances of the case permitted at least some of the University's supporters, to contend that this was not really a quota case, but rather one in which the University exercised legitimate discretionary power to select its student body on the basis of its subjective criteria. But others argued that the procedures clearly gave absolute preference to members of specified racial groups.

The court's decision not to act in the case was both welcomed and bemoaned on both sides. For our purposes at this conference today, it is appropriate to stress the positive in the non-decision. A sign of the lessened tensions in this area is the agreement reached by three Jewish, two Black and a Puerto Rican agency in their joint submission to HEW Secretary Weinberger on May 17, in which they called upon him to clarify the issues raised in the De Funis case by developing "non-discriminatory guidelines clarifying how educational institutions can best develop appropriate tools for special efforts to recruit persons from previously excluded groups."

This welcome development offers the hope that some accommodation may be possible in this difficult area. Hopefully, the courts will not be urged to hand down any definitive decision in the immediate period ahead -- one that could on the one hand, legitimize any and all kinds of quota systems, or, on the other, one that might be so sweeping as to threaten legitimate affirmative action programs.

It is this observer's judgment that there are times when social policy should be somewhat ambiguous, flexible, moderate. It is as true of affirmative action as it is of busing or scatter-site housing.

Whatever the merits of the argument on affirmative action generally or on De Funis specifically, there are two general observations that go to the totality of this session's discussion of Today's Issues for Jews and Blacks:

1. The quota issue is not a Black vs. Jew issue -- though Blacks and Jews have been dominant in the debate. Jews are among those who may suffer "reverse discrimination", but it is not being charged that they are being discriminated against because they are Jews, or that they will suffer disproportionately, except in special situations. It is, rather, Jewish dedication to an open society and individual rights that has made them so visible in this confrontation. Those who carelessly or maliciously insist that affirmative action is a "Black v. Jew" issue

are doing all of us a great disservice.

2. There would be no quota issue if we ^{truly} ^{did} better in our basic social objectives. We have been remiss in not providing enough job and educational opportunities for all Americans, causing rough competition for the limited opportunities. We have not done enough to give our minority population the quality education, training, and other bases for successful entry into the job or school market. We have not developed effective enough recruiting and selection processes that would give every individual his full access to the openings. And we have not been vigilant enough to drive out remaining vestiges of conscious discrimination. It won't be enough, the Jewish community recognizes, to ban quotas. Such a ban must be accompanied by more vigorous and imaginative social policies and more effective programs of appropriate affirmative action.

Summary:

The American Jewish community, while giving high priority to pressing "Jewish" issues. (Soviet Jewry, Israeli security, anti-semitism) is deeply committed to resolving the underlying causes for social disarray and inter-group conflict. While the job of eliminating conscious discrimination, whether public or private, remains unfinished, the even more difficult job of creating social and economic opportunities for greater equality and social justice must be pursued.

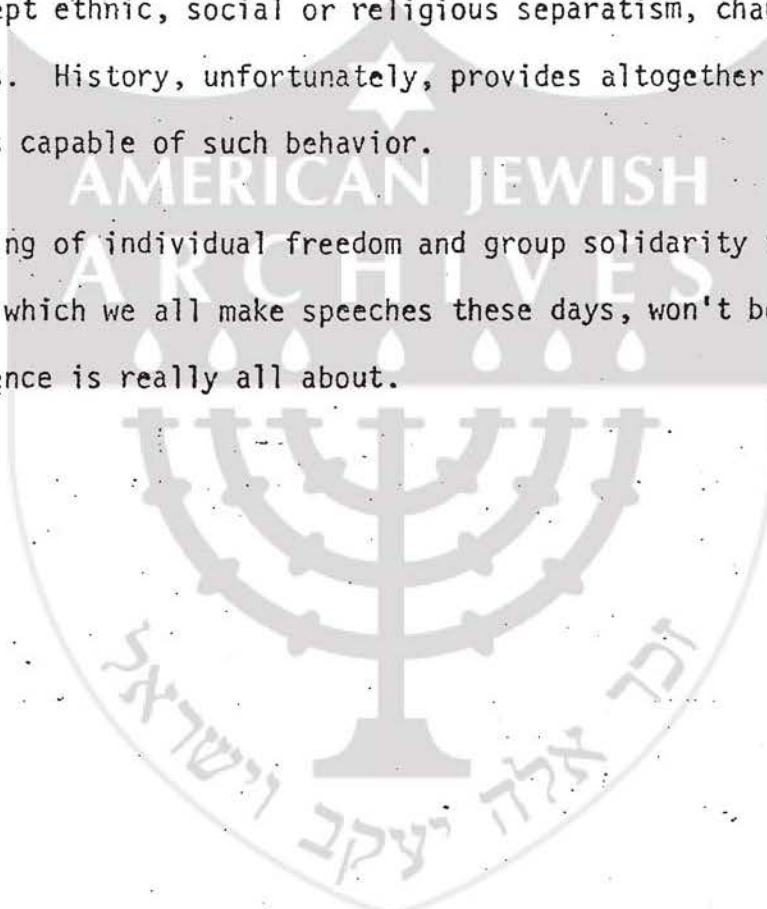
The gap between those so long denied their basic rights and the mainstream of America has been closing much too slowly. Even while we seek to close that gap more quickly, we cannot ignore the problems of those not quite poor and not quite in the mainstream.

Our focus today on concerns of Blacks and Jews must not make us forget that there are other groups in America who are also seeking to work their group interests

In Jewish life, we are frequently weighing our "particularist" as against our "universalist" concerns. And we almost always end up reminding ourselves that there are two parts of Hillel's most famous admonition.

It has now become commonplace to deny the accuracy or appropriateness of the "melting pot" thesis. In so doing, we must hope that in its place we will not encourage or accept ethnic, social or religious separatism, chauvinism, arrogance, or aggressiveness. History, unfortunately, provides altogether too much evidence that any group is capable of such behavior.

The blending of individual freedom and group solidarity in that "new pluralism", about which we all make speeches these days, won't be easy -- but that's what this conference is really all about.





1965

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS, 165 E. 56 ST., NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022, PLAZA 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for people everywhere.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

HAROLD STEINBERG, Director of Publicity

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. AT FIFTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL DINNER, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, IN IMPERIAL BALLROOM, AMERICANA HOTEL, NEW YORK CITY, THURSDAY NIGHT, MAY 20, 1965:

Vice President Humphrey, President of the American Jewish Committee, Morris Abram; Mayor Ivan Allen; distinguished platform guests; ladies and gentlemen:

I particularly cherish the opportunity to address so distinguished an organization as the American Jewish Committee whose founding statement declared many years ago what is a fundamental truth, that

"Jews cannot ensure equality for themselves until and unless it is assured for all."

Because of your basic allegiance to this principle, the American Jewish Committee stated in 1963 that

"...the crisis resulting from a century of denial, by the white majority of the Negro American's basic human rights is not a Negro problem but is a challenge calling for a moral commitment by Americans of every race and religion, and of every section of the country."

In this spirit, your organization as early as 1911, when few men dared to speak out, launched a campaign in New York State to end the advertisement of discrimination in public accommodations, in recreational resorts and amusement parks. This campaign resulted in the passage in 1913 of a state law which has served as a model for many other states and has thus made possible the extension of dignity for Negroes, Puerto Ricans and other minorities. Dr. Kenneth Clark's research on the damaging psychological effect of prejudice, which was a major part of the evidence put before the Supreme Court and led to the now famous decision of 1954 outlawing racial segregation in public schools, was originally done for the American Jewish Committee. These deeds demonstrate for all Americans that the struggle for equal rights is not the Negro's alone but is,

-more-

Morris B. Abram, President; Jacob Blaustein, Louis Caplan, Herbert B. Ehrmann, Irving M. Engel, Joseph M. Proskauer, Honorary Presidents; Ralph Friedman, Chairman, Executive Board; Philip E. Hoffman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Nathan Appleman, Chairman, Board of Trustees; John Slawson, Executive Vice President.

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as you early disclosed, part of the fulfillment of this country's highest and most cherished ideals.

I therefore feel spiritually very much at home in this discussion with you tonight.

In the past several years it has become clear that the technique of mass nonviolent direct action has not only become the accepted method of the civil rights movement but, beyond that, the vast majority of all Americans now support and approve it. What began as a limited expression of protest ten years ago in Montgomery, Alabama to integrate a bus line has grown into a national phenomenon. As history spiraled over a decade, the movement returned to Montgomery and involved in direct action nuns and priests, rabbis, Protestant ministers and laity of every race, social class and age.

Many observers have been surprised and even shocked by these methods. The enemies of the civil rights movement have been quick and vocal to denounce them as undemocratic pressure tactics, and even un-American in philosophy.

Yet the truth is that no one can scorn nonviolent direct action or civil disobedience without canceling out American history. The first non-violent direct action did not occur in Montgomery. Its roots go back to the American Revolution and the boycott against British tea, culminating in the Boston Tea Party. It was the favorite weapon of the suffragette movement when women had to fight for their right to vote. It was the technique the trade unions employed to organize the mass production industries. Many here today can recall the events of the Thirties when federal court injunctions crippled and stifled union organization. Even a Wagner Act could not facilitate a breakthrough. When the now historic sitdown strike burst forth in 1937, a new national attitude congealed, and through the Congress of Industrial Organizations a new major movement was born. Then, too, the nation was warned that the profit system was the target of this new form of struggle. Nearly three decades later we are able to see that the profit system was not only unimpaired but became significantly strengthened.

If there is some confusion about the origins of nonviolent direct action there is even more about civil disobedience. The two methods are not synonymous. Civil disobedience in its true sense has not been employed by Negroes in their struggle. To utilize civil disobedience in its authentic historical form involves

defiance of fundamental national law. For example, when Antigone insisted upon her right to follow her individual conscience and religious convictions to bury her brother, she was defying the King and the unqualified majesty of his law. When the Quakers refused to return runaway slaves, they were defying the Supreme Court and the Dred Scott decision. When Thoreau refused to pay taxes in protest against the Mexican-War, he was breaking a fundamental legislative enactment and opposing the declaration of war of the Congress.

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The Negro today, when he marches in the streets, is not practicing civil disobedience because he is not challenging the Constitution, the Supreme Court or the enactments of Congress. Instead, he seeks to uphold them. He may be violating local municipal ordinances or state laws but it is these laws which contradict basic national law; Negroes by their direct action, are exposing the contradiction. The civil disobedience in the situation, resting on unjust foundations, is that of the segregationists. Negroes have not wilfully and frivolously violated the law. Many goodhearted people believe they do exactly that, and forgive them on grounds that they endure appalling grievances. Yet these people forgive them for misdeeds they are not committing. The truly unsocial lawbreaker disregards law because he, as an individual, is seeking a personal advantage. Negroes have never forgotten, even under the crushing burdens of injustice, that they are connected with the larger society; that the roads they may obstruct and the public buildings they picket are used in common by all citizens. For that reason before a protest can be approved by responsible leadership they must answer the following questions:

1. Do we have a just grievance, or is our purpose merely to create confusion for its own sake as a form of revenge?
2. Have we first used every form of normal means to eliminate the problem by negotiation, petition and appropriate appeals to authority?
3. Having found these channels useless or forcibly closed to us when we embark upon any type of lawbreaking, are we prepared to accept the consequences society will inflict and to maintain, even under punishment, a sense of brotherhood?
4. Do we have a clear program to relieve injustice which does not inflict injustice upon others, and is that program reasonable and grounded in the ethics and best traditions of our society?

In establishing these prerequisite conditions before employing direct action the civil rights movement meets its responsibility to society and fulfills its obligations to democratic principle.

Even after the movement embarks upon a program of nonviolent direct action of civil disobedience its purposes are not narrowly confined to attain benefits exclusively for the Negro. It is an axiom

of nonviolent action and democracy that when any group struggles properly and justly to achieve its own rights it enlarges the rights of all. This element is what makes both democracy and non-violent action self-renewing and creative.

What advantages have all Americans derived from the growth of non-violent direct action in civil rights?

First, the struggle dissolves the deceptive facade and reveals basic evils and contradictions in the society. Tens of millions of Americans a decade ago were ignorant of the actual conditions of life of the Negro, both in the North and the South. Until there was awareness there could be no consensus to make corrections. The long list of federal legislative enactments and Supreme Court decisions illustrate how extensive were the wrongs that blighted our society.

Second, programs for remedying evils are not confined in their effects to Negroes. When Negroes took to the streets to demand job opportunities for themselves they helped to stimulate a broad war on poverty concept which ultimately will benefit more whites than Negroes. When Negroes by direct action seek to participate in the electoral process they awaken the somnolent white who so took his rights for granted that he neglected to use them. When Negroes boycotted schools they did more than reveal classroom discrimination. They brought to the fore such criticisms as those of Dr. Conant, former president of Harvard University, who had long charged we were seeking to utilize 19th century educational methods in conditions of 20th century urbanization. Pushing through the issue of desegregation there emerged a new and startling question of paramount importance to the whole population. What is quality education and how is it attained for all under conditions of population growth, automation and redistribution of population in sprawling cities?

Sociologists will find much to ponder in the striking fact that after the failure of brotherhood banquets to achieve results, and after the futile efforts to achieve ecumenicity by discussion and conferences, in the streets of Selma and Montgomery and at the Lincoln Memorial there was the greatest and warmest expression of religious unity of Catholic, Protestant and Jew in the nation's history.

One of the most profound of all results of the Negro upsurge has been its effect upon the youth of the nation. From the student-led sit-ins of 1960 an awakening of social thought and action has swept the campuses of the nation. In addition to overcoming the stultifying effects of McCarthyism, the movement has in a few years changed the total description of American youth. From the silent generation they have become the morally and socially concerned generation. From the single issue of civil rights, interest has broadened to questions of peace and poverty. From exclusively student involvement the issues now have become the concern of faculty and scholars of every description. It is noteworthy that the vibrant movement to re-examine our foreign policy, which the Government now respects and welcomes, borrowed its title "Teach-Ins" from the civil rights movement. The student awakening and the student mass action rests upon no specific political tendency but impresses the whole democratic political spectrum.

I have discussed the social effects of nonviolent mass direct action at length because I believe it is too often limited in its application merely to the civil rights movement. Perhaps if there has been a broader understanding of the uses of nonviolent direct action in Germany when Hitler was rising and consolidating his power, the brutal extermination of six million Jews and millions of other war dead might have been averted and Germany might never have become totalitarian. If Protestants and Catholics had engaged in nonviolent direct action and had made the oppression of the Jews their very own oppression and had come into the streets beside the Jew to scrub the sidewalks, and had Gentiles worn the stigmatizing yellow arm bands by the millions, a unique form of mass resistance to the Nazis might have developed. I am fully aware of the terror, the intimidation, the brutality and the force the Fascists were so quick to use but I am also aware that in the South today some racists of the same mentality have been curbed in their resistance to non violent action when practiced on a mass scale.

The stirring lesson of this age is that mass nonviolent direct action is not a peculiar device for Negro agitation. Rather it is an historically validated method for defending freedom and Democracy and for enlarging these values to the ultimate benefit of the whole society.

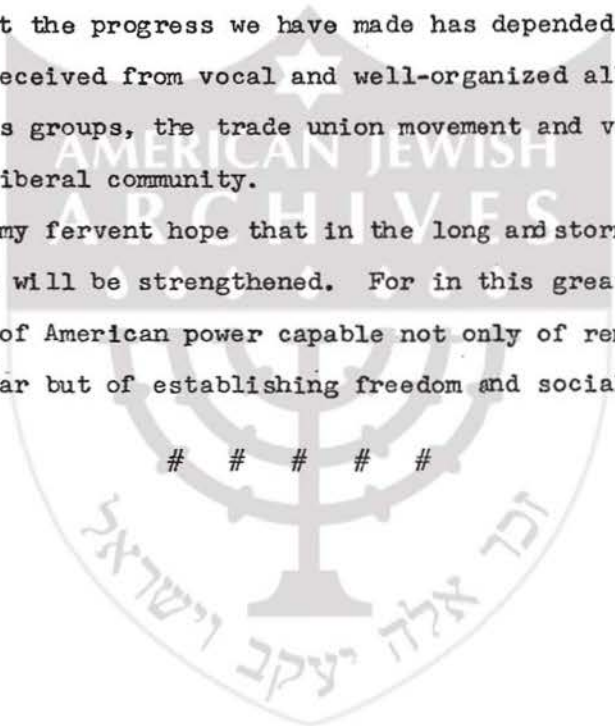
I have tried to show that in our struggle the civil rights forces, black and white, have contributed not only to revealing the contradictions of this society but, acting as a catalyst, have set in motion forces to effect creative change. If this be so, it is also clear that the progress we have made has depended on the support we have received from vocal and well-organized allies -- the major religious groups, the trade union movement and various elements of the liberal community.

It is my fervent hope that in the long and stormy road ahead this coalition will be strengthened. For in this great force lies the consensus of American power capable not only of removing injustice and fear but of establishing freedom and social peace.

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No. 100

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MARCH

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS, 165 E. 56 ST., NEW YORK, N. Y. 10022, PLAZA 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for people everywhere.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

HAROLD STEINBERG, Director of Publicity

3-10-65

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, March 10...President Johnson's directive that the Justice Department seek legal means to stop Alabama officials from interfering with peaceful demonstrations in support of the right to vote was vigorously applauded today by the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, pioneer human rights agency.

In a telegram sent to the White House by Morris B. Abram, Committee President and noted constitutional lawyer, the Committee told President Johnson that it shared his "outrage at the shameful exhibition of brutality on the part of State and local police officers in preventing a march of Negro citizens in Selma, Alabama."

The Committee also urged the President to "do all in your power to prevent the repetition of such events and to protect the Negro citizens of Selma who have no other protection."

In another telegram, sent to the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the Committee hailed the Negro civil rights leader for his "remarkable leadership and inspiration which made possible the outpouring of support from religious and civic groups across the land who demonstrated their solidarity with you in this great cause."

The telegram to Dr. King, also sent by Mr. Abram, repeated the sentiments expressed in its wire to President Johnson -- sharing the outrage at recent events in Selma, Alabama, and hailing his directive to the Justice Department to seek legal curbs on Alabama officials.

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Morris B. Abram, *President*; Jacob Blaustein, Louis Caplan, Herbert B. Ehrmann, Irving M. Engel, Joseph M. Proskauer, *Honorary Presidents*; Ralph Friedman, *Chairman, Executive Board*; Philip E. Hoffman, *Chairman, Board of Governors*; Nathan Appleman, *Chairman, Board of Trustees*; John Slawson, *Executive Vice President*.

Washington office: 1012 14th Street, N. W., Washington, D. C. 20005 • European headquarters: 30 Rue la Boetie, Paris 8, France • South American headquarters: Libertad 773, Buenos Aires, Argentina • Israel headquarters: Rehov Hashoftim 2, Tel Aviv, Israel.

The AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human relations agency in the United States, protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advancing the cause of improved human relations for people everywhere.

The texts of the two telegrams follow:

TO: PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON

WE SHARE YOUR OUTRAGE AT THE SHAMEFUL EXHIBITION OF BRUTALITY ON THE PART OF STATE AND LOCAL POLICE OFFICERS IN PREVENTING A MARCH OF NEGRO CITIZENS IN SELMA, ALABAMA. ALL PEOPLE OF GOOD WILL IN AMERICA AND AROUND THE WORLD RECOIL AT THE USE OF TEAR GAS, CLUBS AND WHIPS DIRECTED AT NEGROES DEMONSTRATING FOR THE RIGHT TO VOTE. WE URGE THAT YOU DO ALL IN YOUR POWER TO PREVENT THE REPETITION OF SUCH EVENTS AND TO PROTECT THE NEGRO CITIZENS OF SELMA WHO HAVE NO OTHER PROTECTION. WE ALSO APPLAUD YOUR DIRECTIVE TO THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT TO INTERVENE IN THE PROCEEDING NOW PENDING IN THE FEDERAL COURT TO ENJOIN ALABAMA OFFICIALS FROM INTERFERING WITH THE RIGHT OF ALABAMA CITIZENS TO DEMONSTRATE PEACEABLY IN SUPPORT OF THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

MORRIS B. ABRAM, PRESIDENT
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

TO: MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

WE SALUTE YOU FOR YOUR REMARKABLE LEADERSHIP AND INSPIRATION WHICH MADE POSSIBLE THE OUTPOURING OF SUPPORT FROM RELIGIOUS AND CIVIC GROUPS ACROSS THE LAND WHO DEMONSTRATED THEIR SOLIDARITY WITH YOU IN THIS GREAT CAUSE. WE EXPRESS OUR OUTRAGE AT THE SHAMEFUL EXHIBITION OF BRUTALITY ON THE PART OF STATE AND LOCAL POLICE OFFICERS IN PREVENTING THE MARCH OF NEGRO CITIZENS IN SELMA, ALABAMA. WE SHARE PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S EXPRESSIONS CONCERNING THE ACTION OF THE LOCAL AND STATE POLICE OFFICERS AND HAVE URGED HIM TO DO ALL IN HIS POWER TO PROTECT THE CIVIL RIGHTS OF NEGRO CITIZENS AND TO AID IN ATTAINING THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

MORRIS B. ABRAM, PRESIDENT
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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No. 34
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AJ-16 2n, 1g
3/10/65

FROM:

American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry
55 West 42nd Street
New York, N. Y. 10036

DEC 11 1966
CONTACT:

Henry W. Levy
515 Park Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10022
Tel. Pl-2-0500

For Release: After Four P.M., Sunday, December 11th

Text of Address Delivered by

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING

speaking from Atlanta on a nation-wide telephone hook-up sponsored by the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry, Dec. 11, 1966 at 4 p.m.

NOTE TO EDITORS: You have already received our release on the New York meeting at Cooper Union Hall from which Dr. King was introduced by Rabbi Israel Miller, national chairman of the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry. This stenographic transcript of Dr. King's address, heard in 32 communities, was taken from the direct line telephone hook-up.

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
Text of Address

"Some years ago, John Donne wrote in graphic terms, "No man is an island entire of itself. Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main. If a part be washed away by the sea, Europe is the less, as well as is the promontory world, as well as is the manner of thy friends or thine own self world. Any man's death diminishes me because I am involved in mankind. Therefore, never send to know for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee."

"These challenging words affirming the interdependence and inter-relatedness of mankind are particularly relevant when we think of the plight of three million Jews in the Soviet Union. No person of good will can stand by as a silent auditor while there is a possibility of the complete spiritual and cultural destruction of a once flourishing Jewish community. The denial of human rights anywhere is a threat to the affirmation of human rights everywhere. Jewish communal life is deprived by the Soviet government of elementary needs to sustain even a modest level of existence and growth. In a form of society in which publishing, the operation of institutions, and the acquisition of facilities are under government control, individual initiative cannot substitute for state omissions and the result is a withered and restricted Jewish community.

"While Jews in Russia may not be physically murdered as they were in Nazi Germany, they are facing every day a kind of spiritual and cultural genocide. Individual Jews may in the main be physically and economically secure in Russia, but the absence of opportunity to associate as Jews in the enjoyment of Jewish culture and religious experience becomes a severe limitation upon the individual. These deprivations are part of a person's emotional and intellectual life. They

determine whether he is fulfilled as a human being. Negroes can well understand and sympathize with this problem. When you are written out of history as a people, when you are given no choice but to accept the majority culture, you are denied an aspect of your own identity. Ultimately you suffer a corrosion of your self-understanding and your self-respect.

"The official answers by the Soviet government assert that it is providing as much as the Jewish community actually desires. But there is abundant evidence that this is untrue. Unofficial answers that imply state security is involved, because Jews have international ties, are even more unsatisfactory. In the thirties when the Soviet Union was vastly less secure than it is today, it officially encouraged a flourishing of Jewish culture. The insensitivity of the Soviet Union on this question is properly a subject for criticism and protest. Without making it part of cold war politics, world opinion is justified in reminding them that they are repressing a cultural heritage that is world property. Jewish history and culture are a part of everyone's heritage, whether he be Jewish, Christian or Moslem. The Soviet Union must recognize the legitimate criticism that insists it accord fair treatment to its Jewish community. If that government expects respect for itself in the international community of nations, the sincere and genuine concern felt by so many people around the world for this problem should impel the Soviet government not only to effect a solution but to do so with all deliberate speed.

"In the meantime, let us continue to make our voices heard and our righteous protests felt. We cannot sit complacently by the wayside while our Jewish brothers in the Soviet Union face the possible extinction of their cultural and spiritual life. Those that sit at rest, while others take pains, are tender turtles and buy their quiet with disgrace."

NOV - 3 1957

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FROM THE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, PLaza 1-4000

The American Jewish Committee, founded in 1906, is the pioneer human-relations agency in the United States. It protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people.

MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NEW YORK, October 10.... Martin Luther King Jr. today placed the Southern Christian Leadership Conference squarely against both black separatism and anti-Semitism, calling anti-Semitism "immoral" and used to divide Negro and Jew, "who have effectively collaborated in the struggle for justice." He added that the group he heads considered Israel's right to exist as a State "incontestable," and was opposed to "an unqualified endorsement of the policy of the Arab powers."

In a letter to Morris B. Abram, President of the AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, made public today by Mr. Abram, Dr. King denied earlier press reports that the S.C.L.C. was part of the group at the recent "New Politics" convention at Chicago that had introduced a resolution denouncing the "imperialistic Zionist war."

Dr. King, who made the opening address at the convention, had been asked about his stand by Mr. Abram and the presidents of nine other national Jewish agencies, all of them affiliated with the National Community Relations Advisory Council. These agencies had labelled as "anti-Semitic" the resolution, which reportedly had been forced on the "New Politics" convention by a minority "black caucus" of Negro delegates.

Dr. King explained to Mr. Abram in the letter that not only had he taken no part in planning the structure or policy of the convention nor was he a delegate, but the staff members of the S.C.L.C. who did attend were "the most vigorous and articulate opponents of the simplistic resolution on the Middle East question." As a result of the stand of the S.C.L.C. members, he added, "the black caucus modified its stand and the convention voted to eliminate references to Zionism and referred to the executive board the matter of final wording."

"If I had been at the conference during the discussion of the resolutions," Dr. King continued, "I would have made it crystal clear that

Morris B. Abram, President; Philip E. Hoffman, Chairman, Executive Board; Orin Lehman, Chairman, Board of Governors; Nathan Appleman, Chairman, Board of Trustees
Bertram H. Gold, Executive Director

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Washington office: 318 18th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005 • European hq.: 30 Rue la Boetie, Paris 8, France • Israel hq.: 2, Hashofim Street, Tel Aviv, Israel
Latin American hq.: San Martin 663, 2 P. (C), Buenos Aires, Argentina • Mexico: Av. Ejercito Nacional 533—304, Mexico 17, D.F.

I could not have supported any resolution calling for black separatism or calling for a condemnation of Israel and an unqualified endorsement of the policy of the Arab powers."

Dr. King used the occasion of writing to Mr. Abram to call for "economic and social development" of the Middle East as the only way out of the area's current difficulties. The S.C.L.C. has repeatedly stated that the Middle East problem embodies the related questions of security and development, Dr. King stated, adding:

"Israel's right to exist as a State in security is incontestable. At the same time the great powers have the obligation to recognize that the Arab world is in a state of imposed poverty and backwardness that must threaten peace and harmony. Until a concerted and democratic program of assistance is affected, tensions cannot be relieved. Neither Israel / nor its neighbors can live in peace without an underlying basis of economic and social development."

Dr. King stated that the S.C.L.C. had "expressly, frequently, and vigorously denounced anti-Semitism and will continue to do so." He pointed out that anti-Semitism was "immoral," and was used to divide Negro and Jew, "who have effectively collaborated in the struggle for justice." Anti-Semitism "injures Negroes," he said, "because it upholds the doctrine of racism, which they have the greatest stake in destroying."

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No. 112

A, AA, AJ, NPL, NPE, NEG-A
NEG-B, COL, REL, P-CR

10/10/67

Following are the texts of the telegram sent by the Presidents of 10 Jewish agencies to Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and of the answering letter from Dr. King to Morris B. Abram, President of the American Jewish Committee, one of the signatories of the telegram:

To: Rev. Martin Luther King

Our organizations share a deep commitment to full equality in an integrated, plural society. We believe that its attainment demands action by a coalition of groups for accelerated and dramatic social change. We have admired and respected your advocacy of these goals and your leadership over the years.

Now we are profoundly distressed by the recent New Politics Conventions. The apartheid of the adopted structure and the lack of democratic procedure; the absence of any specific constructive program for the advancement of equal opportunity; the anti-Semitism in spite of disavowals; the irrational anti-Israel resolution; all are disturbing and destructive. We believe that they also are antithetical to everything you have stood for.

Because of your presence at the Convention, and the presence of your name on the National Council of the Conference for New Politics, we fear that these destructive positions may gain a show of respectability. We urge you to disassociate yourself publicly from the malevolence which found expression in the resolutions of the New Politics Convention.

We anxiously await your reply.

Morris B. Abram, President
American Jewish Committee

Jordan C. Band, Chairman
NCRAC

Dr. Maurice N. Eisendrath, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Adolph Held, President
Jewish Labor Committee

Joseph Karasick, President
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations
of America

Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld, President
American Jewish Congress

Henry N. Rapaport, President
United Synagogue of America

Samuel Samuels, National Commander
Jewish War Veterans

Dore Schary, National Chairman
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Mrs. Leonard Weiner, President
National Council of Jewish Women

Dear Morris:

I am in receipt of your letter making inquiry of SCLC's position on anti-Semitism. First, let me apologize for being rather tardy in my reply. Absence from the city and the accumulation of a huge volume of mail account for the delay.

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Serious distortions by the press have created an impression that SCLC was part of a group at the Chicago Conference of New Politics which introduced a resolution condemning Israel and unqualifiedly endorsing all the policies of the Arab powers. The facts are as follows:

1. The staff members of SCLC who attended the conference (not as official delegates) were the most vigorous and articulate opponents of the simplistic resolution on the Middle East question. As a result of this opposition, the Black caucus modified its stand and the convention voted to eliminate references to Zionism and referred to the executive board the matter of final wording. This change was the direct result of the spirited opposition on the floor by Hosea Williams, Director of Voter Registration and Political Education of SCLC. Incidentally, I only attended the conference to make the opening speech and left immediately after. I had no part in planning the structure or policy of the conference, nor was I a delegate. If I had been at the conference during the discussion of the resolutions, I would have made it crystal clear that I could not have supported any resolution calling for black separatism or calling for a condemnation of Israel and an unqualified endorsement of the policy of the Arab powers. I later made this clear to the press but a disclaimer seldom gets the attention that an original sensational attack receives.

2. SCLC has repeatedly stated that the Middle East problem embodies the related questions of security and development. Israel's right to exist as a State in security is incontestable. At the same time the great powers have the obligation to recognize that the Arab world is in a state of imposed poverty and backwardness that must threaten peace and harmony. Until a concerted and democratic program of assistance is affected, tensions cannot be relieved. Neither Israel nor its neighbors can live in peace without an underlying basis of economic and social development.

At the heart of the problem are oil interests. As the American Jewish Congress has stated, "American policies in the Middle East have been motivated in no small measure by the desire to protect the \$2,500,000,000 stake which U.S. oil companies have invested in the area." Some Arab feudal rulers are no less concerned for oil wealth and neglect the plight of their own peoples. The solution will have to be found in statesmanship by Israel and progressive Arab forces who in concert with the great powers recognize that fair and peaceful solutions are the concern of all of humanity and must be found.

Neither military measures nor a stubborn effort to reverse history can provide a permanent solution for peoples who need and deserve both development and security.

3. SCLC has expressly, frequently and vigorously denounced anti-Semitism and will continue to do so. It is not only that anti-Semitism is immoral--though that alone is enough. It is used to divide Negro and Jew, who have effectively collaborated in the struggle for justice. It injures Negroes because it upholds the doctrine of racism which they have the greatest stake in destroying. The individual Jew or gentile who may be an exploiter acts out of his greed as an individual, not his religious precepts--just as a criminal--Negro or white--is expressing his anti-social tendencies--not the ethical value of his race.

On the general question of anti-Semitism, I would like to quote a few paragraphs from my recent book WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

One fact is decisive for perspective and balance: the amount of anti-Semitism found among Negroes is no greater than if found among white groups of the same economic strata. Two polls cited by Professor Thomas Pettegrew and a very recent study in depth conducted by Dr. Oscar Lewis arrived at this same conclusion. These revelations should allay the alarm that has arisen from exploitation and exaggeration of the issue by some white and Negro publicists whose appetite for attention exceeds their attachment to truth and responsibility.

The question that troubles many Jews and other concerned Americans is why oppressed Negroes should harbor any anti-Semitism at all. Prejudice and discrimination can only harm them; therefore it would appear that they should be virtually immune to their sinister appeal.

The limited degree of Negro anti-Semitism is substantially a Northern ghetto phenomenon; it virtually does not exist in the South. The urban Negro has a special and unique relationship to Jews. On the one hand, he is associated with Jews as some of his most committed and generous partners in the civil rights struggle. On the other hand, he meets them daily as some of his most direct exploiters in the ghetto as slum landlords and gouging shopkeepers. Jews have identified with Negroes voluntarily in the freedom movement, motivated by their religious and cultural commitment to justice. The other Jews who are engaged in commerce in the ghettos are remnants of older communities. A great number of Negro ghettos were formerly Jewish neighborhoods; some storekeepers and landlords remained as population changes occurred. They operate with the ethics of marginal business entrepreneurs, not Jewish ethics, but the distinction is lost on some Negroes who are maltreated by them. Such Negroes, caught in frustration and irrational anger, parrot racial epithets. They foolishly add to the social poison that injures themselves and their own people.

It would be a tragic and immoral mistake to identify the mass of Negroes with the very small number that succumb to cheap and dishonest slogans, just as it would be a serious error to identify all Jews with the few who exploit Negroes under their economic sway.

Negroes cannot rationally expect honorable Jews to curb the few who are rapacious; they have no means of disciplining or suppressing them. We can only expect them to share our disgust and disdain. Negroes cannot be expected to curb and eliminate the few who are anti-Semitic, because they are subject to no controls we can exercise. We can, however, oppose them and have, in concrete ways. There has never been an instance of articulated Negro anti-Semitism that was not swiftly condemned by virtually all Negro leaders with the support of the overwhelming majority. I have myself directly attacked it within the Negro community, because it is wrong. I will continue to oppose it, because it is immoral and self-destructive.

Let me thank you for writing and also for your consistent support. I realize that this letter is long, but I hope it will shed some light on what can be an unfortunate misunderstanding.

Sincerely,

/s/ (Martin)

Martin Luther King Jr.