Preserving American Jewish History

MS-603: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum Collection, 1945-1992.

Series E: General Alphabetical Files. 1960-1992

Box 80, Folder 1, Blacks and Jews, 1981-1985.

REV. JACKSON, RABBI TANENBAUM URGE IMPROVED BLACK-JEWISH TIES, BUT RIFT OVER FARRAKHAN ABIDES By Andrew Muchin

NEW YORK, March 15 (JTA) -- American Blacks and Jews must restore their mutual trust and cooperation -- based on similar heritages of oppression and more agreement than they realize on the domestic political agenda -- a leading Black activist and a noted rabbi declared here last week.

But implicit in restoration are obstacles, as was acknowledged by the Rev. Jesse Jackson, chairman of the National Rainbow Coalition and a candidate for the Democratic Presidential nomination in 1984 and perhaps 1988, and Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum, director of international relations for the American Jewish Committee and a fellow civil rights leader.

Tanenbaum spoke for himself, although the program originally was announced on American Jewish Committee stationery.

The obstacles were addressed also by members of the interracial audience of about 2,000 at Queens College, attending "The Religious Leader as Political Activist," the first of three public forums scheduled by the 18-month-old Queens (N.Y.) Black-Jewish People to People Project.

Following the speakers' presentations on the need to find common ground, questioners brought up Black-Jewish disputes over quotas as a vehicle for affirmative action, the infamous "Hymietown" remark during Jackson's Presidential campaign and his support of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan.

The Ouota Issue

The speakers handled the quota issue swiftly. "Blacks and Jews have very different reactions to the word 'quotas," Jackson said in his prepared remarks. "For Blacks, a quota can be a door to opportunity. For Jews, the quota systems has meant a ceiling on success." He noted that both groups support increased job opportunity.

Tanenbaum agreed that the goal was shared and contended that the real problem was lack of enforcement of current laws.

Farrakhan Issue Not Resolved

The Farrakhan issue was not resolved, as Tanenbaum called on Jackson to distance himself from the man who has criticized Judaism as a "gutter religion" and has close ties with Libya. Jackson called the issue peripheral.

Saying Jackson can contribute significantly to American social and economic justice, the rabbi nevertheless declared: "I think you're fooling yourself if you think the issue of Louis Farrakhan is marginal altogether . . . In Madison Square Garden, 25,000 people give him a standing ovation when he utters the most vile anti-Semitic bigotry . . . We are not dealing with a minor phenomenon."

The rabbi proclaimed that support of Farrakhan is an "ideological problem of a very profound nature. We have got to deal with that as almost a pathology. If the Vatican and the Catholic Church after 1,900 years after preaching that kind of stuff... has the courage to face it and say it is wrong... we have the right to ask that in appropriate way, that it be rejected with no ands, ifs or buts."

If Blacks and Jews "really want to turn the corner," fiz said; Jackson should feel free to

discuss what Tanenbaum called the racism of Kach Knesset member Meir Kahane, and Jews should feel free to bring up Farrakhan.

Jackson said the conflicts over Farrakhan and the "Hymietown" remark -- for which he said he has apologized -- should not be the "litmus test" for the Black-Jewish relationship.

Pressed on the issue by Tanenbaum's statement and another questioner, Jackson said that "anti-Semitism and racism should be rejected, no ifs, ands or buts."

Jackson said that the mainstream Black community, like mainstream U.S. Jewry, does not share the views of the extremists. "Just as you say to trust you, you must trust me," he said. "Almost nobody Black believes in (Farrakhan's racism)," he stated.

Springboard For Improving Relations

He said Blacks have complaints, too, against whites and Jews -- about racist advertisements, about Israel's sale of arms to South Africa and "some rather outstanding Jewish names that are in the media who represents (sic) real, serious threats to life and limb and resources, but we refuse to make that a centerpiece of our relationship, and I hope we never will." There was no elaboration on the comment about the media.

Speaking to a questioner who was the leader of the Jewish students at Queens College, Jackson advocated looking to common issues -- such as human rights and funding for education -- as a springboard to improving relations between Jewish and Black students there.

The Jewish leader noted that he has failed in attempts to establish a dialogue with the Black student leader, who coincidentally was the previous questioner. Jackson asked the Black leader to approach the Jewish leader, and bade them to shake hands. The audience applauded.

Jackson said the task of the Black and Jewish communities was "to take the bits of pieces of broken relationship which will never be whole by definition and to . . . coalesce around a common agenda. That's our choice, and it may be our only chance."

Those issues were in general the domestic agenda of the Democratic Party, he and Tanenbaum agreed.

Jackson said that even during the height of the Black-Jewish coalition in the 1960s there were disagreements, "but we simply chose on a scale of 10, that we agreed on seven out of 10, and let's move on . . . You maximize the plusses, minimize the minuses and move on."

'A Challenge To Come Together'

Speaking afterward to reporters, Jackson evaluated his joint appearance with Tanenbaum as "a challenge to come together" for Blacks and Jews. The rabbi said, "We've determined the time has come to make a breakthrough in Black-Jewish relations."

Jackson noted that a Government Accounting Office report on arms sales to South Africa by recipients of U.S. aid, thereby violating a U.S. embargo, would mention Israel. He said all nations listed ought to feel U.S. pressure to stop.

Tanenbaum said that in considering the report, due for release April 1, it is important to note that Israel is only a minor arms supplier to South Africa.

Jackson indicated he was leaning toward seeking the Democratic nomination for President in 1988, and said he would announce his decision

PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

The Queens Black-Jewish People to People Project presents a forum

with
Reverend
Jesse L. Jackson
and
Rabbi
Marc H. Tanenbaum

March 11, 1987 at 7:30 p.m.

Queens College/CUNY The Queens Black-Jewish/People to People Project

Welcome

Dean Ernest Schwarcz

Project Chairman

Greetings

Shirley Strum Kenny

President, Queens College

-introduced by

Professor George Priestley

Moderator's Remarks Alan G. Hevesi, Assistant Majority Leader,

New York State Assembly and Professor of Political Science

-introduced by

Professor Alem Habtu

THE RELIGIOUS LEADER AS POLITICAL ACTIVIST

Presentation

Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum

Director of International Relations

American Jewish Committee

Presentation

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson

President, National Rainbow Coalition

Questions and

Discussion

Speakers and Audience

EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AT BLACK-JEWISH FORUM, WITH THE REV. JESSE JACKSON, AT QUEENS COLLEGE, NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1987, 7:30 P.M.

The invitation extended to me by the Honorable Alan Hevesi, assistant majority leader of the New York State Assembly and professor of political science at Queens College, and by Professor Ernest Schwarcz, dean of General Studies at this college, is deeply appreciated. Their establishment and support of the Queens Black-Jewish/People to People Project is both a symbol and a substantive contribution to a vital goal that hopefully all of us here tonight share — the overcoming of misunderstanding and the advancement of knowledge, mutual respect and cooperation between the Black and Jewish communities, in the context of a profound concern for the welfare of our beloved American democratic republic.

Let me be clear at the outset about my mandate -- as I see it -- this evening. I speak here as an individual, exercising my democratic right of free speech. While I believe that I may express the feelings and views of many in the Jewish community, what I am about to say does not represent the official positions of the American Jewish Committee and certainly not those of the American Jewish community, which is characterized by diversity and a plurality of views as is true of every other religious, racial or ethnic group in our democracy.

Why are we here this evening before this large assembly? This is not an easy evening either for the Reverend Jesse Jackson nor myself. If the bigots and extremists in our society had their way, this evening would not take place. The fact that Jesse Jackson and I made a decision to share this platform in the face of threats, slanders, and intimidations is a statement of our determination to reject hatred, bigotry and verbal violence. We do not and we will not evade the troublesome and disturbing episodes in Black-Jewish relations in the recent past, but our purpose tonight, as I see it, is to try to find a better way, a more civil and constructive way for Blacks and Jews to live and work together, as they have done for much of their history during the past 25 years.

Why are we here tonight? I want to try to answer that question out of my reflections and life experiences during the past quarter century or more. In 1968, I became involved with Catholic and Protestant leaders in trying to relieve the suffering of the victims of the Nigerian-Biafran conflict. That exposure to so much destruction of human lives, with tens of thousands of deaths of Muslims and Christians and incredible starvation of thousands of innocent children, transformed my life.

While the Jewish agenda -- Soviet Jewry, Israel, peace in the Middle East between Jews and Arabs, the Black Jews of Ethiopia -- are constantly at the core of my consciousness, since 1968 I have been driven to dedicate much of my waking hours to the problems of world refugees, world hunger, and international human rights.

There are about twelve million refugees in the world today, some six million of them in Africa -- the largest refugee problem in the world -- living mostly in desperate conditions. The searing fact is that most of these refugee tragedies are the result of religious, racial, ethnic, and tribal conflicts. In the Sudan, several years ago, nearly a million Black Christians and animists were massacred by Arab Muslim tribes of the North. In Uganda, President Idi Amin and his Nubian tribesmen slaughtered some 500,000 Black Christians, half of them Anglicans, half Roman Catholic.

In India, there are unending slaughters of Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs. In Sri Lanka, Tamils and Sinhalese destroy each other. The Iran-Iraq war has resulted in the deaths of an estimated quarter million people, many of them children, 12 to 14 years old. Lebanon, once the citadel of Arab Christendom and the model of pluralism in the Middle East, is now a daily slaughter-house. And who loses sleep over Ireland where for more than a decade Protestants and Catholics have been destroying each other?

Religious, racial and ethnic hatreds have become the engine of an epidemic of dehumanization in the world. Nowhere is that dehumanization more palpable and tragic than in South Africa. In October 1985, I went on a mission with American Jewish Committee leaders to South Africa. We met with a great many representatives from every segment of that blighted society -- from Archbishop Tutu, black union leaders, the Sash legal aid society, to leaders of the government, business, and the Jewish community.

It is a nightmare, an abomination, to experience the chemistry of national-ist arrogance and religious bigotry. Two massive religious lies have dominated Western civilization, including that of South Africa. Jews have suffered and have been destroyed by the 1,900-year-old religious lie of "deicide" -- the absurd notion that the Jewish people collectively killed Christ, and therefore must endure unending punishment and exile. Some Fundamentalist Christians preached the obscenity that the Nazi holocaust was God's ultimate punishment of the Jews for having allegedly killed Christ.

Apartheid is another such religious lie. In Dutch Reformed Churches, it has been taught for generations as gospel truth that the Black people have been cursed by God with "the curse of Ham." Segregation and apartheid have thus been justified as doing God's will. I saw the demonic power of that religious lie as I watched from afar young Afrikaans leaping out of their "hippo" armored troop carriers in Soweto and shooting black youths at will. These young Afrikaans, fresh off the farms and filled with their church lessons, have been raised in a culture of religious and racial hatred. Where were they to learn that the life of a black child is as precious in the eyes of God as their own?

The late psychoanalyst, Dr. Eric Fromm, in his monumental last work, The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness, called such behavior, "group narcissism." As in the dynamics of individual narcissism, a group attributes to itself all virtue, and to the outgroup all vice. Such a group becomes totally self-centered and sees itself as naturally superior, and sees the other as inferior -- "an infidel, a heretic" deserving of destruction. Dr. Fromm called such group conflict "psychopathic" behavior that is responsible for much of the group aggression, terrorism, and violence that pockmarks the world today.

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The cost in human lives that the human family is paying for such religious and racial hatreds all over the world is staggering. In a nuclear-missile age, such psychopathology when out of control could conceivably, God forbid, trigger off a nuclear holocaust.

AMERICA IS DIFFERENT

Blacks and Jews, all Americans, need to acknowledge that America is different. For the past 200 years, our national and religious leaders have struggled mightily to establish an open, democratic pluralist society. The true genius of America rests in the reality that each religious, racial, and ethnic group comes to the common American table by right, not by sufferance.

Each group -- religious, racial, ethnic -- has its agenda, its own deeply felt priorities, and has a right to receive a fair and sympathetic hearing at the shared American table. While advocating its own agenda, each of us has a simultaneous and overarching obligation to serve the common welfare.

American democracy is founded on a social compact which is a fragile instrument. Watergate and Irangate underscore that fragility. That compact needs to be continuously nurtured. That does not preclude constructive criticism, for holding differing views. But indulging religious or racial bigotry, reckless and uninhibited racial epithets or anti-Semitic defamations can beat this precious, fragile social compact into the dust.

America is the only nation on earth that has not been despoiled by religious wars. Yet we have had far too much of racism, anti-Semitism, lynchings, and verbal violence. Indeed, the infamous canard that "Zionism is racism" is just such an expression of defamation and verbal violence. If we are to prevent the Balkanization of America, or the regression to any form of the group hatred that pockmark so many other parts of the world, we -- each of us, Jesse Jackson and myself, each of us in this audience -- must commit ourselves to the course of civility and dialogue, in a spirit of mutual respect and helpfulness. And we must spontaneously -- out of our own ethical convictions and democratic values -- repudiate the scurrilous attacks of demagogues. Of such moral courage and integrity is credibility made.

BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS

At their height and most productive, Black-Jewish relations in the 1960s and 1970s were the paradigm of democratic pluralism at its best.

The essential reason for that extraordinary, indeed, historic cooperation was well formulated by my colleague, Albert Vorspan, in an OP-Ed piece in The New York Times. He recalled how, in 1964, the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was challenging racial discrimination in public accommodations in St. Augustine, Florida. There was a fierce resistance, and he appealed to the Central Conference of American Rabbis for help. Within hours, 16 rabbis came to St. Augustine where they joined Dr. King and his people. For entering the black church and for integrating a lunch counter, they were all cattle-prodded into a cell; a number had their lives threatened.

Why did these rabbis engage in acts of civil disobedience and prepare to go to jail? Vorspan wrote: "The answer is simple: Martin Luther King, Jr.

"No other person could have evoked such an instantaneous and uncritical response from us. With Dr. King, there was implicit trust, a profound bond of mutual respect, and a deep sense of solidarity with his mission.

"We respected him because he was intellectually keen and a powerful orator, loved him because he cherished the glory of racial and religious diversity. He despised black separatism as both wrong and counterproductive. He saw the civil rights revolution not as a black rebellion but as a covenant of white and black, Christian and Jew, standing together for decency.

"To Dr. King, justice was a seamless web: anti-Semitism and anti-Catholic prejudice, like racial bigotry, were anathema; his goal was not only justice for America's blacks but human rights for all peoples everywhere."

Vorspan adds:

"If, as I believe, Meir Kahane is essentially a problem Jews must face and resolve, so the Rev. Louis Farrakhan is a central challenge to the integrity and future of the black community...But black-Jewish relations are bigger than Louis Farrakhan or Meir Kahane, and we still have much in common that transcends our demagogues and our frictions. As Dr. King never tired of pointing out, blacks and Jews have common enemies; we have shared a history of oppression. That gives us a shared vision of a compassionate and open society.

"We need each other. Black and Jewish Congressmen are advancing a common agenda -- protecting the poor from Reagan social cuts, resisting violations of the separation of church and state, supporting the security of Israel, speaking out for Soviet Jews and others denied their human rights, opposing apartheid in South Africa and racism at home. Despite the irritations and conflicts that cloud black-Jewish relations -- even on such anguished issues as affirmative action -- there is still a bond that ties Jews and blacks together."

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. forged a Black-Jewish bond in love, devotion, blood and dreams. The greatest homage we Jews can pay to his memory -- that superb "Religious Leader as Political Activist" -- is to nurture and strengthen that bond which was -- and must remain -- a blessing for America and for the world.

I can only hope and pray that this shared evening with the Rev. Jesse Jackson will mark a turning away from aberrations and deviations in Black-Jewish relations of the past, and will return us to the highway of justice and mutual respect, for the sake of the Black and Jewish peoples of our nation, and for the well-being of all Americans.

ADDRESS BY THE REV. JESSE JACKSON, PRESIDENT OF THE RAINBOW COALITION, AT BLACK-JEWISH FORUM, WITH RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM, DIRECTOR OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, AT QUEENS COLLEGE, NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1987

Thank you to Queens College for your sponsorship of this important evening, and for your ever gracious hospitality. And thank you to Alan Hevesi: for developing the idea of the Black-Jewish dialogues, for ensuring its support, and most of all for your own personal leadership. This community is fortunate to have you: in your district, in the Assembly, and in the classroom.

You have asked me to begin by speaking of the religious figure as a political leader -- a tradition going back at least as far as Moses, that great leader whose life is also a symbol of interracial cooperation. Fleeing the court of Pharoah, Moses went to Midian. He married Zipporah, an African woman, and named their child Gershon, because, he said "I have been a stranger in a foreign land." It was Moses, the Jewish Child raised by an Egyptian princess, who led his people out of Egypt to freedom.

As political leader, Moses spoke up to Pharoah -- told the truth to Pharoah and braved his wrath -- then led the Jewish people across the Red Sea on the way to the promised Holy Land. As religious leader, Moses spoke up to this same people -- when he came down from Mount Sinai with the Ten Commandments and found them worshiping the golden calf.

And this is the finest tradition of religious leaders -- to speak the truth, to stand up to imperial authority when necessary and to speak out to one's own congregation when appropriate but always to be prepared in God's name to speak the truth as you know it.

American history begins with religious figures serving as political leaders. Led by their ministers the Pilgrims dared that dangerous voyage across the Atlantic in search of religious freedom -- and yet, ironically, what they valued for themselves they denied to others, forbidding dissension, persecuting Quakers, demanding adherence to a strict sectarian line.

But there are other examples, too, of early religious figures who preached and practiced tolerance. The Baptist Minister Roger Williams founded the Colony of Rhode Island on the principles of religious tolerance. The Quaker leadership of Pennsylvania fleeing persecution at home, offered sanctuary to others -- and not coincidently, fair play to native Americans -- an American first and too long an American oddity.

Religious figures stepped to the front lines of leadership in the fight to abolish slavery: John Brown, Frederick Douglass, both deeply religious, they used their talent, public platforms, pulpits and their moral authority to speak out against the evil of slavery, to insist that this nation live up to its own best principles of freedom and equality.

Meanwhile in fields and cabins, slaves told each other the story of the Exodus secretly at night, a symbol of hope and redemption. In the Black communities of slaves and freemen alike, the religious leader was most often also the political leader; the natural result in small cohesive communities with their own internal social structure but little or no economic resources or political authority.

There are similarities between these Black communites in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, and the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe during the same time. There too the rabbi was likely to serve as teacher, civic authority and negotiator with the outside world. Who better could articulate the hopes and goals of his community? Who better, in the tradition of Moses, to speak out to civil authorities on behalf of the oppressed?

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum and I come to this meeting to speak from our different perspectives; but we begin by acknowledging our common experience. As Jews and as Afro Americans, our people have known what it is like to be slaves. Of all the people in the world, we explicity remember that experience, reminding ourselves and our children that we were slaves -- in the land of Egypt and the United States.

And as we remember slavery, we celebrate emancipation. We value and take joy in our freedom, knowing that it is brought to us by God's grace and protected by constant human vigilance.

Jews and Blacks have traveled different journies, but we share a common history; the experience of oppression.

Both our people have suffered from harsh and painful government. For Blacks, that meant slavery -- legislated and enforced by government followed by years of institutionalized, legalized discrimination -- again, enforced against us by the agencies of our own government.

For Jews, the memory is of the Holocaust, the horror of rulers gone mad, the murder of millions of human beings, from babies to grandparents — and the search for safety and refuge from which too many of the world's governments turned away. For both of us, the memories are fresh and the lesson clear. Because we have suffered from the murderous attacks of bad government, — carried out in the name of the law, carried out by people even wearing the uniform of the law — because we have experienced the horror of governance for evil, we are totally committed to the standards of government for good.

Because we have felt the pain and shed the blood of race hatred, we understand the need for interracial understanding and cooperation. Because we have mourned the fallen in the war of hatred and prejudice, we must pledge ourselves again to fight for the triumph of knowledge and love.

Let me share with you a story from recent history that will make our message clear. When President Reagan announced his plans to travel to Bitburg, I was shocked. Shocked that in spite of appeals from government officials and the public, he would be adamant and remain so insensitive to the feelings of those who had lived through that history. In formulating my own response to his trip, I spoke to people who were authorities on the Holocaust, here and abroad. I spoke to Elie Wiesel, the Nobel Laureate -- a Nobel Laureate who certainly merits our greatest gratitude and congratulations on an honor well deserved -- as well as U.S. Dr. Paul Parks of Boston, the former State Education Superintendent in Massachusetts, an engineer and veteran.

Dr. Parks, a distinguished African-American, told me of his own personal experience as a soldier in the United States in the United States Army in 1945. As a member of the Corps of Engineers, he was with the Black Battalion that was the first to enter Dachau. When those troops approached this death camp, which were so eerie and silent, they were frightened. They thought it was a military camp; it was a death camp. They saw the piles of bodies and knew they were in the presence of an incomprehensible tragedy and consummate evil. But they also assumed that German soldiers were hiding within the camp's walls, waiting to attack them.

Inside those silent buildings, the remaining Jewish prisoners were huddled in fear. They hear the approaching footsteps and assumed the worst, that German soldiers were returning to finish them off. Then, cautiously peering out, they realized these soldiers were black and could not be Nazis. The prisoners, most of whom had never seen a Black, rushed out when they saw them. In stark disbelief and in passionate relief, they embraced. They were in trauma. Both were in shock. Both stood momentarily paralyzed on the cutting edge of history. Mutual fear and insecurity had been transformed into mutual security and rescue.

Blacks got to the Dachau and Buchenwald concentration camps first. There are stories here that must be told.

It is the spirit of those moments of triumph that must be recaptured and nurtured and never let go. For in those moments were messages not just for Blacks and Jews, but for the suffering and rejected everywhere. For the entire community of the suffering and the survivors, including the Hispanics, Asians, Arabs, native Americans, Central Americans, and the people of the Carribbean.

This true story of Dr. Parks and Dachau is one of the most important lessons of our time. In their ignorance, inmates and liberators each thought the other was the enemy. Separated by the death camp's walls, they feared the worst. But when they opened their eyes, they saw for themselves, they realized the truth. That we must look at each other squarely -- and recognize our allies. Walls and ignorance keep us apart. We must tear down the walls, open our eyes, smile through our tears, and open our hearts and arms to one another.

And so today when we look at the situation here at home, we see examples of racial conflict that are even more chilling because they involve the young for whom we have such high hopes. We can find many examples of walls of ignorance and fear, which breed insecurity and hatred, that manifests itself in acts of blind and mean violence. Caught in the prism of racism, we see natural allies kept apart.

It is because I believe so strongly in that which we have in common that I came here tonight to talk about our common future -- our cooperation for the common good. It is because I believe so strongly in the ability of people of good will to reason together that I urge us all tonight to focus our sights not on those issues on which we may differ but on the large issues on which we agree. And it is because I believe so strongly in the need for us to work together that I want to speak to you tonight about some of the myths that divide us.

Yes we have real problems and real concerns. No resident of Queens, no resident of New York, no thoughtful citizen of the United States can deny that we have problems and conflicts between groups. But let us also be aware that some of these problems are exaggerated: that some of these conflicts have been exacerbated; that some of the so-called issues are better exposed as modern-day myths.

What are these myths? Let me list three.

First is the myth that among the biggest problems facing Blacks and Jews are those posed by extremists within each group. The sociologists would refer to this as blaming the victim. In reality this is a political diversion, an attempt to distract our attention to the real problems for both of us caused by attacks from outside. And make no mistake -- the real extremists out there are aiming at both of us. The neo-Nazis in Idaho who want to build an Aryan Nation are full of hate toward Blacks and Jews. The Director of Communications in President Reagan's White House, who argued against the celebration of Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday, also opposes the prosecution of Nazi war criminals. Even if we had less in common we would be reminded of our common interest by the enemies we share.

The second myth is that Black/Jewish relationships are so fragile, in such bad shape, that they are somehow worse than relations between other ethnic groups.

Why is is that so much public attention is being focused on the relations between Blacks and Jews? Why is it always our relationship that is being tested, monitored and critiqued? The day after the killing at Howard Beach, did we hear calls for investigation of Italian-Black relations. When so few white ethnics in Chicago voted for Harold Washington, did we see newspaper articles about Irish-Croatian-Italian-German-ethnic Black relations? Even the hardiest friendship would be endangered by constant laboratory testing and public monitoring. We remain under watch and investigation!!

The fact that our relationships have lasted as long as they have in the face of this pressure is a testament to its strength and durability.

And finally, I want to speak about the third -- and potentially the most dangerous myth. That the positive relationship is over; that divisions between Blacks and Jews have split the old Roosevelt coalition.

In fact, Jews and Blacks continue to work together for social justice at home and abroad. In the Congress, Black members and Jewish members work closely together, fighting for economic opportunity, for urban aid -- and for an end to Apartheid in South Africa.

On the floor of Congress and voting booth, Jews and Blacks vote very much alike. In 1984, despite the self-interested predictions of those who would divide us, both Jews and Blacks voted for Walter Mondale. Last month in my home city of Chicago, where a great Mayor Harold Washington is seeking reelection, Jewish voters supported Harold Washington in numbers far greater than any other ethnic group. In public opinion polls and in the polling place, Blacks and Jews demonstrate similar commitment to the values of social justice, civil rights, and human dignity.

Those are the myths, but there are other factors which are not myths. It is not a myth to say that Blacks and Jews may differ -- but it is also time to say to one another that we can express our differences aloud and still be friends. Friendship does not require choral speaking -- friends do not have to live in an echo chamber. If we speak in terms of civility; if we frame the debate within the terms of tolerance; if we extend to one another the respect we owe to one another. Allies can be honest and speak out, without fearing that our alliance will be destroyed. It is not a myth to say that there are issues on which Blacks and Jews may differ -- so long as we remember the many more on which we agree.

The bonds between us have been forged over many years of common experiences and goals. Because we have arrived, at the same time at this place in history, does not mean we have not traveled different paths to reach this place. If sometimes our different experiences lead us to different conclusions, that does not invalidate the importance of our values.

Thus, Blacks and Jews have very different reactions to the word quotas. For Blacks, a quota can be a door to opportunity. For Jews, the quota system has meant a ceiling on success. But because we differ on quotas does not mean we can't agree on affirmative action, opening the way for mionorities and women to participate in every phase of American life.

Even reaching America was a very different experience for Blacks and for Jews. For Jews, leaving Europe to come to the United States was to leave oppression and arrive at freedom. For Blacks the experience was reversed, leaving Africa to come to the United States meant leaving independence and being forced into slavery. Thus the very word immigration has a different meaning to us. But both of us can agree that political refugees deserve the right to immigrate, and both of us will fight for these rights.

Whether the prisoner is Jacob Timmerman in the jails of Argentina or Anatol Shchranskyin the Soviet Union, or Nelson Mandela in South Africa -- we believe that the Government of the United States should speak out on behalf of those unjustly jailed -- not make alliances with their jailers.

That is why, when I went to Geneva with a peace delegation from the United States and had the chance to speak to Premier Gorbachev, I raised the issue with him about Soviet Jews. That is why earlier this month I met outside the White House with Koreans protesting the brutality of their own South Korean Government. And that is why so many of us, Black and Jew, white and Hispanic, marched together and were arrested together outside the South African embassies across this coutnry -- because on the issue of human rights, we are united.

Look around this room
Look at the person sitting next to you
Look at the people sitting in your row
And in front of you

We are the people who care...the people who make the effort to come out tonight -- to share with each other our feelings and commitment...The people who want to reach out and work together.

Our enemy is not within this room but outside...among those who try to stop communication...to spread fear and distrust ...to set us against one another because they oppose our principles of social justice and human dignity.

And so they try to set us against one another.

Look at this building...think about the value of this College, and the first rate education experiences this school made available. Think about the dedicated teachers who teach here like Barry Commoner, Alan Hevesi and Mike Harrington. Think about how much education has contributed to the health of our nation and the strength of our society.

But there are those who want to cut back education. The President's budget proposes to trim 5 billion dollars from the Federal Education Budget, to narrow grants in favor of loans, to lessen the number of classes that can be taught, of scholarships available, of textbooks that will be used. The enemy is not within this room but is outside among the people who talk about excellence but try to cut back education.

Look at the young people with us tonight. Think of our own hopes and goals when we were their age. Think of what they mean to us, to all of us, as a society and as a nation. But what sort of future can they expect when decent jobs are shrinking, when America's economic base is weakened, when opportunities for employment and education are disappearing.

The enemy is not within this room but outside, among those people who would deny our young people the chance for a better life.

When we understand that the enemy is outside, then we understand too that our allies are inside. For us inside this room let there be no question that the alliance is real, the goals are shared, and that our directions will be forward. I thank you for the opportunity to speak with you tonight, and I look forward to answering your questions.

Blacks and Jews: The Strained Alliance

By PETER I. ROSE

ABSTRACT: Martin Luther King once stated that "It would be impossible to record the contribution that Jewish people have made toward the Negro's struggle for freedom, it has been so great." For years there was a good deal of public discussion of the commitment of Jews to the relief of black suffering and of black appreciation for it. Recently much has been written about the asymmetrical character of the relationship and about the once-masked, now-open evidence of black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism in certain quarters of both communities, some of them quite strategic. The fact is that Black-Jewish relations have always had a paradoxical quality: Blacks and Jews have been strangers to one another, more than popular liberal sentiment would suggest; neighbors, who, at least in the North, have lived and worked in close proximity if not equality; allies in the struggle for civil rights; and opponents, especially on issues as diverse as affirmative action and American policy in the Middle East. This article examines some of the paradoxes in "the strained alliance."

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THE FIRST Blacks arrived in the American colonies in 1609; the first Jews in 1654. The former were indentured servants, the latter, merchants and professionals. The relative status of those early representatives was, in a sense, prophetic, for regardless of how far some Blacks were to move up the ladder of social mobility in the centuries ahead, Jews generally would be on a higher rung.

Even the Jewish immigrants who arrived between 1880 and 1920, impoverished refugees from Czarist pogroms and general economic blight, were still better off than the black Americans who had been here for more than two centuries. While these new Americans had come from traditional societies where the serfs had only recently been emancipated, they had never been in peonage. Their marginal status, whatever its negative consequences—and there were many-meant that they had learned to care for themselves while having to cope with the others around them. They had survived in part by playing the classic role of the "middleman minority." That was to carry over into this country.

Many of the Jewish immigrants began their new lives as peddlers

1. Edna Bonacich, "A Theory of Middleman Minorities," Am. Soc. Review, 38:583-94 (Oct. 1973); see also Walter P. Zenner, "American Jewry in the Light of Middleman Minority Theories," Contemporary Jewry, 5:11-30 (spring/summer 1980).

NOTE: Recently much has been written about black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism. A listing additional to other footnotes in this article includes: Max Geltman, The Confrontation: Black Power, Anti-Semitism and the Myth of Integration (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1970); Ronald T. Tsakushima, The Social and Psychological Correlations of Black Anti-Semitism (San Francisco: R and E Research Associates, 1978); and Robert Weisbord and Arthur Stein, Bittersweet Encounter (Westport, CT: Negro University Press, 1970).

and tradesmen or in the needle trades, struggling to survive and to give their families a new lease on life. Despite a variety of obstacles, not least anti-Jewish prejudices and restrictive practices, they worked hard to prove themselves—and to improve themselves. By the 1940s, the dramatic mobility of the Jewish segment was beginning to be noticed. Within another decade the Jews were to be rated as the most successful of all ethnic groups in the United States on a variety of measures, including financial attainment, academic achievement, and professional status.2

Black Americans had a very different history. They did not choose to come, and their entire existence was shaped by the reason that they did. The mark of their oppression left a bitter legacy.

Slavery was replaced by segregation, and still Blacks remained beyond the pale of social acceptance, far down in the stratification hierarchy and outside the mainstream of American political life. Yet owing to the nature of their particular acculturation experiences, they were to internalize many basic American values regarding achievement and mobility. What most Blacks came to want was not very different from what Jews sought, namely, a legitimate place in American society. But coming out of different social worlds, they saw themselves and othersand each other-through very different lenses.

Until fairly recently, most Jews

3. Harold Cruse, The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual (New York: William Morrow, 1967), p. 482.

^{2.} See, for example, Alice Kessler-Harris and Virginia Yans-McLaughlin, "European Immigrant Groups," in American Ethnic Groups, ed. Thomas Sowell (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 1978), pp. 107-37.

thought Blacks were seeking acceptance via the route of assimilation. Many black leaders gave credence to such assumptions, arguing that the idea that others should regard them as being different was tantamount to racism. To white supporters the key word was "integration." To a marked degree it was used to mean that Blacks should be helped to overcome those traits that signified their "cultural deprivation." They should try to become like everyone else.

Jews had long maintained that what they wanted for themselves was the right to be different, to enjoy the pluralistic promise of America. Horace Kallen's metaphor of this society as a symphony orchestra in which each section has its own timbre and tonality was much more to their liking than any ideas of "white washed" Anglo conformity.

It is ironic that during the early 1960s when numbers of young Jews began to eschew their hyphenated identity, in what some called a process of deracination, Blacks began to undergo a sort of ethnogenesis. Much of the new assertion of racial pride was in response to the realization that to truly accept Blacks, white America would have to become "color-blind." As the civil rights leader James Farmer put it, Blacks realized that

[America] would become color-blind only when we gave up our color. The white man, who presumably was no color, would have to give up only his prejudices. We would have to give up

4. E. Franklin Frazier, The Negro in the United States (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 68.

5. Horace Kallen, "Democracy vs. the Melting Pot," The Nation, 25 Feb. 1915, p. 220; and see Milton M. Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 88-114.

our identities. Thus, we would usher in the Great Day with an act of complete self-denial and self-abasement.⁶

This recognition led to the charting of a different course.

Many liberal Jews were among those most alarmed by the increasingly strident assertions of militant Blacks in their ethnosyncratic quest for identity. They seemed unable to understand that what the new black leaders were after was what Jews already possessed: a chauvinistic sense of their own collective worth, a pride in the uniqueness of their past. Perhaps part of the problem was that, for all their concerns, American Jews knew very little about Blacks.

To most Jews of German and Eastern European background, black people were a mystery. They knew little about Africa or its cultures, or about the American South.⁷

By contrast, Jews had long been an integral part of Afro-American Weltanschauung-not America's Jews or Europe's, but the Biblical Jews who followed Moses out of Egypt and into the Promised Land. The widely held sense of affinity with the children of Israel was part of the socialization process Blacks were exposed to in the Protestant parishes of the American South. The evidence of the linkage is abundant, but nowhere is it clearer than in the Negro spirituals and in Gospel music. The lyrics reveal a litany of over-Jordan imagery and of deliverance from bondage.

That so much is derived from the

 James Farmer, Freedom—When? (New York: Random House, 1965), p. 87.

7. It should be noted that in Irving Howe's monumental history of New York's Jews there are but few references to the immigrants' images of or contact with Blacks. See Irving Howe, World of Our Futhers (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1976).

fifth book of the Pentateuch is not to say that Blacks have been unaware of the portrayal of Jews in the New Testament, nor that as listeners to evangelical circuit riders or radio crusaders they could have avoided hearing about "the perfidious Jews," "the Christ-killers." Still, most Blacks know that like Moses, Jesus was a Jew, and they have difficulty reconciling the wholesale dismissal of his parentage because of the acts of a small group of betravers. While it has been argued that "if blacks are anti-Semitic, it is because they are Christian," most evidence belies such a claim.8

One must look elsewhere for the principal roots of whatever black anti-Semitism exists. One place is the economic nexus where Blacks and Jews have often found themselves in an interdependent relationship since the early decades of this century.

THE OLD CHETTOS AND THE NEW

The years 1910 and 1920 bracketed a new phenomenon in American social history: the steadily accelerating northward migration of Blacks. Prior to that period, over 90 percent of black Americans lived south of the Mason-Dixon line. But in that decade alone Detroit experienced an increase in the black population of 600 percent; Cleveland, 300 percent; Chicago, 150 percent; and the black populations of Cincinnati, Philadelphia, and New

8. Philip S. Foner once suggested that to some black leaders, the problem was not that Jews were Jewish but "that they had failed to live up to their own principles as exemplified by Moses and the Prophets." See Philip S. Foner, "Black-Jewish Relations in the Opening Years of the Twentieth Century," Phylon, winter 1975, 359-67.

York doubled. That rapid influx was to change profoundly the pattern of intergroup relations in the country.

Not only did old Americans find themselves confronted with a new reality, new Americans, including Jews, did too. Many Jews learned of Black suffering through the Yiddish press, which began to draw comparisons between their own experiences—as slaves in Egypt, as ghettoized pariahs in the Middle Ages, and as victims of the Spanish Inquisition and of Czarist pogromsand the painful history of Afro-Americans. The diatribes of Populists, the rampages of Klansmen, the frightening spectacle of race riots in the Midwest, and the growing nativist sentiment that was at once antiforeign, anti-Semitic, and anti-Black served to further make Jews aware of the extent to which prejudice abounded in their new Promised Land. Yet while lews became alerted to the discriminatory treatment of southern Blacks and began supporting causes to redress their grievances, many northern Blacks felt that they—the lews—were part of the problem.

For many years, those Jews with whom most northern Blacks had direct contact were not only a step or more ahead of them—as foremen in garment factories, teachers in public schools, or social workers—but were also apt to be those Whites on whom they had to depend for many goods and services and for housing. The old-law tenements and brownstone apartment buildings into which migrating Blacks moved were often owned by Jews.

 Hasia R. Diner, In the Almost Promised Land (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1977), p. 15. When we were growing up in Harlem our demoralizing series of landlords were Jewish, and we hated them. . . .

The grocer was a Jew, and being in debt to him was very nuch like being in debt to the company store. . . . We bought our clothes from a Jew and, sometimes, our secondhand shoes, and the passarbroker was a Jew—perhaps we hated him most of all.¹⁰

James Baldwin, who wrote those bitter words, has argued that, unlike those he knew personally (good Jews?), those who were so distrusted epitomized for Blacks the evil agents of repressive white society. If Still, he and others acknowledged that Blacks did distinguish between "white oppressors" and Jewish ones, between Mr. Charlie and Mr. Goldberg. It was said that if Jews exploited you, they could also be exploited—or at least appealed to for assistance. They were middlemen in more ways than one.

Black folklore has long been filled with jokes and parables that begin, "Once a white man, a Jew, and a Negro . . ." In those stories the leitmotiv is that the white man has the real power, he runs the plantation and the society, but on the street it is the Jew who is the clever conniver, always taking advantage of the poor folk who are but innocent victims of the overall system of oppression. 13

In many ways, the symbiotic re-

10. James Baldwin, Notes of a Native Son (Boston: Beacon Press, 1962), p. 125.

11. James Baldwin, "Negroes are Antisemitic Because They're Antiwhite," in Antisemitism in America, ed. Leonard Dinnerstein (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971), pp. 125-31.

 C. Eric Lincoln, comment in Negro and Jew, ed. Shlomo Katz (New York: Macmillan, 1967), p. 90.

13. See Lawrence Levine, Black Culture and Black Consciousness (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 306. lationship of urban Jews to the rural Blacks in their neighborhoods may be described as a kind of "Russian Redux" with Blacks playing the role of muzhiks (Russian peasants) and Jews playing themselves. Milton Himmelfarb once set up the parallel. He explained that in the Old Country, the "muzhik was the Jew's external environment and, more often than not, his livelihood." 14

Substitute the words "urban America" for "the Old Country" and "Blacks" for "muzhiks," and Himmelfarb's description gives a fair reflection of how many American Jews felt about Blacks.

... The Jews of the Pale of Settlement thought themselves superior to the muzhiks, feared them, felt guilty about them, pitied them, envied them, and, while distrusting them, wanted to see their lot bettered.

The Jews did not hate the muzhiks. In general, we are poor haters—partly, I suppose, because we have had so many enemies that hatred is pointless.¹⁵

Fear, guilt, pity, envy, distrust.

Numerous Jews, poor and working class, spent their own lives struggling to get out and keep out of poverty, to survive in the urban jungle, to make something of themselves, and to provide their children with a way out. Many made it, but some were left behind. They saw their friends leave, their synagogues close down, and their neighbor-

- 14. Milton Himmelfarb, "Jew, Negroes and Muzhiks," Commentary, Oct. 1966, pp. 83-86.
- 15. Ibid. For a personal account reflecting the tensions discussed by Himmelfarb, see Norman Podhoretz, "My Negro Problem—and Ours," Commentary, Feb. 1963, pp. 93-101.
- 16. See Ralph Levine, "Left Behind in Brooklyn," in Nation of Nations, ed. Peter I. Rose (New York: Random House, 1972), pp. 335-46.

hoods undergo profound changes. They were troubled at the seeming lack of communal concerns on the part of many who moved in. When they tried to understand when others, including their educated and liberal children, explained that rising crime rates and deteriorating conditions were the legacy of segregation, neglect, and anomie, they would often counter by saying that after all they, too, knew what it meant to be poor, and they had never acted in such a manner. But most of all, they resented it when they, who had nothing to do with slavery or segregation, were told they had to pay for the sins of other people's fathers.17

The accusations of Jewish exploitation, which were to grow even more vituperative in the years ahead, often overshadowed the fact that many upwardly mobile, blue-collar and middle-class Blacks-in the North and in the South-saw Jews rather differently than did those who remained in the underclass of society with little chance of escaping. They, too, knew the folklore. They knew the stereotypes. They knew the shopkeepers. They knew that "Jews are sharp," "Jews are smart," "Jews work hard to get ahead," and "Jews always help their own." But instead of saying, "That's the trouble with them," the Jews were often seen as models, exemplars of success, as allies in the struggle, even benefactors.

As the late Dr. King once suggested:

Jews progressed because they possessed a tradition of education combined with social and political action. The

17. See Peter I. Rose and Stanley Rothman, "Race and Education in New York," Race, 6: 108-16 (Oct. 1964); see also, Murray Friedman, ed., Overcoming Middle-Class Rage (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971). Jewish family enthroned education and sacrificed to get it. The result was far more than abstract learning. Uniting social action with educational competence. Jews became enormously effective in political life. Those Jews who became lawyers, businessmen, writers, entertainers, union leaders and medical men did not vanish into the pursuits of their trade exclusively. They lived an active life in political circles, learning the techniques and arts of politics.

Nor was it only the rich who were involved in social and political action. Millions of Jews for half a century remained relatively poor, but they were far from passive in social and political areas. . . . Their life raft in the sea of discouragement was social action. 18

WHOSE BROTHERS' KEEPER?

King was quite right. Jews had long been involved in social action, not least in the cause of civil rights. Not only did wealthy philanthropists like Jacob Shiff, Felix Warburg, Louis Marshall, and Julius Rosenwald feel a deep commitment to assuring the rights of all Americans and to giving time, energy, and considerable amounts of money to the cause, but thousands of less affluent Jews contributed as well. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the National Urban League were two of the most prominent black-oriented civil rights and social service organizations to which Jews gave considerable financial support and in which Jews worked closely with Blacks.19 In addition, many

Martin Luther King, Jr., Where Do We Go From Here: Chaos or Community? (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), pp. 154-55.

^{19.} See B. Joyce Ross, J. E. Spingarn and the Risc of the NAACP (New York: Atheneum, 1972); Nancy Weiss, The National Urban League, 1910-1940 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), esp. pp. 53-54; and

Jewish defense agencies, such as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the American Jewish Congress, and the American Jewish Committee, were engaged in attempts to reduce intergroup tension and to educate Americans as to the multiethnic character of the country.

From 1910 to the early 1960s, the principal thrust of black activists and their Jewish allies was to challenge this society to honor its own vaunted ideals. This often meant taking the case to court, if need be, all the way to the Supreme Court.

One of the most significant of the groups working toward constitutional justice was the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, which prepared briefs, planned the strategy, and pleaded cases that eventually were to overturn the famous Plessy ruling that had declared the legality of segregation. The staff included Blacks, such as Thurgood Marshall, and also a number of Jews; in fact, its director was a Jewish lawyer, Jack Greenberg. Together they and their colleagues won a number of crucial cases in the struggle for justice, culminating in the Brown decision of 1954 in which the Supreme Court unanimously struck down the "separate but equal" doctrine.

The coalition of black, Jewish, and other white liberal integrationists held sway for over 50 years. Even the Congress of Racial Equality and the Southern Christian Leadership Congress, two organizations that had far fewer Jews in positions of leadership, or as "angels," or staff members, still relied heavily on the support of Jewish activists. And during the periods of the most intensive

Jews were numbered among the freedom riders, the voter registration teams, and those who demonstrated in Washington, Chicago, Birmingham, Selma, and throughout Mississippi. Jews were also prominent on the stage and behind the scenes in the last great display of integrated élan: the 1963 march on Washington. Two hundred fifty thousand black and white Americans gathered on the Mall to hear Martin Luther King say,

When we let freedom ring, . . . we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of that old Negro spiritual, "Free at last!"²¹

A Harris poll of 1157 randomly selected black men and women was conducted in 1963. Upon examination of the data, Celia Heller and Alphonso Pinkney noted that "in general, the opinion of Negroes on the stand of Jews [regarding civil rights] is more favorable than unfavorable."²² Jews were more apt to be seen as "helpful"—42 percent—than as "harmful"—9 percent—to the cause. However, a significant caveat was noted with regard to the helpful-harmful question: almost half

campaigns in the southern United States, the late 1950s and early 1960s, reports from the field cited over and over the disproportionate representation of Jews.²⁰

See August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement, 1942-1968 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973).

Martin Luther King, "I Have a Dream,"
 SCLC Newsletter, 12:8 (Sept. 1963).

^{22.} Celia Stopnicka Heller and Alphonso Pinkney, "The Attitudes of Negroes Toward Jews," Social Forces, 43:364-69 (March 1965).

Stephen Birmingham, Our Crowd (New York: Harper & Row, 1967).

—49 percent—of the respondents answered that they were "not sure." Heller and Pinkney suggest that this may not have been an artifact of the question's being improperly or ambiguously phrased or of the respondents' intentional evasion²³ (a similar "problem" had appeared on other nationwide polls).²⁴ It was perhaps more likely that many Blacks were confused about their own feelings and uncertain as to how they wanted to express this confusion.

In a 1964 study, Gary Marx sought to explore the character of black anti-Semitism. His analysis was based on interviews conducted with 492 black adults living in a variety of metropolitan areas outside the South and with 527 others who lived in one of four selected cities, New York, Chicago, Atlanta, and Birmingham.25 According to answers to stereotypeladen questions, Marx found that the extent of anti-Semitism differed considerably by region. High scorersthose most anti-Semitic-were more common among those living outside the South. In each of the nonsouthern subsamples, "roughly three in ten appeared as anti-Semitic, that is, gave an anti-Semitic response to five or more of the nine items compared to less than one in five in the South."26

To test the assumption that anti-Semitism among black Americans was on the increase in the fall of 1964, the period immediately following a long, hot, and violent summer in many cities, Marx asked respondents: "Thinking of Jews as a group, would you say you feel more friendly toward them now than you used to, less friendly, or have you always felt as you do now?" He reported that most said they felt the same. And among that minority who said their attitudes had changed, most indicated that they were more positive than before. Here regional differences were slight.²⁷

Marx's findings agreed in large measure with those of Harris, who found that "a large proportion of Negroes perceive Jews as helpful to the cause of Negro rights." But such findings did not rule out the existence of pockets of anti-Jewish feeling in certain sectors of the black community.

Negro city slums, such as New York's Harlem and Chicago's Bronzeville, where the tradesmen, rent collectors, and real estate agents tend to be Jews. (As is pointed out in Black Metropolis, in New Orleans, where Italian merchants predominated in the Negro slums, Italians were the targets of hate.) . . And some writers claim that certain black nationalist groups are ready to arouse these antagonisms.²⁹

This last statement by Heller and Pinkney proved to be most prescient. Things began to change as race relations entered a new phase when, as I have written elsewhere, the "soulless militancy" of the black integrationists and the "ethnocentric blackwardness" of the nationalists were finally joined into a potent movement for black consciousness,

^{23.} Ibid., pp. 366-67.

^{24.} See, for example, "The Nationwide Poll of March, 1959" (New York: Division of Scientific Research, American Jewish Committee, 1959).

^{25.} Gary T. Marx, Protest and Prejudice (New York: Harper & Row, 1967).

^{26.} Ibid., pp. 133-34.

^{27.} Ibid., p. 135.

^{28.} Heller and Pinkney, p. 369.

^{29.} Ibid. See Louis Lomax, The Negro Revolt (New York: Signet Books, 1963). For a review of studies of black and white anti-Semitism, see Harold E. Quinley and Charles Y. Glock, Anti-Semitism in America (New York: Free Press, 1979), esp. pp. 54-72.

black pride, and "Black Power." Among the first to feel the results of the change in outlook and orientation were Jewish members of the various organizations and other Jewish activists. But many other Jews felt it, too.

BREAKING RANKS

In 1966, Allon Schoener had organized a highly successful exhibition, "Portal to America: The Lower East Side, 1870-1925," at the Jewish Museum in New York.31 In 1968, he was invited to set up a comparable exhibition on black life at the Metropolitan Museum of New York. "Harlem on My Mind" was equally striking, but it was far from successful. From the start many Blacks were incensed that Schoener, a white man, was given the responsibility for the show. Many Jews were to become infuriated over the text of the introduction to the catalogue, for it was based upon a theme written by a 16-year-old black student.32 Among other things, it included the following Baldwinian reprieve: "Anti-Jewish feeling is a natural result of the Black northern migration."33

In point of fact, many passages in the essay were "borrowed," but not from James Baldwin. They were paraphrases from a book considered

30. Peter I. Rose, They and We, 3rd ed. (New York: Random House, 1981), p. 162.

31. Allon Schoener, ed. Portal to America: The Lower East Side, 1870-1925 (New York: at the time to be one of the most definitive assessments of New York City's ethnic groups, Beyond the Melting Pot, by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan.³⁴ Even knowledge of the source did not assuage Jewish anger, especially when the paragraph quoted also included the sentence, "One other important factor worth noting is that, psychologically Blacks may find that anti-Jewish sentiments place them, for once, within a majority." ³⁵

The chasm was widening. The rhetoric was sounding increasingly ominous. The polarization was occurring against a backdrop of rapid changes on both the national and international scene. At home it was the Black Power revolt, the growing resentment against the war in Vietnam, and the various counterculture movements that were causing profound alterations in social and political relations. Abroad there were many matters of significance, not least the Six-Day War in Israel. What was predicted in those turbulent days seemed to begin to become true. In 1968 I wrote that

American Jews, delighted at Israeli victory in the Six Day War, have evinced much less enthusiasm for their own country's protracted conflict in Southeast Asia and its stalemated war against poverty at home. Other groups in American life share the sense of frustration. In the search for scapegoats that may soon ensue, Jews may find themselves most vulnerable to attack from right, left, and below. By seeking reform and compromise on most issues instead of radical change, they may come increasingly to appear too white for the black militants, too red for the white con-

Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967).

32. Candice van Ellison, "Introduction," Harlem on My Mind, ed. Allon Schoener (New York: Random House, 1968), p. 2. For a further discussion of the controversy, see Lenore E. Berson, The Negroes and the Jews (New York: Random House, 1971), esp. the Epilogue, "Pictures at an Exhibition," pp. 418-36.

^{33.} van Ellison.

^{34.} Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (Cambridge: M.I.T. and Harvard, 1963), pp. 71-73.

^{35.} van Ellison.

servatives, and too yellow for their own children.36

Many Blacks did begin to see Jews as too white; many Whites did begin to see them—again—as too red; and for a time, many of their own children saw them as too yellow—or soft. The adult Jews themselves, motivated perhaps by prideful identity with the Davids of Israel who slew the Arab Goliath, began to reassert their sense of Jewishness. But almost as soon as the resurgence of Jewish ethnicity began to take place, the New York school strike occurred.

the city—including the Jewish organizations—had supported an experiment in community control of Brooklyn's Ocean Hill-Brownsville school district. Most of the teachers in that school district, like most of the teachers in the rest of the city school system, were Jewish. Most of the community was black. In the fall of 1968, the new community school board fired thirteen teachers, all of them Jews.³⁷

Things reached a flash point when members of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) were confronted by local groups and many outsiders who opposed the "Jewish hegemony" over the educational establishment. While there were a number of Jews who publicly argued against what they called "The Myth of Black Anti-Semitism," many others were convinced that they were being used as

scapegoats in a larger struggle. Their fear—some called it paranoia—was fed by the anti-Semitic antilocutions of angry Blacks, expressed over the public airwaves. Statements such as "Hitler didn't make enough lampshades," uttered by 15-year-old Tyrone Wood on Julius Lester's weekly WBAI radio show, typified the sort of diatribe that fed the Jewish backlash.40

Lester, whose own views have undergone a profound change in recent years, ⁴¹ sought to explain the position of Blacks who were so outraged by the reluctance of the UFT and other bodies to support their demands for control.

When blacks consistently attacked the political position of the UFT, their response was to accuse blacks of being anti-Semitic and to point to their liberal record on race relations and the fact that Shanker [the Jewish head of the UFTI marched in Selma. Indeed, Jews tend to be a little self-righteous about their liberal record, always jumping to point out that they have been in the forefront of the fight for racial equality. Yes, they have played a prominent role and blacks always thought it was because they believed in certain principles. When they remind us continually of this role, then we realize that they were pitying us and wanted our gratitude, not the realization of the principles of justice and humanity.

Maybe that's where the problem comes now. Jews consider themselves liberals. Blacks consider them paternalistic.⁴²

^{36.} Peter I. Rose, "The Ghetto and Beyond" in The Ghetto and Beyond: Essays on Jewish Life in America, ed. Peter I. Rose (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 17.

Stephen D. Isaacs, Jews and American Politics (Garden City: Doubleday, 1974), pp. 164-65.

^{38.} Herbert J. Gans, "Negro-Jewish Conflict in New York City: A Sociological Evaluation," Midstream, March 1969, pp. 3-15.

A full page advertisement titled "How New York's Jews Were Turned Against Black Men" appeared in the New York Times,

¹⁶ March 1969, p. 7E. It was "Reprinted as a public service by the Jewish Citizens' Committee for Community Control."

For a discussion of the episode, see Julius Lester, "A Response," in Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism, ed. Nat Hentoff, (New York: Richard W. Baron, 1970), p. 229.

^{41.} See Julius Lester, "Affirmations: All God's Children," Moment, 5:11-14, 26 (April 1980).

^{42.} Lester, pp. 231-32.

The same sentiments began to be voiced in local meetings of the national organizations. They were deeply felt and reacted to. Many Jews pulled back. Many pulled out. Once gone, they left the civil rights houses divided over the issue of any white involvement whatsoever. 43

Those militant groups that survived bent their energies and turned their depleted financial resources to ghetto reconstruction, community organization, and the furtherance of strong black cultural identity. They also gave their approval to struggles already taking place on the college campuses and, to a lesser extent, in the boardrooms—the latter being left to such groups as the still-integrated National Urban League.

The campus revolts of the 1960s involved many issues, but there were two prominent factions, one white, often dominated by Jewish radicals,44 one black. The whole scenario was played out almost as if iconoclast Paul Goodman had written the script. As in his Growing Up Absurd, there were the frustrated, upper-middle-class white rebels inside the closed room looking for ways to break out; and there were the frustrated black militants outside the closed room trying to find ways to get in.43 Even at the height of the revolt, most black students when asked, "What do you want?" would reply, "What you've got."

The Blacks' campus campaigns were quite successful. Blacks made

Open enrollment meant, essentially, altering, lowering, or removing traditional standards for admission to institutions of higher public education. In New York, the city with the largest Jewish population and one that had long prided itself on the excellence provided in the several branches of the City University of New York, it meant a substantial change, not only in the composition of student bodies, but also in the character of education itself. A great debate raged over the issue, with faculties - many of whose members were Jewish-deeply divided. As in other struggles over what some defined as elitism and others as simply maintaining standards, older faculty members and those in the hard sciences tended to be the most conservative; the younger ones, especially in the social sciences, the most liberal. In the end, the open enrollment policies prevailed, and many "minority students"-the label that came to be used for Blacks and other non-Whites-entered the colleges with minimal qualifications. The record of their achievement was a mixed

demands: more black students. They received commitments to do more recruiting. They wanted black studies. Faculties, even those opposed in principle, gave in, and new courses and programs proliferated. They said they needed black cultural centers. They got them. 46 Soon it was not enough to offer greater opportunities; places had to be guaranteed. The signal words were "open enrollment" and "affirmative action." Their implementation was to further exacerbate the growing strains between the Jews and the Blacks.

^{43.} Berson, pp. 138-45. See also Murray Friedman, "The Jews," in Through Different Eyes, eds. Peter I. Rose et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), esp. pp. 154-61.

See Stanley Rothman and Robert Lichter, Radical Christians, Radical Jews (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

^{45.} Paul Goodman, Growing Up Absurd (New York: Random House, 1960).

^{46.} See Ben Halpern, Jews and Blacks (New York: Heider and Heider, 1971), pp. 18-25.

one. Opponents, even those willing to concede minor successes, saw the program as an unmitigated disaster for higher education. They felt the city colleges were no longer a place of learning and research, but holding pens for unqualified job seekers.

In other cities open enrollment was put into practice, but because their municipal institutions had played different historic roles and had far fewer Jewish students and staff members, the issue seemed somewhat less contentious. Affirmative action was another story.⁴⁷

For Blacks, affirmative action means getting a bigger slice of the pie, a slice more closely proportionate to their percentage in the overall population. For most lews, who represent a fraction of the general population and who remember not only the Nuremburg laws but the numerus clausus used to restrict their numbers in American universities, it means a return to quotas. Statistically overrepresented in the professions and in academia, positions attained by acceptance of meritocratic principles and by hard work often in the face of discriminatory practices, many Jews feared that the supplanting of such individualistic ideas by "group rights" and class actions would harm them more than others. 48

In the celebrated legal cases of DeFunis and Bakke, both challenging admission policies that favored minorities in what some called "reverse discrimination," several Jewish organizations entered pleas, amicus curiae. 49 To many Blacks this was further evidence of the softness of the Jewish commitment to black advancement; to some it was a clear indication of Jewish duplicity. For such critics, the Jews' pleas that fairness dictated an absolutely open competition was disingenuous. "They of all people should know what it is to be discriminated against."

To which "they" replied:

Precisely. Such selective treatment merely plays into the hands of those who would see you (or us) in categorical terms and not as individuals, who will say that the only way you can make it is with special assistance which, ironically, gives credence to the view that you are in fact unable to compete in an open arena.⁵⁰

That debate continues. So, too, does one over the most divisive issue of all, the conflict over support for Israel by Jews and, increasingly, for the Arabs' cause by Blacks.

CHOOSING SIDES

In many ways, this last source of conflict is different from all others. Every issue on which Blacks and Jews disagreed in the past was based on what I referred to earlier as the asymmetrical relationship. For historic reasons, American Jews generally have been in positions of greater control than American Blacks whether as employers, teachers, merchants, landlords, organizers, donors, or academic achievers. But when some prominent Blacks began attacking Israel and offering support for the

^{47.} See, for example, Leo Pfeffer, "Quota;, Compensation and Open Enrollment," in The Politics of Confrontation, ed. Samuel Hendel (New York: Appleton-Century-Croft;

^{48.} Nathan Glazer, Affirmative Discrimnation (New York: Basic Books, 1975); see also Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "The New Radicalism," Atlantic, Aug. 1968, p. 39.

^{49.} See Allan P. Sindler, Bakke, DeFunis and Minority Admissions: The Quest for Equal Opportunity (New York: Longman, 1978).

^{50.} See Bertram H. Gold, "The Bakke Decision," Civil Rights Digest, Aug. 1968.

PLO, Jews were hit with a chilling reality that, whatever their motives, some Blacks had seized upon the one issue that could be most damaging to Jewish security.

It was feared that Blacks-including those who maintained their ties and, perhaps, their dependence through thick and thin-were willing to trade traditional Jewish support and patronage for the more powerful economic weapons of their new-found allies, the Arabs, and in doing so, played into the hands of those who, once again, had that old scapegoat, the Jew, to blame. As Candice van Ellison put it, "Our contempt for Jews makes us feel more completely American in sharing a national prejudice."51 She was writing in another time about another aspect of the problem, but to Jews the words had and have a frightening ring.

It is for these reasons that so many Jews reacted as they did to the incidents of the summer of 1978 when ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young, admitted to having made unauthorized contact with a PLO representative. Nothing seemed destined to raise Jewish ire more than the specter of a sellout of Israel, regardless of how divided they were themselves over Israeli policies, especially with regard to Palestinians. Nothing hurt more than that among the principal movers for a changed policy were members - often viewed as representatives - of the black community.

The matter of black support for the Arab cause generated a dialogue not only among Jews, but within the black community as well. Until recently, most black leaders supported Israel while the nationalists and separatists opposed the state and its

policies. For a time, that seemed to be changing. It was infuriating to Jews when they asked, "Why can't you understand our vulnerability? Why can't you understand how much we fear that the Arabs will carry out their threat to destroy Israel in another Holocaust?" and were told, "We're tired of hearing of your suffering."52 It was shocking when such views were expressed by former civil rights leaders who marched with Martin Luther King and were endorsed by men such as Jesse Jackson, Wyatt Tee Walker, and Joseph Lowry, now head of the Southern Christian Leadership Congress. But as it turned out, there was far less unanimity on the issue in the black community than the Jews and the press were given to believe.

One of the strongest critics and eloquent defenders of Israel—and American Jews—was the black writer Julius Lester, the same Julius Lester known in the 1960s as one of the most vehement challengers of the Establishment and of the Jews within it. 53 By 1979, he saw things rather differently.

And so, Jews are being used as scapegoats again.

I cannot interpret otherwise the recent positions taken by black leaders on the Mideast and black-Jewish relations. And I am angered by how self-righteous and arrogant black leaders sounded: "Jews must show more sensitivity and be prepared for more consultation before taking positions contrary to the best interests of the black community."

While I understand that such a state-

^{52.} Harold Cruse once claimed that American Blacks had little interest in the suffering of European Jews. What was important, he argued, was that Jews had not suffered in America as Blacks had. See Cruse, p. 482.

^{53.} See Julius Lester, Look Out, Whitey! Black Power's Gon' Get Your Momma (New York: Dial Press, 1968).

^{51.} van Ellison, p. 2.

ment comes from years of anger at active Jewish opposition to affirmative action, and how deeply blacks were hurt by this opposition to what was in our "best interests," black leadership still seems to be ignorant of the fact that Jews have been hurt by black indifference to the fate of Israel. . . .

Because blacks have been silent while Jews continued to be murdered, I am appalled that they dare come forward now to self-righteously lecture Jews to "show more sensitivity" when black leadership is guilty of ethnocentric insensitivity. . . .

I am deeply sorry that black leadership spoke as it did, because my humanity as a black person was diminished. The differences and tensions between blacks and Jews are real, but the positions espoused recently by black leaders were not "our Declaration of Independence," as Kenneth Clark put it. They merely showed that blacks, too, can be Germans.⁵⁴

TOWARD RECONCILIATION

A number of black commentators thought Lester had gone way too far. Still, stung by such charges, some began to speak out arguing that, of late, too much had been made of the rifts between the two communities and too little of the continuing bonds-and interdependencies—and that, regardless of the very real divisions over central issues such as affirmative action and Middle East policies, Blacks and Jews in many areas continued to march to the beat of a common drummer. And they were partially correct in this defense.

Recently Joyce Gelb reported that

attitudinal surveys taken after Young's resignation reflect a Black constituency which had little apparent sympathy with Black leaders' statements on Israel, the PLO, and Young. Replies to the Gallup poll indicated general indifference to Middle East politics, a feeling that relations with the Jews had been and could continue to be friendly, and a denial of the view that Jews were responsible for Young's dismissal.⁵⁵

The results of 175 interviews Gelb conducted in 1976 and 1977 and analyses of subsequent studies indicate that those called "Black spokesmen" were not always speaking for the rank and file. Moreover, even while the debate was raging over issues that divided the groups, there were many signs of continuing cooperation on matters of common concern such as fair housing, school integration and the reduction of intergroup tensions. And there continued to be an eagerness to maintain ties between such old allies as the Jewish Defense Agencies, the NAACP, and the National Urban League. Throughout the troubled times these groups continued to work in concert lobbying against federal cuts in social programs and for such matters as continued Medicaid reimbursement for abortions.56 Such private sector cooperation is more than matched at the congressional level where the formal black caucus works quite closely with the informal Jewish caucus, most often voting the same way on issues of both foreign and domestic policy.

In a preface to Gelb's report, Irving M. Levine suggests that

the true facts are that the two communities still play powerful roles as mutual beneficiaries of each other's support. There is also a heartening tendency, among leaders of both com-

56. Ibid., pp. 6-9.

^{54.} Julius Lester, The Village Voice, 10 Sept. 1979. For another view, see Amiri Baraka, "Confessions of a Former Anti-Semite," The Village Voice, 17-24 Dec. 1980, pp. 1, 19-20, 22-23.

^{55.} Joyce Gelb, Beyond Conflict: Black-Jewish Relations (New York: Institute in Human Relations of the American Jewish Committee, 1980), pp. 4-5.

munities, to move rapidly to stem the worst effects of public controversy.⁵⁷

HILLEL'S ADMONITIONS

At the present writing there is evidence that attempts are being made to heal the rifts and to reopen the dialogues. Some, such as Arthur Hertzberg, see the attempt to forge an alliance between Blacks and the PLO as "a temporary aberration at a moment of anger,"58 as punishment for Jewish opposition to affirmative action. Such spokespersons urge both Iews and Blacks to ignore the innuendos of the separatists and the Third World supporters and to get on with the task of reducing interracial conflict in this country. Their words and phrases sound strikingly like those heard just before the Black Power revolt.

The issue is moral. There are concrete, aching, suffering, trapped, enraged human beings out there, in the ghetto and in the barrios, in the hundreds of thousands. They are not intellectuals who know how to use sociological jargon, to argue and confute. They know, on their own bodies and in the marrow of their bones, that a ruling elite structures the system to protect its privileges, and that the elite must be persuaded—or pressured—to move over.⁵⁹

But the radical-sounding phrases

57. Irving M. Levine, "Preface," in Beyond Conflict, Gelb, p. v. See also "Black-Jewish Relations," Data Black Survey Results (Jan. 1980), pp. 2-4. A poll of 1146 adult Blacks found black Americans more favorable to Jews than other white ethnic groups.

58. Arthur Hertzberg, "Merit, Affirmative Action, Blacks and Jews," Present Tense, winter 1980, p. 28.

59. Ibid.

are tempered by the standard liberal argument.

Jewish historical experience points to the path in the political spectrum which is occupied by moderate reformers. Their views, and the actions to accompany them, are the true public interest of all America.⁵⁰

Surely they are in the interest of Jews who still believe in the American system and both of its seemingly contradictory credos: strength in diversity through equal protection, and e pluribus unum. But they know it because they have made it and must hold their hard-won ground. They succeeded in large measure by standing up for their own beliefs and caring for their own kith and kin. They succeeded because they had internalized not only the promise of the American Dream, but Hillel's admonition, "If I am not for myself, who will be for me?"

Blacks have come to heed the same sentiment. But, unlike America's Jews, they have not yet made it. Some Jews still worry that they will continue to look for assistance wherever they can find it. Others, seeing that once again Blacks and Jews are targets of reactionary forces, know that unless there are serious attempts to reason together and to reforge the old alliances, both groups will be used by those who have little use for either.⁶¹

Jews know this, too. For Hillel also asked, "If I am only for myself, what am I? And if not now, when?"

60. Ibid

^{61.} See Balfour Brickner, "Am I Still My Brother's Keeper?" Present Tense, summer 1979, p. 64; and James Farmer, "On Black-Jewish Tensions," Open Forum, 3:4 (Feb. 1980).

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

79th ANNUAL MEETING MAY 1-5, 1985 WALDORF-ASTORIA HOTEL PARK AVENUE AT 50TH STREET NEW YORK, NY 10022 (212) 355-3000

CONTACT: Press- Joyce Kaplan Leonard Fink Ralph Bass

TV-Radio- Randall Czarlinsky Haina Just

PRESS ROOM: VERTES SUITE, 4TH FLOOR

FOR RELEASE AFTER 11 A.M. THURSDAY, MAY 2, 1985

AMERICAN JEWISH

NEW YORK, May 2....A Protestant minister and a state government official, both of them Black, today decried the rift that has erupted between Blacks and Jews and exhorted the two communities to rebuild their alliance against all prejudice and inequity, and to recognize that their differences were outweighed by their common bonds of oppression, faith, and hunger for justice.

Added one of the two speakers: "We must acknowledge that Blacks and Jews will not always find themselves on the same side of an important issue. This, however, does not mean that we are enemies, only that we are equals."

Rev. Elizabeth Scott, director of Justice for Women, National Council of Churches, and Henry E. Parker, Connecticut State Treasurer, made their remarks at a session of the American Jewish Committee's Annual Meeting, which continues through Sunday at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel here. Mimi Alperin, chair of AJC's Interreligious Affairs Commission, chaired the session, and Rabbi A. James Rudin, the human relations agency's national director of interreligious affairs, moderated.

Recalling Black-White alliances throughout the years of the civil rights movement, Mr. Parker said that "no group has had more of an involvement or stood more in the forefront of these alliances than our Jewish brothers and sisters," adding: "For Jews it was not only a question of doing what was morally right, but a personal identification with the abhorrent treatment visited upon Black Americans that mirrored aspects of Jewish history."

Today, however, continued Mr. Parker, "the air is raw, the storm seems to be gathering, and the winds of change that brought our human rights victories have also brought friendship casualties -- perhaps the most troubling and painful of which is the breakdown of the historical alliance between Black and Jewish Americans."

more/

"We have been bombarded," he went on, "with far too many examples of harsh and mean rhetoric between Black and Jewish Americans in the wake of several highly publicized controversies that have had a wide ripple effect in our two communities."

Urging the two groups to examine their differences and commonalities so as to build a base for "constructive dialogue," Mr. Parker said that among the groups' bonds were that "we share a sense of moral revulsion because of the murder of six million Jews during the Holocaust, and the social, cultural, psychological, and physical destruction of as many if not more Blacks during American slavery."

"Blacks live with racism," he said, "and Jews live with anti-Semitism, and though the two phenomena are different, they emanate from the same source: hate."

"We also have in common, Mr. Parker said, "countless Black and Jewish leaders who have worked to advance moral and ethical change that has moved the country toward greater sensitivity and tolerance."

Enumerating the differences between Blacks and Jews, Mr. Parker said that Jews, "like most immigrants, came to the United States with the expectation of freedom and a hope for prosperity, both symbolized by the Statue of Liberty -- while Blacks were forced to come here as slaves, with no expectation of freedom, no hope for prosperity and no symbol of liberty reaching out to them."

"Furthermore," Mr. Parker said, "our cultures are different, our religions are different, and our skin colors are different," but, he added, "the right to be different distinguishes America from other societies, and we must recognize that Blacks and Jews will not always find themselves on the same side of an important issue....Yet it is critical that we not allow our differences of policy to reflect adversely on our dignity as people."

Mr. Parker then called on his audience to seek to build in their communities "coalitions of conscience" such as he had helped launch in Connecticut. These groups, he said, formed of Black and Jewish clergy, educators, and organization leaders, should seek "to build a new dialogue between Jews and Blacks" through such activities as seminars to allow leaders of both communities to "speak candidly with one another," debates, lectures, and research on issues of mutual interest, "youth and adult pilgrimages" to Egypt, Israel, and Africa, and "exchanges of pulpits in each other's houses of worship."

"As we look across the political and social landscape in this country today," concluded Mr. Parker, "we can see powerful warning signals that would lead us toward an unkind, unresponsive, and intolerant society. For Blacks and Jews, our agendas for America are not identical, but they can be interwoven, and it is only our common enemies who will benefit if we allow ourselves to be torn apart."

Reverend Scott, speaking on Blacks' perceptions of Jews from a religious point of view, said that Blacks felt strongly that Jews were "a people of God," and she added:

"There is a hope we have to operate on, a hope based on both groups' deep religious faith. In this we have a strong commonality, and it is a key one, for what the world needs more than anything else is people who live out their faith."

One of the sources of confusion between the two communities, said Reverend Scott, who is a leader of the National Interreligious Task Force on Black-Jewish Relations, is that Blacks perceive American Jews as "having benefited from the white situation but living out a Black situation -- that is, they see Jews as having benefited from the opportunities in America but still being an oppressed people."

This perception, continued Reverend Scott, leads Blacks to feel both kinship and ambivalence toward Jews, and "must be examined to see if it is real or a myth."

Indeed, she said, "one of our major tasks is to ascertain how we can dispel myths and false perceptions about each other so we can bond our relationship once again."

Reverend Scott also suggested that an improvement in Blacks' overall social and economic conditions could lead to better relationships, for, she said, "those Blacks who have more fully involved themselves in the American scheme are more likely to have a broad understanding of Israel than are those who are more oppressed."

Rabbi Rudin, touching on allied themes, said that the American Jewish Committee considered its "growing positive relationship with Black churches to be one of our highest priorities."

"The Black churches," he continued, "reach two out of every three Blacks in this country, and what millions of Blacks learn about Jews, Judaism, and Israel from their church can shape their attitudes for a lifetime."

Moreover, said Rabbi Rudin, "the Black churches increasingly provide a crucial training ground for leaders of American society, and they are a major source of political leadership in this country."

"To help overcome the gulf that has recently grown up between Blacks and Jews," he continued, "AJC together with Black church leaders has established the National Interreligious Task Force on Black-Jewish Relations. The Task Force has already broken important new ground in building mutual understanding and overcoming anti-Semitism and racism, but much more work needs to be done."

Stressing the key role played by youth, Ms. Alperin said that "the hope for building understanding between our two communities rests with new generations of young people, and it is up to us to make sure they do not learn the myths and stereotypes, the racism and anti-Semitism that have marred our recent past."

"Future understanding," continued Ms. Alperin, "rests on what our children learn about each other. The National Interreligious Task Force on Black-Jewish Relations plans to bring together young seminarians from both communities, and we will examine old texts and prepare new materials to be used by churches and synagogues.

"And we hope to bring young people together for dialogue and celebration of our peoples' mutual history and quest for liberation."

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

DAVID GELLER

TO: Marc .H. Tanenbaum

Thought you would like to see this.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 18, 1982

to To The Files

from David Geller

ABC Program "Like It Is" October 10, 1982

On October 10th ABC aired a show called "Like It Is" -- a weekly program for blacks moderated by Gil Noble dealing with a variety of subjects relating to domestic affairs, civil rights, civil liberties, etc.

The October 10th broadcast, unlike all the others, was devoted to international affairs, i.e., Lebanon. Participants included a Mr. Robinson who is director of the Trans-Africa Organization, former Senator Abouresk, and a black lawyer, a member of the Lawyers Committee on Civil Rights Under Law, who was interviewed regarding the treatment of Palestinian prisoners. The discussion, with encouragement and participation of Mr. Noble, included completely erroneous facts as well as a number of vicious and vitriolic statements against Israel and Zionism. The program elicited a storm of protest from people who actually saw the program and many more who had heard about it.

DG/es

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date October 18, 1982

to Amy Goldberg

from David Geller

subject Meeting with ABC re LIKE IT IS Program of 10/10/82

On Friday morning I met with Gil Noble; his associate producer Ms. Robinson; Tak Kako, the assistant director of programming; and William Fyffe, vice president and general manager of WABC. With me were Ray Fox, a young man who recently returned from Lebanon, and Mr. Joseph Allen, of the Urban League. Mr. Fyffe, Mr. Allen and myself presumably were there to discuss taping a show for "Like It Is" which would respond to the program on Lebanon which had been aired on October 10th. We spent a few minutes reviewing the script of the October 10th program and watched a few minutes of the tape. Gil Noble was very much on the defensive and Mr. Kako and Mr. Fyffe both admitted that a number of facts presented on the past program were wrong and that the program had been mishandled. Noble described his program to me as a program for a third world audience. I suggested to him that I would be curious as to the number of Chinese, Japanese, Latin Americans, Southeast Asians and other groups who watched the program and Mr. Kako responded to the effect that the program was indeed a black program.

After an hour of discussion as to the kind of approach that would be taken for the show we were about to tape, Mr. Allen of the Urban League, having examined the transcript of the previous program, announced that he would be unable to participate in the show. He said that while there were some parts with which he disagreed, there were some with which he did agree and some about which he felt unqualified to comment. It was fairly obvious that Mr. Allen felt uncomfortable about appearing with two whites on a show which would be taking exception to the statements made by blacks the previous week. Indeed, when Mr. Allen left, both Mr. Fyffe and Mr. Kako acknowledged that they had been unable to get blacks to participate on the show. They then seemed to indicate that since Mr. Alen had left there would be no program, and they would go ahead with their already scheduled program on another subject for October 17th. Mr. Fox and I objected and said that there had to be some way in which the misstatements and distortions of the previous program could be answered. I said that if it was impossible to get blacks to appear on the program, then a segment of the next program should be given over to a response. At the very least a 5-minute statement or commentary could be given at the beginning or end of the very next program.

After further discussion Mr. Fyffe said that they would schedule a full program for October 31st and they agreed to make an announcement at the beginning and

end of the October 24th program (last Sunday). The announcement was as follows:

"Last week 'Like It Is' presented a program called Crisis in Lebanon. That program generated intense concern... And that concerns us. Statements of fact and interpretation made on the program have been challenged. Because of our concern with fairness and accuracy... 'Like It Is' is making preparations to present that opposing view... and that challenge... on 'Like It Is'... Two weeks from today... that's Sunday ... October 31st at 1 P.M. please join us."

At this point Noble and his assistant producer left the room. Fyffe then said that he was very disturbed that (1) they were having difficulty getting blacks to appear on the show and (2) that "a dangerous thing was happening" in terms of black-Jewish relationships.

Mr. Fyffe urged me to come on Tuesday morning and join with the representatives of other organizations. He acknowledged that there had been hundreds of calls and many letters regarding the October 17th program and hoped that it could be satisfactorily resolved.

DG/es

Donald Feldstein
cc: Abraham Karlikow
Morton Yarmon

Morris Abram

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MORTON YARMON, Director of Public Relations

ANNUAL MEETING
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FOR RELEASE AFTER 8 P.M., WEDNESDAY, OCT. 31, 1984

CHICAGO, Oct. 31 . . . The Washington Representative of the American Jewish Committee tonight appealed to Black and Jewish leaders to urge their followers to ease the current rift between the two communities.

Speaking at a community-wide forum on "Black-Jewish Relations" at the Jewish Community Center (3003 West Touhy Avenue), Hyman Bookbinder asserted:

"I see the need for the leaders in each community to speak out with courage and with frankness to each of their followers and say, 'Cut it out. Look at the facts. The Blacks -- or the Jews -- are not your enemy. Let's look for solutions, not scapegoats'."

Mr. Bookbinder, who shared the platform with James Compton, President of the Chicago Urban League, spoke on the eve of the American Jewish Committee's annual four-day National Executive Council meeting, which opens tomorrow morning and continues through Sunday at the Hyatt Regency Hotel here.

Mr. Bookbinder told his listeners of "encouraging developments already underway to undo the damage that has resulted from the Jackson/Farrakhan events of 1984" -- references to the candidacy of Rev. Jesse Jackson for the Democratic Presidential nomination and to support of Mr. Jackson by Minister Louis Farrakhan:

"Both Black leaders and Jewish leaders have been reaching out to one another -- to reassure one another that the damage can be undone, to suggest that common agenda for the post-election period be developed, to inform the general public of this renewal of cooperation."

He pointed out that the erosion in relations between Blacks and Jews was less than had been reported, citing as evidence what he called "a record of substantial agreement" both in Washington and across the country. He went on:

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"On just about every issue that involved our two communities, we have continued to work harmoniously and constructively. Moreover, I know there are no two Congressional delegations that have a more parallel voting record than do the Black and Jewish members of the House of Representatives."

What he termed "the tensions of 1984" have been costly, he continued, adding that many Jews remained angry over what they felt were "inadequate repudiations" of hostile eruptions during the Democratic primaries, while Blacks remained indignant over what they considered "unwarranted rejection and condemnation of Jesse Jackson."

Mr. Bookbinder acknowledged the differences between Blacks and Jews, mentioning particularly the issues of quotas and of the Palestinians, then asked: "How could there not be differences when there are important differences within the Jewish community itself and within the Black community -- even on these very issues that presumably divide the two communities from one another?"

"But neither community is monolithic on either of these issues," he reminded his listeners. "However, even if they were, responsible leadership has to help its followers to put even such questions in perspective, to remember the many critical concerns that we share -- human rights, urban decay, education, poverty."

Mr. Bookbinder continued: "We have shared too much pain in the past, we have marched and cried and agonized together for too many years, we have dreamed the same dream for too many years, to permit our sons and our daughters to be blind to that heritage, to permit immediate differences to wipe out a glorious chapter in intergroup love and respect. Let Jewish leaders say these things to their constituency. Let Black leaders say these things to theirs. And then let them together say these things to all America."

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of people here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

A,EJP,REL,Z,NEG-A, CHIP, CHE, BCHI 84-960-403 NO81/ar

Excerpt -- Hyman Bookbinder -- Chicago, October 31, 1984

"Black-Jewish Relations"

There are encouraging developments already underway to undo the damage that has resulted from the Jackson/Farrakhan events of 1984. Both Black leaders and Jewish leaders have been reaching out to one another — to reassure one another that the damage can be undone, to suggest that common agendas for the post-election period be developed, to inform the general public of this renewal of co-operation.

In my judgment, there has been less erosion in the relationships and the commitments on the part of America's Black and Jewish communities than has been so frequently reported. I can testify from my day-to-day activities on the Washington scene that on just about every major issue that involves our two communities, we have continued to work harmoniously and constructively. Moreover, I know that there are no two Congressional delegations that have a more parallel voting record than do the Black and Jewish memmbers of the House. It is this record of substantial agreement, not only in Washington but across the country, that has made it possible for Black and Jewish leaders to come together despite the strains of the recent months.

But Black and Jewish leadership have a more serious challenge than getting themselves together again. I believe their bigger and more difficult job is assessing and correcting the damage and the erosion that has taken place within each of their respective communities. I see the need for the leaders in each community to speak out with courage and with frankness to each of their followers and say, in effect, "Cut it out. Look at the facts. The Blacks — or the Jews — are not your enemy. Let's look for solutions, not scapegoats."

The tensions of 1984 have been costly. Many Jews remain angry over what they feel was inadequate repudiation of hostile, even anti-semitic manifestations in the course of the Democratic primaries. Many Blacks remain indignant over what they consider unwarranted Jewish rejection and condemnation of Jesse Jackson. The slow erosion in rank-and-file attitudes over the years of Blacks towards Jews and of Jews toward Blacks surely speeded up in 1984.

It is a tragic thing indeed that it can no longer be said — as I have found it so heart-warming to declare in hundreds of speeches year after year — that Blacks show less approval of anti-semitism than do whites, and that Jews show substantially less hostility to Blacks than do non-Jewish whites. In the last few years, unfortunately, our surveys reveal that the Black attitude to Jews is now worse than the white — and that the attitudes of young, educated Blacks explain most of this change. And while the Jews still show less anti-Black bigotry than non-Jewish whites, the differential is declining. So there is a problem. And the problem, in my judgment, flows not nearly as much from objective changes in society or from irreconcilable differences on policies as from sheer ignorance and misunderstanding.

Of course there are differences, some quite important, between the dominant views of Blacks and those of Jews. But it is also true that there are important differences within the Jewish community itself and within the Black community — even on the very issues which presumably divide the two communities from one another. The issue of quotas is a critical one, no doubt. How to resolve the Palestinian question is another one. But neither community is monolithic on either of these issues. However, even if they were, responsible leadership has to help its followers put even such questions in perspective, to remember the many critical concerns that we share: human rights, urban decay, education, poverty.

We have shared too much pain in the past, we have marched and cried and agonized together for too many years, we have dreamed the same dream for too many years, to permit our sons and our daughters to be blind to that heritage, to permit immediate differences to wipe out a glorious chapter in inter-group love and respect.

Let Jewish leaders say these things to their constituency. Let Black leaders say these things to theirs. And then let them together say these things to all America.



Remarks of Hyman Bookbinder, Washington Representative of the American Jewish Committee at Chicago Jewish Community Center Forum on Black-Jewish Relations -- October 31, 1984

I have mixed feelings about participating in tonight's forum. On the one hand, it is always gratifying to share a platform with an outstanding and respected Black leader and join in proclaiming our shared concerns and shared goals. But, on the other, it must be recognized that this forum has been deemed necessary in order to discuss the widely-held perception that Black-Jewish relations are in disarray, that a basic and acrimonious decision has developed.

That perception is largely the result of the inevitable nature of news reporting. I'm not about to go into an attack on the media, but it is indeed a fact that by its very nature, journalism zeroes in on the conflicts, the unusual, the new, the extreme, the dramatic. This has been particularly true of the Black-Jewish relationship for the past twelve months. It is exactly a year ago that Jesse Jackson declared his intention to seek the nomination for President. Despite the efforts of the our concerns with Jesse Jewish community to distinguish Jackson from our attitude to the Black community and to Black aspirations, the newspapers and the airwaves for months were filled only with news and commentary of the deteriorating Black-Jewish relationship. This constant bombardment had its effects, unfortunately, and in each of the communities resentments and suspicions increased.

Not for a moment, let me assure you, have I dismissed

the real issues that did surface in the wake of the Jackson candidacy. It was right to react to the Hymietown report, to the report of large Arab contributions, to the Farrakhan excesses —but other things were going on during that period that deserved attention too — but didn't get any. Let me give you two illustrations:

On May 24, at the height of the bitterness flowing from the Farrakhan excesses, when the papers and airwaves were proclaiming a total Black-Jewish breakdown, two distinguished members of Congress made a most significant joint statement. They were Sidney Yates, the dean of the Jewish delegation in Congress,
from this area, and Julian Dixon, from California, the Chairman of the Black Congressional Caucus. That evening, the Philadelphia Board of Rabbis was honoring a Black Congressman, Bill Gray. The principal speaker was a Jewish Congressman, Howard Wolpe. Congressmen Yates and Dixon applauded this action by the Rabbis as one that reflected "the bond that exists between Blacks and Jews in Congress working together in the cause of social justice." And they went on to say that "We oppose anti-Black, anti-semitic, threatening, and demeaning racist statements, and we believe we must be vigilant in educating and intriguing those who make them." A very timely and significant statement, right? The answer, by the media, was no. Despite heavy publicity given to the event, not a word was to be

found in the New York Times, the Washington Post, or any of the evening television broadcasts...

Tillustration Two: On September 20, 1984, the pending Civil Rights Act of 1984, the bill that would have corrected the situation created by the Supreme Court in the Grove City case, was at a critical stage in the Senate. Thirteen top national Jewish leaders and thirteen major Black leaders joined in a statement calling the present situation "intolerable and inexcusable"... and "makes a mockery of our laws."

Again, a timely and significant statement -- given all the talk about Black-Jewish disarray -- right?

No, wrong again. Despite a well-attended press conference called to announce the joint statement -- not a word appeared on the evening news or in the morning papers.

Small wonder, then, that there has been so much public talk about the conflict in Black-Jewish relations. Every development in the Jackson or Farrakhan story did get full coverage — and every angry denunciation of one side or another was top news. It did cause damage to Black-Jewish trust — and that's why meetings like this one tonight have become necessary.

There are encouraging developments already underway to undo the damage that has resulted from the Jackson-Farrakhan events of 1984. Both Black leaders and Jewish leaders have

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been reaching out to one another -- to reassure one another that the damage can be undone, to suggest that common agendas for the post-election period be developed, to inform the general public of this renewal of co-operation.

In my judgment, there has been less erosion in the relationships and the commitments on the part of America's Black and Jewish communities than has been so frequently reported. I can testify from my day-to-day activities on the Washington scene that on just about every major issue that involves our two communities, we have continued to work harmoniously and constructively. Moreover, I know that there are no two Congressional delegations that have a more parallel voting record than do the Black and Jewish members of the House. It is this record of substantial agreement, not only in Washington but across the country, that has made it possible for Black and Jewish leaders to come together despite the strains of the recent months.

Let me illustrate this co-operation by citing a few recent Congressional actions:

- ** In October of 1981, the House disapproved the sale of sophisticated AWACs to Saudi Arabia. All fourteen Black members then in the House voted with the Jewish community on that one. More than 100 white members voted for the sales.
- ** In May of this year, the Jewish community was solidly opposed to the Equal Access bill permitting religious activities on school grounds. All 19 Black members voting opposed the bill. I regret to say that six Jewish members voted for it.

- ** In June, all 15 Black members who voted on a key provision in the immigration bill which the Jewish community strongly opposed did vote with us against that provision.
- ** In March, 12 Black Congressmen signed a letter to
 President Reagan opposing arms sales to Jordan unless
 Jordan joined the peace talks.
- ** In July, 12 Black Congressmen co-sponsored bill to move U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem.

And it wasn't a one-way street:

- ** In August of 1983, 28 out of 30 Jewish House members voted to adopt the Martin Luther King Holiday legislation.
- ** In September, 27 Jewish members voted for the Hawkins Community Renewal Act, a major job-creation law.
- ** And in June, when the House passed the Civil Rights
 Act of 1984, all 30 Jewish members voted for it.

So we don't have to go back to the 1930's or '50s or '70s to remind ourselves that Jews and Blacks have had parallel concerns and have acted as partners. We don't have to recall the early marches, the bloody resistance, the deaths of Blacks and Jews as they protested together.

But of course there are differences, some quite important, between the dominant views of Blacks and those of Jews. But it is also true that there are important differences within the Jewish community itself and within the Black community -- even on the very issues which presumably divide the two communities from one another. The issue of quotas is a critical one, no doubt. How

to resolve the Palestinian question is another one. But neither community is monolithic on either of these issues. However, even if they were, responsible leadership has to help its followers put even such questions in perspective, to remember the many critical concerns that we share: human rights, urban decay, education, poverty.

And even in those areas where we do have differences, let's try to understand more about the differences and to be tolerant of one another's positions. In the two illustrations I've already mentioned, in fact, the differences are not as great as generally perceived.

Take the issue of quotas, for example. How many Blacks know that the overwhelming majority of Jews and of Jewish organizations are in strong support of affirmative action -- including the use of goals and timetables? How many know that many Jews and some Jewish organizations actually support quotas when mandated by a court after a finding of conscious discrimination? How many know that every poll over the years has demonstrated consistently that a majority of Blacks reject preferential treatment and quotas? How many Jews know that?

In light of this, what explains the sweeping statements to be found in just about every story in the media on Black-Jewish relations about the terrible clash over "affirmative action" between the two communities? Why can't we hope to work together on the great area of agreement even on this complicated subject? Why can't we hope to persuade the great majority of Blacks that our support for affirmative action is genuine -- and they should understand, from our history, how we must reject

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exclusionary quotas? Why can't we hope to persuade even more

Jews that the progress in bringing Blacks and other minorities

and women into the mainstream just has been too incomplete -- and

that effective programs of affirmative action are very much needed?

Take the issue of the Palestinians -- or of Middle East policy generally. Why must the perception remain so strong that Blacks are hostile to Israel, that they side with the Arabs? It just isn't so -- though some Blacks do show a greater identification with the Arab side. The data is not conclusive, but Gallup polls for some years have been asking Americans whether their sympathies lie more with Israel or with Arab nations. Early in 1984, white Americans chose Israel over the Arabs by 47 to 8.

Blacks were less favorable to Israel than whites, but they still favored Israel over the Arabs by 29 to 10 -- about 3 to 1.

Many Blacks -- especially young, educated Blacks -- have identified with the Palestinians as part of their general proThird-World feelings. These feelings -- sometimes leading to deep hostility to Israel and to Jews -- are deeply held and should command our attention and response. We need civil, respectful dialogue -- not angry, accusatory charges. The South African situation similarly needs thorough, honest airing to clear up major misunderstandings.

We need such respectful, tolerant dialogue across the board between Blacks and Jews, and, as I have said, much of it is already going on.

But Black and Jewish leadership have an even more serious challenges than getting themselves together again. I believe

their bigger and more difficult job is assessing and correcting the damage and the erosion that has taken place within each of their respective communities. I see the need for the leaders in each community to speak out with courage and with frankness to each of their followers and say, in effect, "Cut it out.

Look at the facts. The Blacks -- or the Jews -- are not your enemy. Let's look for solutions, not scapegoats."

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and misunderstanding.

That is why I have dwelt tonight on recalling some of the evidence of Black/Jewish mutuality of interest, of co-operation. I do not call for ignoring of differences, for pretending there are no problems. But I ask for restraint, for balance, for truth.

Yes, there is some anti-semitism among Blacks. And there is some bigotry and hostility to Blacks in the Jewish community. It would indeed be a miracle if either or both of our communities could be totally free of the prejudices of the larger community of which each is a part. But for the sake of truth and for the sake of the harmony we all should be seeking, I plead for care before the ugly charge of racist or of anti-semite be levelled against those with whom we may have some differences. Civility in discourse as well as in actual behavior is a precious instrument in human relations, and we should not kill it by careless, irresponsible talk.

Back in 1967, Martin Luther King Jr. provided the model for leadership in both our communities when he spoke out forcefully in a letter to then President of the American Jewish Committee, Morris Abram. "It is not only that anti-semitism is immoral," he wrote, "though that alone is enough. It is used to divide Negro and Jew, who have effectively collaborated in the struggle for justice ... 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."

"Know thine Enemy" is an old truism -- and remains true.

Jews and Blacks may have differences, they may have different

priorities -- but they are not enemies. Each of our groups has

ample reason for being angry at how the world is treating us.

While our respective conditions are different in many respects,

we remain two peoples unaccepted by many other peoples. Yes,

we have every reason for being angry. But less at one another

than at our real enemies.

Aristotle said it for all time: "Anybody can become angry -that is easy. But to be angry with the right person, to the
right degree, and at the right time, and for the right purpose,
and in the right way -- that is not within everybody's power
and is not easy."

Each of our communities should try to understand better the special agonies, the special problems, the special challenges of the other. If we did, then perhaps we could place things in better perspective... and make more reasonable demands on one another.

A personal word. In my talk this evening, I have cited statistics, I have recalled facts; I have tried to be objective and analytical. But I confess to anguish in having to make a case of this sort. For fifty years now I have been involved in one campaign after another for what I hope you will permit me to call social justice. In every one of these -- for basic civil rights, for full and fair employment, for decent and fair housing, for women's rights, for voting rights, for a war against poverty, for Medicare and Medicaid -- I have seen a disproportionate involvement of Jews and Blacks, disproportionate in the sense

of significantly higher proportions of involvement of Jews and Blacks, compared with population ratios, in the development, the promotion, and the implementation of these social justice efforts. We were both motivated by self-interest, of course. But I have gotten to know too many men and women over the years who have struggled together, won and lost battles together, to believe that self-interest explains it all.

And, I hope I do not reflect any chauvinism in saying this, but I am particularly proud of the Jewish record in these causes. Initially there may have been group self-interest involved, but for many years now American Jews, despite lingering anti-semitism and discrimination, have overcome many of the problems they once faced. Yet, more than any other social or ethnic or religious group, Jewish community organizations as well as countless numbers of individual Jews, have been prominent in the furtherance of social justice causes in which they do not have an immediate self-interest.

We Jews and Blacks have shared too much pain in the past, we have marched and cried and agonized together for too many years, we have dreamed the same dream for too many years, to permit our sons and our daughters to be blind to that heritage, to permit immediate differences to wipe out a glorious chapter in inter-group love and respect.

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Let Black leaders say these things to theirs. And then let them together say these things to all America.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

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

ANNUAL MEETING
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
NOVEMBER 1-4, 1984
HYATT REGENCY HOTEL
151 EAST WACKER DRIVE
CHICAGO, ILL. 60601
(312) 565-1000

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PRESS ROOMS: PICASSO & HAYMARKET ROOMS

(CONCOURSE LEVEL)

FOR RELEASE AFTER 9:30 A.M. FRIDAY, NOV. 2, 1984

CHICAGO, Nov. 2 ... Two experts in the field of group identity -- one black, the other Jewish -- agreed today that new insights into the psychological aspects of ethnic identity could help reduce the current conflicts existing between blacks and Jews.

The experts, Dr. Price M. Cobbs, a psychiatrist and co-author of <u>Black Rage</u>, and Dr. Judith Klein, a psychologist and author of <u>Jewish Identity and Self-Esteem</u>, spoke at a session of the American Jewish Committee's annual National Executive Council meeting, which continues through Sunday at the Hyatt Regency Hotel here.

Dr. Klein noted that group conflict is a "generalized response of one group to another based on historical wounds, repressed memories, stereotypes, projection and paranoia. Groups who have a shared history of oppression are more likely to express group conflict.

"The situation between blacks and Jews is intensified by this kind of historic relationship," she added.

more...

"For instance, some Jews may have been involved in the civil rights movement partly as a vicarious way of attaining their own identity. Blacks have represented a shadow-self of Jews within society as a whole. They inherited the position that Jews had in European society. Historically oppressed minorities of color provoke a guilt response in many Jews. Jews feel guilty because blacks are playing the role that Jews would have played, perhaps, had blacks not been here."

She added: "On the other hand, blacks have projected on to Jews a lot of what they have been afraid to project on to the larger society. Jews have been a buttress and intermediary group between blacks and the white world. The overall society is too powerful, remote and disengaged for many blacks to confront head on. Conversely, Jews and blacks have had a lot of direct contact. Out of this day-to-day experience, naturally some insult and conflict have arisen. Nevertheless, the conflict is derived directly from the close proximity of the two groups."

Dr. Cobbs, a senior partner at San Francisco's Pacific Management Systems and an assistant clinical professor at San Francisco Medical Center's Department of Psychiatry, concurred with Dr. Klein on the source of the conflict between blacks and Jews.

He said, "Personally, when I grew up in Los Angeles, even before the advent of the civil rights movement, white liberalism and Jewish liberalism were virtually synonymous. The people whom you associated with, marched with, and signed petitions with were Jewish. The relationship was unique. Jews came to this country with a heightened sense of intolerance for injustice. Their history of persecution and being scapegoated made them empathic to the black situation. Jewish doors were open to the black community while the rest of society was closed."

Dr. Cobbs continued, "Today the black community has evolved psychologically. The ideas of the 60s, with their emphasis on black pride, have refined themselves. Blacks are focusing on more subtle forms of racism that affect them. This refinement definitely has an impact on black-Jewish relations. Blacks have asked Jews to examine themselves on their level of racism. Now Jews are asking blacks the same thing about anti-Semitism. The questions have to be rejoined to better define what both groups mean when they say they want the other group to assess their motives and latent attitudes.

"Groups that have been discriminated against," he added, "are automatically going to formulate responses to these questions in highly moral terms."

Moreover, Dr. Cobbs pointed out, Americans in general are a-historical, and blacks are no different than any other group in this regard. There are historical connections and entanglements that this generation does not understand, he said.

Dr. Klein observed that black and Jewish women may be able to bridge the split between the two communities for several reasons: women generally are better able to resolve conflict; there are mutual issues of concern over work, family and inter-marriage; and both come from strong matriarchal home cultures where there is ample ground for mutual understanding.

The American Jewish Committee is this country's pioneer human relations organization. Founded in 1906, it combats bigotry, protects the civil and religious rights of people here and abroad, and advances the cause of improved human relations for all people everywhere.

AJRZ, NEG-A, ETH, CMIP, CHE BCHI, RTV-TS 84-960-417

NO45-Cobbs Press/Rel. /sm 10/25/84 THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE Institute of Human Relations, 165 E. 56 St., New York, N.Y. 10022, (212) 751-4000

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PRESS ROOMS: PICASSO & HAYMARKET ROOMS (CONCOURSE LEVEL)

FOR RELEASE AFTER 9:30 A.M., FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1984

CHICAGO, Nov. 2...Asserting that Black-Jewish ties must reflect realities of the mid-1980s rather than "the momentum of a historic alliance that lasted through the 1970s," the American Jewish Committee today called for a new strategy for the improvement of Black-Jewish relations in the U.S.

Sholom D. Comay, chairman of AJC's National Affairs Commission, listed four reasons for the need of a new strategy, at a meeting of his commission during the agency's annual National Executive Council meeting, continuing through Sunday at the Hyatt Regency Hotel here:

- 1. Leadership cadres are changing in both communities, with an earlier generation that had regular contact with each other and had worked together on historic issues now replaced by younger leaders who should be approached "not in terms of a history they did not experience but on the level of current substantive issue discussions."
- 2. The issues of concern to each community are shifting. "Blacks now want not only social progress but their own empowerment as an independent political force," Mr. Comay said, with influence on the whole range of domestic and international issues. Jews have a concern with such foreign policy issues as Israel and Soviet Jewry, and have also placed new emphasis on such domestic matters as church-state separation, sexual equality, alliance building, and immigration, while both groups have somewhat different perspectives on affirmative action. Major areas of consensus exist that should lead to joint action.
- 3. Communal leadership is taking new forms among both groups. While established public interest and communal agencies remain important, both groups now have well-identified public officials and candidates with special credibility in the general community, who are emerging as key leaders.

4. Bigotry has reemerged as a concern of both communities. Anti-Semitism has been given new emphasis during the Presidential primary campaign, while Blacks consider racism the main reason for resistance to their emergence as an independent political force.

"Any new initiatives in Black-Jewish relations," Mr. Comay continued, "will have to identify leaders emerging into important new positions, speak to the salient issue priorities of both groups, relate to new organizational structures, and take account of resurgent concern with racism and anti-Semitism."

To respond, he explained, AJC will now consider a number of programs to put into operation:

* Action with Black and Jewish office-holders.

Contact will be maintained regularly with political leaders of both groups, Jewish and Black voting patterns will be explored for areas of mutual interest, and joint initiatives proposed.

* Exploration of the psychological roots of Black-Jewish relations.

Since each group is important to the other's sense of identity and place in American society, relations will be studied, evaluated, and integrated into training programs. The American Jewish Committee has done pioneering work through its ethnotherapy project, which will serve as a tool for penetrating the surface of Black-Jewish relations and for yielding insights at a deeper level of self-identity. AJC will undertake a major effort to use ethnotherapy techniques to explore the nature of the Black-Jewish encounter.

Peer dialogues.

Discussions will be encouraged beyond the level of formal agencies and political leadership, to bring together groups representing common elements of Blacks and Jews, including women, young leaders, those in professions and business, and others.

Issue development.

Some issues have been targeted for action by both groups, among them human and civil rights, family support, urban revitalization, education, employment and work-sharing. In the foreign area, Israel and the Middle East are a matter of concern to Jewish groups, while Blacks have placed a priority on combatting apartheid in South Africa. In national affairs, a middle ground on affirmative action will be sought. And in any issue dialogue, racism and anti-Semitism will receive prominent attention.

Media relations.

Since mainstream media seem to pay more attention to crises than to positive Black-Jewish interaction, workshops with key media leaders on the impact of their reportage may be needed. Also, since Black and Jewish media have often played "confrontational and polarizing roles," some techniques will be tried to soften such responses.

In describing this program, Irving M. Levine, director of AJC's National Affairs Department, stated, "AJC will give priority attention to Black-Jewish relations in the next year. It is important now to develop a better understanding of the nature of our relationship and to demonstrate the real tangible benefits that both communities can achieve together. There has been a percep-

tible rise in interest in Black-Jewish relations all around the country. We will work now to explore our contacts more deeply and to define and accomplish goals that speak to the needs and ideals of each group."

Mr. Levine announced the appointment of Gary E. Rubin to coordinate AJC's Black-Jewish program. Mr. Rubin has previously organized programs for AJC on intergroup relations, immigration and ethnic identity.

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AJRZ, NEG-A,Z, CHIP, CHE RTV-JN, JL, R, BNES, BCHI 84-960-406 Name 10/22/84-gn



Black Churches Urged to Increase Sophistication in Political System

By Marjorie Hyer Washington Post Staff Writer 611

Black churches, traditionally a focus of political strength in the black community, must become more sophisticated in understanding the political process and how they can influence it, a procession of Harvard University professors told a conference at Shiloh Baptist Church here last weekend.

Professors of law, government and religion outlined some of the strategies they think black leaders, including leaders of the black church, should pursue in order to

be effective politically.

Getting your candidate elected is only the first step," said Walter B. Broadnax, of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. Politically astute black leaders must monitor appointments of the newly elected officeholder at every level, he said.

"It's important to us as black Americans to focus on that appointive process, to see that people are appointed to high-level policy-making positions who will put into effect changes that will reflect positively on us as black people," he said.

Equally important is the next step, he said, of providing "support and pressure" from the grass

roots for political leaders.

Christopher Edley, assistant professor of law at Harvard, said that "black churches are natural sources of leadership" in mobilizing the black community politically. "You reach not just the people living on the Gold Coast of upper 16th Street," he said, "but people in all walks of life." He suggested that churches could fill in the gaps left by the civil rights organizations, which he described as "now moribund at local levels."

Dr. Preston N. Williams, professor of theology and contemporary change at Harvard Divinity School, said the conference, the first the school has conducted jointly with a local church, "represents an attempt on the part of Harvard Divinity School to relate more closely to the churches... We are learning how to consider some of the questions regarding the church's participation in politics."

Dr. Martin L. Kilson Jr., professor of government at Harvard, urged blacks to pursue a "political pragmatism" modeled on the political alliances formed by such 19th century ethnic immigrant groups as Irish Catholics, Eastern European Jews and others.

For black Americans, Kilson suggested that the most logical political allies today may be the group that in the past has been their most visible enemy—white "rednecks" mired in poverty and

political impotence.

Under President Reagan's "political paganism," he said, "the poor whites ... are beginning to share the experiences that blacks have shared for a long time," he said. Black leaders, he continued, "must devise the ways and means of penetrating the redneck white ranks" and turn age-old animosities into an alliance that would benefit both groups.

Kilson, the first black to become a full professor on Harvard's arts and sciences faculty, also stressed the need for better-off blacks to demonstrate greater concern for their "ethnic kinsmen" at the bottom of the social and economic heap, a concern that he said has been lacking in recent

decades.

Unless better-off blacks "become more attuned to the needs of the lower strata blacks... there will be expanded conflict," he predicted. He noted the responsibility of whites to address the same problem, but since almost all of the nearly 100 people who assembled for the conference at Shiloh's new Family Life Center were black, he concentrated on black responsibilities.

Kilson was especially critical of

black leaders' "romanticizing... social chaos" by characterizing black criminals as "revolutionaries" and unwed fatherhood as a "manifestation of black prowess."

"Such rubbish," he said, adding that such ideas "should no longer be tolerated by whites or blacks."

Kilson praised the Rev. Jesse Jackson, who he said "pounded the ears of black youth" with the need for education and a productive life style. "Unfortunately," the Harvard professor added, Jackson "has not displayed much staying power. It is up to others of us to take up the task."

Williams, called for the black church "to be more-consistent-in what it says" and "to concentrate on creating moral guidelines for the black community to follow."

He proposed a national convocation of black church leaders to "come together and think through what they want to advocate" on contemporary issues such as disarmament, abortion, family policy.

"We need a change in the way the black church operates," Williams said, pointing out that because the black church is a free church, there has in the past been "lots of pluralism and confrontation." Now, he said, "the church needs to develop ways to coordinate its efforts."

In response to a question, Williams offered a mild criticism of the practice, widespread in Washington black churches, of endorsing mayoral candidates from the pulpit. "The [pastors] ought to get out of the business of sort of playing God," he said. "What the church ought to be doing is to create interest groups, with organizations working on behalf of the candidate."

"If you want to support Marion Barry, you ought to get your people organized to work for him" and then continue to monitor the appointments, policies and continuing performance of the successful candidate, he said.

The American Jewish Committee 165 East 56th Street New York, N.Y. 10022 PLaza 1-4000

Date February 14, 1984

TO:Marc_Tanenbaum
FROM: Milton Himmelfarb
For approval RICAN JEWISH
For your information / E S
Please handle
Please talk to me about this
Read and file
Returned as requested
Your comments please
No need to return
Pemarks.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date February 14, 1984

to SAC

from Milton Himmelfarb

subject "Emerging Black Ethnics"

Attached is an article with this title by Bryant Robey in American Demographics for February 1984.

Robey says that "the proportion of black immigrants in the total black population is now greater than the proportion of non-black immigrants in the total non-black population," and he foresees that proportion rising steading in the coming generations.

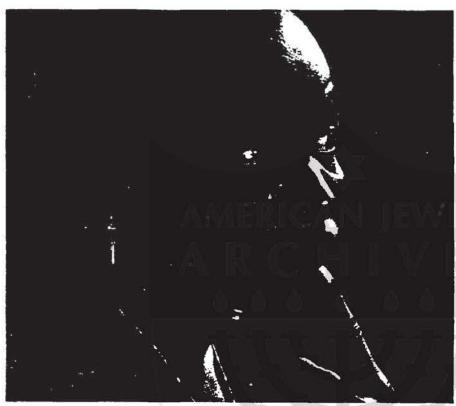
The moral justification of affirmative action for blacks is that it compensates for discrimination against black Americans in the American past. Does that justification apply to affirmative action that benefits the foreign-born and their children?

Obviously this question is all the more relevant in the case of panish-surname population.

Vod

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On Demographics



Emerging Black Ethnics

Americans typically view whites as members of ethnic groups—German, Irish, Mexican, and so on. But they see blacks simply as black. Now, says an observer, they may have to start viewing blacks differently.

As black immigration has increased during the past two decades, black immigrants and their offspring are accounting for a greater share of all blacks in the United States, Population Reference Bureau demographer Leon Bouvier told members of the Southern Regional Demographic Group at their annual meeting last fall.

The proportion of black immigrants in the total black population is now greater than the proportion of non-black immigrants in the total

non-black population. "In some cities, black immigrants are becoming an increasingly visible segment of the black population," Bouvier said. "Washington D.C. now has six Ethiopian restaurants."

Analyzing unpublished data from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Bouvier was able to estimate the number of blacks who immigrated to the United States by counting arrivals from countries that have predominantly black populations, such as Belize in Central America, Guyana in South America, and the islands of the West Indies, excluding Cuba. He counted all countries in Africa except North African countries, which are predominantly Arab, and South Africa. This procedure probably underestimates the number of black immigrants, said Bouvier.

The number of black immigrants, by these calculations, has risen from under 49,000 in 1969 to over 73,000

in 1979, almost a 50 percent increase. Some 58,000 of black immigrants in 1979 were from the West Indies, 7,000 were from South America, 6,600 from black Africa, and 1,000 from Central America. The number of immigrants from African countries has risen every year but one for the past decade.

In all, from under 4,000 black immigrants to the United States in 1954, the number has risen to an estimated 80,000 per year in the 1980s, Bouvier said.

In 1980, blacks born outside the U.S., plus their descendants, were 3.1 percent of the total U.S. black population. Assuming an annual immigration of 72,000 per year till the turn of the century, they would rise to 7 percent. And if this level continued until 2030, black immigrants and their descendants would be almost 12 percent of all blacks in the United States. These projections also assume that black fertility will drop to about the same rate as that for whites in 50 years.

Currently, there are only about 819,000 blacks born abroad living in the United States, plus their descendants, compared to a native-born black population of 26 million. With 72,000 black immigrants per year, there would be 2.5 million black immigrants and their descendants in the United States by the year 2000, in a total black population of 33 million. And their number would double to 4.8 million by 2030, while native-born blacks and their descendants would increase only to 37 million.

"The black population may be entering a new era," Bouvier said. "The white population went through turmoil at the turn of the century when the foreign influx was heavy. It caused problems among different white ethnic groups. A similar problem may emerge among blacks."

Abram: Black-Jewish links must be based on respect

9 . 29 . 34 BY SIMON ANEKWE

A member of the Jewish intelligentia that, at the birth of the Great Society goal of affirmative action, initiated the "give a dog a bad name and hang it" campaign against that policy, now seeks a way around the barrier in Black-Jewish relations created by that badnaming of the affirmative action dog.

The Jewish leader is attorney Morris B. Abram, former president of Brendeis University, ex-chairman of United Negro College Fund, past national President of the American Jewish Committee now its honorary president and member of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, to the left of its arch-conservative Black Clarence chairman, Pendleton.

Addressing the recent Quadrennial Convention of B'nai B'rith International in Washington, D.C., Mr. Abram said that "friendship, cooperation and mutual respect" were a "precondition"

for agreement between the Amsterdam News Staff 22 two minority groups on the issues that divide them.

The essentials of such agreement would be: 1. the assignment to Blacks of "numerical slices of opportunity;" 2. Black and Jewish leaders must_"not espouse racism or anti-Semitism" or fial to denounce those who do," according to an AJC report.

And 3. Jewish traditional "abhorrence" of quotas should be considered in the light of united Jewish support of affirmative action programs to seek out, educate, train, employ and promote those whom society had overlooked, Abram

Addressing a gathering of people who affluence and power have tended to stifle the liberalism of their earlier leaner days, Mr. Abram stated: "Whenever jobs and opportunities are doled out by race or creed, the injustice creates outrage and fuels conflict."

Jobs and opportunities had been denied to Jews by the WASPS in control of political, economic and educational institutions. They had set up real quotas of two or three Jews on a scale of 10 and up; but the quota for Blacks was zero.

The Jewish response was to organize their immense financial means into an effective force to batter. rather successfully, the citadels of discrimination based on religious belief.

Lacking similar economic power, Blacks relied on government to help break down discrimination based on race. The resulting affirmative action policy which flourished even under President Nixon, was founded on the premise that where race was the factor that determined who should be left out, race could also be considered in actions aimed at including those so overlooked.

The view that held race relevant in compensatory actions to end discrimination, has been upheld by the Federal Courts. But in his address on ways to promote Black-Jewish amity, Mr. Abram fails to support that

But he gingerly steers his audience towards the repugnant official term, "numerical goals" used in affirmative action. Thus he went on:

"No one who reads human nature accurately can doubt that domestic tranquility

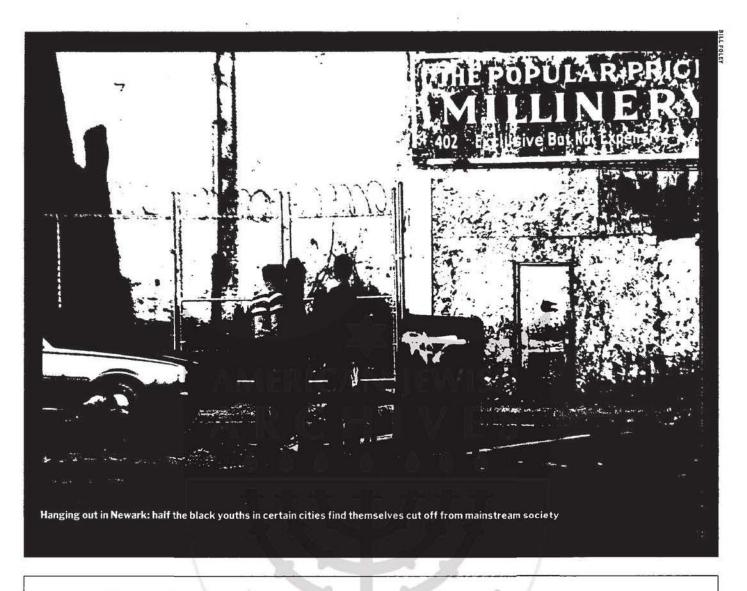
can be preserved if Blacks are assigned numerical slices of opportunity." He exchanges "slices" for the official "goals."

Thus by inference recalling to his audience the riots of the 1960's due to denial of opportunity to Blacks, he also suggests to them that as Blacks gain their rights, others so denied also benefit.

So while holding that sharing in the national pie will keep Blacks quiet, Abram added that they were "now joined in claims by Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans. Southern Europeans and this summer by Hassidic Jews," all groups requiring more than the rising tide to lift their boats stuck in the

Mr. Abram also took issue with Black American intellectuals who went along with hoodwinked Africans at the United Nations into accepting the Arab extreme line equating Zionism with racism. He blamed Black leaders for not condemning this view, or fighting anti-Semitism as enjoined by Martin Luther King, Jr.

As Mr. Abram was making his speech, reports floated out from frail voices in Israel, that world Zionism and the Israeli Government were letting Black Jews expelled from Ethiopia starve and die in refugee camps, instead of helping them get into Israel.



Today's Native Sons

Inner-city black males are America's newest lost generation

he only thing I did in school every day was fight and shoot," says 27-year-old Booker Cole, with an air of bravado. "There was a time when people wouldn't even talk to me because I would either beat them up or 'smoke' them if I didn't like what they said." A member of one of Los Angeles' biggest black street-gang networks since he was ten, Cole has served time for robbery and cocaine dealing. Now he is back in jail after being sentenced last May to serve six years for assault with a deadly weapon. "Death is a part of living," says he. "The only thing I can do is strap two .44s on my chest, keep an Uzi under the seat and a .45 in my hand. If they're going to get me, I'll take some of them with me."

Booker Cole belongs to the black community's newest lost generation, the shadow that America crosses the street to avoid and finds uncomfortable to discuss. It evokes a sense of fear laced with guilt, anger tinged with racism. For many of these youths, fathering children out of wedlock and committing crimes are rites of passage. Richard Wright drew a complex portrait of such disaffected young black men in the character of Bigger Thomas, the antihero of his controversial 1940 protest novel Native Son. Today there is a new generation of Bigger Thomases in the U.S., thousands of Native Sons who can be seen hanging out on street corners, talking tough, listening to music boxes, dealing drugs, slipping into lives of crime.

In Washington, as elsewhere, downtown shopkeepers lock their doors and refuse to buzz them in, provoking an agonizing debate about whether such actions are justified. In New York City, conflicted emotions simmer to the surface when the subject turns to Bernhard Goetz and the shots he fired at four young blacks aboard a Manhattan subway train. A nation that would like to believe it can shun stereotypes, that cherishes the ideals of equality and brotherhood, continues to be haunted by the plight of a segment of its citizenry that remains mired in a seemingly intractable dilemma of race and poverty: the young, black males of its underclass.

Despite all the problems that have historically afflicted their communityfrom slavery to Jim Crow laws to de facto segregation-large numbers of blacks in recent decades have been able to work their way into the broader economic and social life of the nation. Though the poverty rate for blacks is 31%, compared with 11% for whites, many have become part of a growing black middle class, enjoying hard-won gains in civil rights, politics and wage equality. Yet a seemingly unshrinkable segment of urban malesperhaps as much as 50% of young black males in certain cities-still find themselves cut off from the American mainstream. Unemployed and undereducated, they seem unable, and in some cases

Nation

Cocaine's Kings

Five Colombians are indicted

n a mountainside overlooking Medellín, Colombia, some of South America's poorest families have been uprooted from the garbage dumps where they once foraged and deposited in 4,000 neat, red-tiled homes. At the entrance to the housing development, a large billboard proclaims the author of this generosity: PABLO ESCOBAR GAVIRIA, a local billionaire who has been called one of the world's richest men. Escobar is also one of the world's richest fugitives. Last week a federal grand jury in Miami announced that Escobar and four other Medellin tycoons had been indicted because of the source of their immense wealth: control of up to 80% of the world's cocaine trade.

The grand jury charged that since 1978, Escobar and his confederates have smuggled into the U.S. at least 58 tons of cocaine from facilities like Tranquilandia, a massive complex of coke-processing laboratories in the Amazon jungle that Colombian authorities busted in 1984. The Medellín drug barons were also indicted for plotting the murder of Adler ("Barry") Seal, a drug smuggler turned informant who was gunned down last February in Baton Rouge, La. Seal was to have been the Government's star witness in the trial of the cocaine kingpins.

The others named with Escobar were the three Ochoa Vasquez brothers, Jorge Luis, Juan David and Fabio, who manage the ring's distribution networks, as well as Carlos Enrique Lehder Rivas, a former Colombian legislator who is suspected of financing terrorist attacks on his own government. The indictment names four lower-level associates, including Federico Vaughan, a former aide to Nicaraguan Interior Minister Tomás Borge Martínez, who is accused of helping the cartel set up cocaine labs in Nicaragua. Using incriminating photos of Vaughan supplied by Seal, the Reagan Administration has accused Nicaragua's Sandinista government of involvement in drug trafficking.

The drug barons are not likely to come to trial any time soon, if ever. The indictments were handed down secretly three months ago in the hopes that U.S. and Colombian authorities would be able to capture the fugitives unawares. No such luck. "We've been unable to arrest any of them," said a federal narcotics prosecutor in Miami.

Considering the billions of dollars the five bosses—known collectively as the Medellin Cartel—are believed to possess, they should have no shortage of safe havens. Nor has there been any short circuiting of the cartel's power. Last week, on the outskirts of Bogotá, Colombia, a squad of four killers assassinated Colonel Jaime Ramirez, the respected chief of that country's antinarcotics force who led the highly successful Tranquilandia raid.



Big John broods in his Austin office

Riding for a Fall

John Connally's bad breaks

when the final gavel thumped down at the auction up at John Connally's 7,300-acre spread near Floresville, Texas, last Saturday, 126 of his prized Thoroughbreds and quarter horses had been sold off for nearly \$400,000. Two of the latter were the progeny of a proud champion, Dash for Cash. The stallion's name was apt, for the auction came at a time when Connally himself is making a run for money. Numerous creditors are pursuing the former Texas Governor and U.S. Treasury Secretary for millions in

unpaid loans on a host of flailing ventures. Connally, a man as outsize as Texas itself, is in the same predicament as the state where he has always stood tall: he needs the cash or his overextended business will be dashed.

After Connally, 69, failed to get out of the starting gate for the 1980 G.O.P. presidential nomination, he returned home with the idea of becoming what Texans call "big rich." He was already worth about \$6 million—cattle feed by local stan-

dards. But Big John saw no end to the twin booms in oil and real estate, and aimed to parlay his connections and powerful salesmanship into serious money.

He formed a partnership with his protégé, Ben Barnes, 48, a former Lieutenant Governor. With an initial investment of about \$5 million apiece, the two men borrowed millions more to finance the

construction of office buildings, shopping centers and luxury condos. Bankers practically threw money at them, and the two supremely confident former politicians readily signed personal guarantees for a variety of construction loans. "He was so persuasive and charming he could make you believe day was night," says Roger Chapman, a former business partner. In just three years Connally and Barnes built up their assets to a high of \$300 million.

But as oil dropped from \$32 a barrel to \$9, the Texas economy went dry—and just about everything that Connally and Barnes touched turned bad. Their \$14 million, 14-story office building in Houston, 80% vacant, was foreclosed on and sold at auction. A swanky housing development, Triple Crown condominiums in Ruidoso Downs, N. Mex., is the target of a foreclosure suit. More than a quarter of the 212 lots in Austin's plush estates of Barton Creek sit unsold. A creditor has sued to foreclose on four shopping centers; a fifth has already been lost.

Altogether, Connally and Barnes owe at least \$60 million and have been hammered with a score of lawsuits charging nonpayment of loans. "Connally has gone through the same predicament that a lot of Texans are going through," says a fellow Texan and friend, former Democratic Party Chairman Robert Strauss. They "bet too much. They believed the trees were going to grow to the sky."

Connally, who grew up poor on a hardscrabble farm in Floresville, is said to be worried, but determined to tough it out. That is no surprise coming from the man who was wounded during the assassination of John F. Kennedy in Dallas in 1963 and then went on to become a power in the Republican Party. "As bad as all this seems to you," Connally told aides recently, "it's not as bad as being shot through the chest." He

and Barnes have been jetting around the world to drum up cash, because Texas, says Barnes, "is capitalpoor now."

Connally never incorporated his main business, and is now vulnerable to creditors' claims on his personal assets. A high roller, Connally has begun to retrench. While he still maintains his Floresville ranch and his \$960,000 home in Austin (with his and hers Jacuzzis), he sold his house in Santa Fe and put a FOR SALE sign on

a penthouse condominium on South Padre Island in the Gulf of Mexico. His treasured racehorses were the latest to go. A man who never seemed to doubt himself, Connally still believes he can ride out his troubles. But this time he may well have tripped over his own self-confidence.

—By Richard Stengel.

Reported by Lianne Hart/Houston and Richard Woodbury/Austin



Hot Dasher: sold for \$4,500

unwilling, to fit into the broader society.

While black men account for only 6% of America's population, they make up half its male prisoners. The leading cause of death among young black men is murder: they have a 1-in-21 chance of becoming murder victims, more than six times greater than the population as a whole. While the national unemployment rate is 6.9%, for black men it is 15%, and for black teens it remains more than 40%. Some 18% of black males drop out of high school. This hard-core segment of the community, dominated by young men who are both the victims of broken families and perpetrators of new ones, has evolved into an entrenched subculture,

where poverty and despair and crime are recycled from one generation to the next.

Some attribute the Native Sons crisis to chronic unemployment, segregated ghettos, poor education and sweeping changes in America's industrial economy. Others point to the steady migration from the inner cities of successful blacks who could serve as role models and hold together the institutions of church and family. To many conservatives, the situation reflects a social pathology caused by welfare handouts and the decline of morality. It is, understandably, an explosive topic, one fraught with a blame-the-victim undertone that many people believe is thinly disguised racism. Yet there is a growing awareness, particularly within the black community, that the issue can no longer be ignored and the debate no longer muted. "The facts started coming out, and people realized that a lot of the problems had reached catastrophic proportions," says William Wilson, an

economist at the University of Chicago. "I think a number of black leaders and intellectuals are getting up the nerve to talk about the issues."

In the complex mix of forces that has led to the dilemma of these young men, joblessness is perhaps the most central. A report released this month by the Census Bureau and the Conference Board finds that a "large number of blacks are falling out of the mainstream of our economic life." In 1950 the unemployment rate for young blacks was 1½ times greater than that for young whites. Now it is more than two times greater.

Blacks have been particularly hard hit by the shift to an economy geared more to service and high-tech opportunities than to factory jobs. In *The New*

American Poverty, Michael Harrington writes that the greatest movement of Southern blacks to industrial cities came just as American manufacturing was beginning to decline after World War II. That huge migration from the rural south . . . was much too great for a society that was switching from smokestacks to services, from high wages to low, and eventually to chronic high rates of unemployment that penalized the young, the less educated and the latest arrivals. That is, it penalized blacks most of all." Says Wilson: "It's as though racism, having put the black underclass in its economic place, stepped aside to watch technological change finish the job."

Johnnie Deryl Scott, 23, is serving a life sentence for taking part in a robbery of a Detroit car wash that resulted in the murder of the owner. He is seeking a new trial, and hopes someday to be reunited with the daughter he fathered out of wedlock six years ago.

11 The young men I grew up with are dead, incarcerated or born-again Christians. A few...got nice jobs. But a lot of black kids don't have that opportunity.

Some theorists put part of the blame for the unemployment problem on the behavior of black youths. Glenn Loury, a political economist at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, notes, "The characteristics, the attitudes, history, criminal-arrest records and other qualities of the young men themselves make them difficult to employ." Elijah Anderson, professor of sociology at the University of Pennsylvania and author of A Place on the Corner, a 1978 study of the lost men of the ghetto, believes that out of a misplaced sense of pride, many black youths are unwilling to accept the low-paying, lowprestige jobs that their forebears held. "They puzzle the older generation," says Anderson, "who say, 'I was brought up to do any kind of work I could in order to

survive.' These youths will not settle for menial labor."

Getting a good job in America often depends on being part of a culture that instills ambition, provides examples of the work ethic and, not least of all, offers personal connections to potential employers. But the migration of successful blacks out of the ghetto has left it populated by the less skilled and the less hopeful. Most ghetto shops and small businesses are run by outsiders. Says Harriet McAdoo of Howard University's Department of Social Work: "Unlike kids in black communities in earlier years, where poor and not-poor were in the same school together, kids today don't have somebody mov-

ing up and out, somebody going to college, somebody as an example."

Drugs have produced an alternative economy that can provide high wages and self-esteem to young men who cannot earn either in the mainstream. With the lack of role models in the ghetto, successful neighborhood drug dealers often become heroes to inner-city kids. "The males in the community who are law abiding and decent have less and less respect," says Anderson. "Today you find the hustlers out there taking time for young people." Many residents of Chicago's South Side last week grieved over the assassination of 49-year-old Willie ("Flukey") Stokes, a flamboyant drug dealer who enjoyed handing out thousands of dollars to the

Drugs also fuel much of the violence in the inner city. "The ones that are dopers, they don't fear nothing," says Hermon DeJurnett, 26, of south central Los Angeles. He knows. Almost two years ago, a good portion of his

calf was blown away when he was shot at point-blank range-by his cousin. "He wanted money for drugs," contends De-Jurnett. "He just flipped out and blasted me." A heavyset former gang member who once served eleven months for mugging a woman and dislocating her shoulder. DeJurnett now has a part-time job as a construction worker and lives in a small stucco house with his wife and two boys. He blames the drug trade for much of the violence that marked the life he used to lead. "There was a time when a guy could smoke a joint and be content. Now they want to smoke \$1,000 worth of cocaine in a night. That's where the violence starts."

For this generation of street-corner men, violence has reached such a level of pervasiveness that it is accepted almost matter-of-factly. Young men are beaten and killed not only over money, girl-friends and drugs but often for saying the wrong thing or wearing the wrong type of clothes. Acts of brutality serve as a way of proving one's manhood, and the casual nature of the violence might reflect a general feeling that life is not worth much in the ghetto.

"The idea of mask and game playing is very important here. We're talking about an almost Oriental kind of concept of face and honor," says John Edgar Wideman, author of *Brothers and Keepers*, a 1985 book about his relationship with his brother Robbie, who is serving a life sentence for murder. Says Wideman of life on

the street: "There is an invisible value system in which people are quite literally willing to go to war because somebody looks at them cross-eyed. When you have that kind of tension, when you have those rules that are worth life and death over very minimal matters, you have a situation that is obviously very explosive, which nobody is in control of."

Given the vicissitudes of inner-city life today, the odds against escaping the ghetto and the treachery of the street seem greater than ever before. "It was difficult for me and my generation," says Claude Brown, whose 1965 autobiography, Manchild in the Promised Land, drew a harrowing picture of teenage delinquency in Harlem. "It's almost impossible now."

The Native Son crisis is contributing to the breakdown of the family structure in the inner city, a trend that is seen as both a cause and an effect of the poverty cycle. According to Census Bureau statistics, nearly two-thirds of all black children are born to

unwed mothers. Of the nation's 4.6 million black families with children, 2.6 million are headed by a single woman—and in some ghetto areas it is estimated to be close to 90%. As a result, most inner-city black children never know the experience of having a father at home with steady work who can instill the ambitions and habits that lead to success.

"It's like a pattern," says Sybil Lemon. "I never thought about that. If I had, I wouldn't want to be like that." At 22, Lemon can see the pattern clearly now. "We're talking about my mother, my auntie and two cousins." Each of them became pregnant in her teens, dropped out of school, went on welfare. So did Sybil. She was 17 when she met Jeffrey. "I was introduced to so many things through

him," she recalls, "like liquor and drugs and stuff." Today she lives with her mother in a suburb of Chicago and supports her two-year-old twins and an infant on a monthly welfare check. She no longer sees Jeffrey, an unemployed dropout. "I didn't love him," she says. "Why did I go with him?" she asks. "Why not?"

The pattern that Lemon describes is more than one just of teenage pregnancy. In fact, the rate of births to black teenagers shows signs of declining. Yet the number of fatherless black families continues to grow, because a lower percentage of pregnant women are getting married. Census figures show 42% of single black women ages 18 to 29 have one or

Darryl Swafford grew up in and around Gary, where thousands of blacks once earned a living in the local steel mills. But economic stagnation has devastated Big Steel. Unemployed, Swafford has had to rely on the government for food stamps and rent.

44 I always had that goal, working in the mill. Have a home, a big car. But now there's no mill and I'm down. Just trying to make it, trying to survive. 77

more children, vs. 7% among whites that age. "They are not following up pregnancy with marriage," says Chicago's William Wilson, "because joblessness among young black males in the inner city is so high that the male marriageable pool has declined to almost nothing."

Indeed, Wilson estimates that there are fewer than 50 "marriageable" black men between the ages of 20 and 24 for every 100 black women of the same age group. Says Ronald Takaki, a professor of ethnic studies at the University of California, Berkeley: "We now have a black population whose labor has been rendered superfluous." He adds, "Statistically, it is impossible for even a third of all black women in this age group to be married to employed black

men earning above poverty incomes."

Some partly blame a welfare system based on Aid to Families with Dependent Children, which often makes it financially disadvantageous for a man to stay at home. In California, for example, a person in a minimum-wage job would gross about \$580 a month. Factoring in Social Security deductions, food stamps and other benefits that would go to a typical worker with a spouse and child, the family would get a monthly income of about \$737, that is, \$246 per family member. If there were no wage earner, however, the mother and child would receive about \$498 from AFDC, along with \$74 in food stamps, for a total monthly income of

\$572, or \$286 each for the mother and child. They would also receive comprehensive medical coverage. Percy Steel, president of the Urban League chapter in Oakland, says of an unemployed father: "If he has feelings for his family, he gets lost. Welfare is tearing these families apart."

At age 26, Willomenia Williams of Los Angeles is the mother of eight children, fathered by three different men, none of whom has provided much help in raising his offspring. She gets \$698 a month in AFDC and \$125 in food stamps, more than any of her former boyfriends could offer. "If they can't do their part," she says, "I don't think they should be coming around." For a while, Williams lived in a private shelter run by a group called Parents of Watts. Alice Harris, a woman known for her ready smile and generosity, runs the program. "Of course welfare is breaking apart families," Harris says. President Reagan's task force on the American family made a similar contention two weeks ago: "Easy

availability of welfare in all of its forms has become a powerful force for the destruction of family life through perpetuation of the welfare culture."

But others sharply dispute this notion. Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York, who brought attention to the plight of the black family in a controversial report two decades ago, called the Administration study "less a policy paper than a tantrum. They're not writing from facts. This is just ideology." Indeed, there is little hard evidence to show that welfare alone encourages family breakdown. A study by Sociologists David Ellwood and Mary Jo Bane, of Harvard's Kennedy School, found no correlation between the birth rates for unwed mothers and welfare-benefit levels from state to state.

They argue, "As an explanation for the dramatic changes in family structure, welfare benefits are largely impotent."

The persistence of the Native Sons problem shows how difficult it is to find solutions. Neither the spending programs of the 1970s nor the modest sustained growth and laissez-faire attitude of the Reagan years have reversed the decline.

One area of agreement is that the first necessity is to get people into the workplace. Family stability would be vastly greater, says Harriet Michel, president of the New York Urban League, "if black men, women and teenagers could get jobs when they needed them." When asked what would alleviate the breakdown of

poor families, Moynihan replies simply, "Jobs." President Reagan defends his policies by arguing that his economic approach has led to the creation of new jobs, which he has called the "greatest social program we have.'

The problem facing inner-city youths, however, has been that they seem to reap little of the economic benefit even when the job market is expanding. Congressman Jack Kemp, a Republican from upstate New York, is a leading advocate of urban enterprise zones, which would use tax incentives to encourage businesses to provide jobs in depressed urban areas. Others feel that it is necessary to create work programs that will draw young blacks away from the inner cities, where the underclass culture makes it extremely difficult to break out of the poverty cycle. Nicholas Lemann, a journalist with the Atlantic, describes the migration of unskilled Southern blacks into the inner cities followed by the subsequent migration out by those with steady jobs. He argues that

the only path into the American economic mainstream involves breaking out of the ghettos.

Another avenue being explored is welfare reform. More than 20 states are experimenting with some form of "workfare," which requires recipients to accept training and jobs. According to Governor Michael Dukakis, Massachusetts' highly successful program, launched in 1983, has placed thousands of AFDC beneficiaries in full- or part-time jobs and has saved taxpayers an estimated \$69 million. New York hopes to enroll more than 200,000 of its 1.1 million public-assistance recipients in a remodeled workfare program.

Critics of Reagan's domestic policies say that the cuts in social spending he has made hit the poor particularly hard. According to Marian Wright Edelman, president of the Children's Defense Fund, programs aiding impoverished children and families have lost \$10 billion since 1980. The federal Work Incentive Program, which provides job training and support services to welfare recipients, has been cut from \$210.5 million to \$110 million in the fiscal 1987 budget. The President has proposed junking the program altogether.

The problems facing black America's impoverished youth, however, cannot be solved simply by more Government spending. Black leaders are becoming increasingly outspoken about the need to confront the problem within the commu-

Danny Coleman, 24, has been out of work since losing his job at a fast-food shop nearly a year ago. He lives with his parents in Watts. He cannot provide for his young son, who lives with his mother in a nearby town and is supported by welfare. **46** They treat you like a child on those minimum-wage jobs. And there is no way you can make it on that kind of salary. It is just a dead end. 77

> nity. In cities around the country, programs run by such groups as the Urban League and the N.A.A.C.P. and by neighborhood activists are seeking to promote job training, education and stable families. "We have to get these young males to understand the responsibilities that go along with fathering a child," says Mary Frances Berry, a veteran civil rights leader. "We have to make that the issue to highlight in the black community."

> Basic education is also crucial, but with so many of America's inner-city schools in disarray, outside programs are often the key to childrens' academic success. "It's a vicious cycle," says Babette Edwards of the Harlem Tutorial and Referral Project. "Low standards, the lack of a rigorous, challenging curriculum is detrimental to

kids." Her organization stresses basic reading and writing skills in individual and small-group after-school sessions.

Some of the most successful projects are those that offer job training. The Watts Labor Community Action Committee employs 600 people and runs on a \$7.4 million annual budget. Each year the organization trains as many as 400 young men and women between the ages of 18 and 26 and boasts a 90% placement rate in such jobs as security guard, bank clerk and computer operator. Chicago's nonprofit Safer Foundation helps get jobs for about 60% of its clients. But for kids who go to Safer, young offenders with an average of ten arrests in their short lives, just

> having someone to talk to can be as important as getting work. "We're like the hole in the teakettle," says Counselor Dan Coughlin. "We can let off some of the pressure, but we can't solve

the problem."

William Jones, 39, never knew his father. He and his six siblings grew up on welfare in his mother's Harlem household. Like so many in the inner city, he became disillusioned with high school, dropped out, got into drugs. "I was on the street. I felt I knew everything," he remembers. "I only started missing my schooling when my kids came along. That's when I knew what I didn't know." Eleven years ago, the teenage mother of Jones' two children left, never to be heard from again. Shortly thereafter, Jones lost his job and went on welfare.

Today he is raising his kids, as well as seven of his nephews and nieces, ages 6 to 18, whose mother could no longer cope with the pressures of bringing them up. He and his mother, along with the nine children, live in a two-bedroom, \$134-a-month

apartment. He is off drugs. He is also off the welfare rolls, earning his living as a community organizer at Harlem's Family Life and Sex Education Program.

"We try to give kids things to go for," says Jones. He knows there is no easy way to conquer the cycle of broken homes and poverty. "There are a lot of roadblocks out there. You got drugs on the street, you got alcohol," he says. "But if you keep behind your kids and give them a helping hand, it's O.K." Each week he gets on the phone, reminding his teenage charges about their next meeting. Those who have no phone he visits in person. Every week he and a coworker remind all 75 of them, and they keep coming back .- By Jacob V. Lamar Jr. Reported by Jon D. Hull/Los Angeles and Jack E. White/Chicago, with other bureaus

Study Finds Blacks Progress, But Not Yet to Middle Class

WASHINGTON, Dec. 18 (AP) — The condition of American blacks has improved in recent decades, but a new study concludes that they are not yet on the verge of joining the middle class.

Blacks have made advances in education but still have less income, fewer jobs and a shorter life expectancy than whites, according to a study by John Reid, a sociologist at Howard University in Washington. The results were made public Monday by the Population Reference Bureau, a private, nonprofit research organization.

Mr. Reid concluded that "a major move by American blacks into mainstream middle-class America is not imminent," but said the potential for a breakthrough remained.

"Second-Class Middle Class"

"Clearly," Mr. Reid wrote, "the black American is at still another crossroads on a very difficult path from complete slavery, to serfdom, to token acceptance by the majority, to complete partnership in the system that is called the United States."

He said the black middle class remained a minority of the black popula-

tion and was far less affluent than the white middle class, a "second-class middle class."

Mr. Reid said the median income of black families grew from just over 40 percent of what whites received in 1939 to 62 percent in 1975. He said it dropped to 56 percent in 1981, with "little promise of improvement" in the rest of the decade.

About 40 percent of working blacks hold white-collar jobs, up from 11 percent in 1960 but still below the 54 percent for whites, he said. Unemployment among blacks is more than double that among whites.

In 1900, a nonwhite baby could expect to live 33 years, while the average for a white baby was 47.6 years. By 1980 life expectancy had risen to 74.4 years for whites and 68.3 for blacks, Mr. Reid said.

Blacks have made major progress in education, Mr. Reid noted. He said the percentage of blacks 18 to 24 years old who enroll in college had nearly doubled since 1965, to 19.4 percent from 10.3 percent, and that school enrollment rates were nearly identical for blacks and whites in 1980.

a holiday gift

NEW YORK'S LARGEST SELECTION OF

Jewish leaders he 'regrets any pain' his controversial remarks during. the 1968 school decentralization struggle 'may have caused the Jewish community.' Vann, who is challengling Brooklyn Borough President Howard Golden, was quoted in a letter sent out by a group of Jewish supporters to 600 Jewish supporters to 600 Jewish Supporters to 600 Jewish Supporters to 600 Jewish Vann's comment was an apology for remarks, labeled antiJewish, by him and a black teachers group he headed. At the time, the AfricanAmerican Teachers Assn. said that 'Jews would like us to become what they were in Hitler's Germany—
spineless jellyfish.'' A top Vann aide refused to interpret the statement as an apology.

The statement is what it is,' campaign ramager audrey Bynoe said. 'I am not going to interpret it. It says what it says.' City Councilwoman Ruth

cell of the sys what it says."

City Councilwoman Ruth Messinger, who signed the letter, said the issue was raised because "I don't think anybody thought it would have made much sense to do this outreach without these references. "They are one of the many things that are on people's minds about this candidate. "You use your campaign as a chance to set the record straight." Mrs. Messinger added Vann wanted to 'fic judged by his actions."

wanted to "to judged by his actions."

The June 20 letter, citing Yann's opposition to Reagan's Bithurg cemetery trip, his recent arrest at the Soviet Embassy in support of Soviet Jews, and his support in electing Brooklyn DA Elizabeth Holtzman, also states. "We do not intend to gloss over the tensions which existed between Vann and the Jewish community during the 1983 teachers strike when he served as President of the Artican-American Teacher's Assn."

BRONX EYE DOC SHOT TO H AFTER FIST FI By MICHAEL RECEITMAN and PAT WILLIS A PROCINCY was alkin. A PROMINENT Bronx ye surgeon was shot to death last night by the owner of a printing company after the two years of the brother's house, police said. Dr. Louis J. Debellis, 33, was killed by one bullet fired into the back of his neck as he stepped in his her targic news, was been to be to behind the Lauren Building, which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., in throngs which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., in throngs which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., in throngs which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., in throngs which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., in throngs which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., in throngs which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., in throngs which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., in throngs which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., in throngs which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., as parated by a small alley from the substitute of the processional Building. Which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., in throngs which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., in throngs which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., in throngs which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., as parated by a small alley from the substitute of the processional Building. Which he owned, at 3506 E. Tremont Av., as parated by a small alley from the substitute of the frame building. Debellis and Maula over ownership to the frame building. Debellis was also on staffar working his way through medical school and finishing his training. Westchester after working his way through medical school and finishing his training. Westchester after working his way through medical school and finishing his training. A fellow doctor praised.

Debellis for providing Throgs Neck with its only medical building. "Instead of running out medical building.

"Instead of running out of The Bronx like everyone else, he stayed and built the entire building a year ago, which was a tremendous boost to the community," the doctor told The Post.

"The community," and the doctor. Before it was built, everyone had to go to teaching hospitals such as Einstein.
"He had to beg and borrow to put it up and he was also builtely adored by the entire community." The doctor said Debellis' death is "a tremendous tragedon to the surgeon, and Debellis death is "a tremendous tragedon" for Earbagailo, a briend of the surgeon, said Debellis

time. "He was a neighborhood

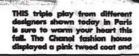
He was a neighborhood boy. He grew up here and he came back as a physician because he cared about the people here."
The surgeon is survived by his wife, Joy, and three children.
He had named the professional building after his daughter, Lauren.
Maula is also married with children. Police said he commuted from Pennsylvania to the printing company once or twice a week.

syrvania to the printing company once or twice a week.

After being questioned, Maula was taken by po-lice to a hospital. He claimed he was injured during the fight.



Here's three from Paree!



assorted hat (left) over a straight short black gabardine skirt. Not to be outdone, Pierre Cardin came out with a black and fushia jersey cocktail dress



topped by a reversed cup hat. And finally Jean Patou strutted a sulphur cardigan over an se-quined black high-neck sweater

GASPING CLERK FLEES SMOKEBOMBED TOKEN BOOTH

By BIGBARD GOODING
A TOKEN booth in Smoke inhalation.

Transit pilice said the smoke but here bombed two months ago was smokebombed arry today, forcing the subway clerk to flee ber booth gasping for air. The clerk, Dorothy Sutton, 52, was hospital.

The rethord was removed the booth gasping for air. The clerk, Dorothy Sutton, 52, was hospital.

The rethord was removed the booth, each subway clerk, Dorothy Sutton, 52, was hospital.

The rethord was removed the booth, each subway clerk, Dorothy Sutton, 52, was hospital.

The rewas no robbery

The youths, described as 16 or 17 years old, spilled flammable liquid in the alsot and around the base of the booth, then ignited it.

The flames went out by themselves as the youths fled.

The clerk required

Black/Jewish coalition goes public; Koch calls it cabal

By WALTER RUBY

The debate over what to do about the unhappy state of black-Jewish relations in New York and across the nation moved to center stage last week as prominent figures in both com-munities made well publicized efforts to address the issueand often quickly found themselves embroiled in unexpected

The announcement by a group of leading black and Jewish New Yorkers that they had formed a group called the Black/Jewish Coalition to increase communication and understanding among blacks and Jews here was followed by an angry statement by Mayor Edward Koch that several of the leaders of the coalition had joined together in a "cabal" to oppose his 1985 reelection effort.

Koch said that two of the leaders of the coalition, Rabbi Balfour Brickner of Manhattan's Stephen Wise Free Synagogue and Wilbert Tatum, chairman and editor-in-chief

Synagogue and Wilbert Tatum, chairman and editor-in-chief of the influential black weekly New York Amsterdam News, are using the coalition as "a camouflage operation to put together a group against me."

On another front, the three top leaders of the American Jewish Congress created something of a sensation in the Jewish community when they were arrested by Washington police during an anti-apartheid protest in front of the South African embassy.

In the wake of the arrest and four-hour detention of the JCongress leaders, representatives of other Jewish organiza-



nts in the Black/Jewish Coalition press conference included, left to right, Bertram H. Gold, executive vice president emeritus nerican Jewish Committee; Wilbert Tatum, board chairman, The Amsterdam News; Stanley Lowell, attorney; Douglas White sioner designee, NY State Division, Human Rights; and Rabbi Balfour Brickner, spiritual leader, Stephen Wise Free Synagogue

tions quickly announced plans to hold their own anti-apartheid protests in the days ahead (see story, p. 20). Group Has Met for a Year The well publicized emergence of the Black/Jewish Coali-

into obscured the fact that the more than 100 members of the coalition had already been meeting together for about one year. According to Stanley Lowell, a charter member of the coalition, the nucleus of the group came together in late 1983, when he and several other Jewish and black leaders decided

"we had to do something" in response to the formation of the Jewish Defense League-inspired "Jews Against Jackson." Coalition members, who quickly came to include a "Who's Who' of prominent New York area Jewish and black lea Jers, excluding only those leaders presently holding elective office, got together at twice-monthly meetings to examine and define their own attitudes on issues dividing or impacting on the two nunities. Using an approach Tatum defined as the 'step continued on page 17





Black/Jewish

system,' the coalition members then sought, according to Tatum, "to grapple with the substance of issues in terms of strengthening black-Jewish relations."

Tanım said that the coafition passed through what he termed some very difficult times" during the months that the "[Rev. ssse] Jackson-[Black Muslim leader Louis] Farrakham" story Jessej Jackson-Black Musim leader Louis Parrakham" story dominated the headlines. Nevertheless, he explained, coali-tion members continued to meet and discuss mutual concerns and were eventually able to hammer out a statement of pur-pose acceptable to all and to decide on a plan to hold public forums in the coming months on the issues of public educa-tion in New York City, South Africa and affirmative action.

According to the statement, the members of the coalition were drawn together by a shared goal: "to revitalize the historic relationship between blacks and Jews...in order to continue our mutual struggle against discrimination and bigotry...Our aim is to disavow rhetoric that divides the black and Jewish communities and to focus on our mutual con-

Citing the "grievous strains" that have developed between Citing the "grievous strains" that have developed between the two communities in recent years, the participants pledged to "help defuse tensions when they erupt" and to "take steps in our community to meet the valid concerns of each group." The document called on blacks and Jews to "work together to develop constructive solutions to poor education, hunger, urban decay, crime, inadequate housing and health care"...and to create a climate in which "responsible black and Jewish leaders can speak out for our common human agenda—a compassionate, econstate and nation."

state and nation."

No Involvement in Electoral Politics

The statement had a "60s liberalism ring to it, and several, of the leaders of the group, who spoke at the press conference—including Tatum, Brickner, New York City Clerk David Dinkins, former New York Secretary of State Basil Paterson and feminist author Letty Cottin Pogrebin—have been stone champions of liberal-left causes. en strong champions of liberal-left causes,

However, the coaftion also includes a number of key leader-ship figures, especially from the Jewish community, from a more 'establishment,' centrist perspective. Included in this

group are people like Malcolm Hoenlein, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC); Bertram Gold, executive vice president emeritus of the American Jewish Committee; Daniel Shapiro, president of the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies; and Carol Lister, New York regional director of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

In response to questions from reporters, spokespersons for the coalition stressed repeatedly that while it had decided to "go public," the group has no intention of becoming involved in electoral politics and would play no role as an organiza-tion in next year's mayoral race, although individual members

tion in next year's mayoral race, although individual members may take positions on the contest.

According to Dr. Roscoe Brown, president of Bronx Community College, "It is clear that in 1983, with political tensions rising, the media and others are going to look at a group like ours and try to figure out how we are going to be affected by the political campaign and what role we are going to play. It is for this reason that we have announced in advance that this group as an organized body will play no role and take no part in the election."

According to Tatum, "Before a crisis was apparent, we [the coalition] wished to build a group of blacks and Jews that had developed a relationship separate and apart from any political agenda having to do with the 1984 Presidential race, as well as the 1985 mayoral campaign."

Added Lowell, "The focus we are taking does not mean

we are blind to what is going on around us, but that we have decided to put our efforts into things that can bring us together, and not on things that have the potential to divide

Non-Partisan, but Definitely Political

While there was agreement among the speakers at the press conference that the group would not be involved in electoral politics, there seemed to be clear differences of emphasis on the question of whether or not the coalition would have a

In his remarks at the press conference, Gold stressed, "The coalition does not intend to make political statements or take political stands. Our effort will be to work together and understand each other, and to take this effort out into our respective communities." respective communities.

However, Paterson offered an eloquent rejoinder to the argument that the coalition is 'non-political.' According to Paterson, "In fact, this is the most political thing that has been done. It is non-partisan, but it is another [political] building block."

Stating that the black and Jewish leaders had come together

out of "enlightened self-interest," Paterson demanded, "How can you not be political...when in the Morrisania section of the Broax 90 percent of the kids don't finish high school?...We have interests besides the esoteric..[such as] doing something for the 170,000 families in this city who want public housing

at a time when these funds are being cut."

Paterson noted, "There are some who would see us divided," and he singled out the media for criticism for allegedly stressing and playing up black-Jewish tensions and divisions while downplaying stories that help to mitigate the alienation between the groups.

Several speakers pointed out that both the New York Dai-ly News and New York Post had prominently played a recent story in which a member of the National Coalition of Black Lawyers appeared with Palestine Liberation Organization chief Yasir Arafat at the Palestine National Congress in Amman and endorsed the PLO. However, when City Clerk Dinkins and endorsed the PLO. However, when City Clerk Dinkins denounced the gesture and the National Coalition of Black Lawyers released a statement saying that the woman who had appeared with Arafat did not represent the organization, the story was buried deep inside the Daily News and appeared in the Post only as a letter to the editor.

Focus on Three Critical Issues

According to Brickner, who heads the coalition's Program Committee, the coalition decided to focus on the issues of South Africa, affirmative action and public education in New York City because it was decided that these were "critical"

York City because it was decided that these were "critical issues to both the black and Jewish communities that seriously effect black-Jewish relations.

Brickner said that in future forums on the issue of South Africa, "we will look into Israeli interests in South Africa, black nations' interests in South Africa, and American Jewish and black interests in the subject of South Africa. We will not avoid any of the tough dimensions. It will all be spoken

He added, "With respect to affirmative action, I think we need to look at each other's positions and postures and see if we can carve out a joint position or a joint statement that will satisfy both the black and Jewish members of our coali-

Brickner said that the coalition decided that the need to search for ways to improve public education in New York is the "most pressing question" confronting the group and will therefore be dealt with first:

Will Sponsor Three Public Forums
Noting that "one cannot talk much about the quality of continued on next page

HARRY S. KATZ

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New City Jewish Center
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North Shore Jewish Center, Port Jefferson
Station Station
Oakland Jewish Center, Beyside

Oceanside Jewish Center Old Westbury Hebrew Congregation Orangetown Jewish Center, Orange Orangetown Jewish Cente Oyster Bay Jewish Cente Park Avenue Synagogue Oyster Bay Jewish Center
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Plainview Jewish Center
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Cusensbory Hill Jewish Center, Flushing
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Jewish Community Center of Spring Valley
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Utopia Jewish Center, Flushing
Wantagh Jewish Center, Flushing
Wantagh Jewish Center of West Hempstead
Whitestone Hebrew Centre
Yorktown Jewish Center, Varktown Heights

Black/Jewish

continued from previous page life in this city without dealing with the serious problem of the quality of education that we are giving to our children," Prof. Lorraine Mouroe, the former chief executive for instruction of the New York City Board of Education, announced that the coalition will sponsor three public forums during the

The first, to be held on January 14, will focus on the examination process as it relates to the selection of principals in city schools. The second forum, to be held January 28, will deal with special education, safety and discipline, and on ways to reduce prejudice in the school system. The third forum, as yet unscheduled, will deal with the school board budget, the nature of the curriculum in the city schools and the training of teachers and administrators.

Reporters pressed coalition spokespeople about whether they believe their announced plans of holding several forums is an adequate response to the current alienation between the two communities and to the problems facing both groups and society as a whole. Brickner responded, "We have come here with a program. We recognize that it is insufficient, but at least we are on the way programmatically. This is the first time I've seen a group of blacks and Jews come together with at least a program.

least a program.

According to Tatum, "It is important to remember that this group is only aborning. We recognized a need to speak to each other, and we have come together with some "years" made "." No one can say how this group may evolve.

Israel Not on Initial Agenda

Asked his view of the emergence of the coalition, Hoenlein responded, "Any step that increases communication is impor-tant. This coalition is a valuable mechanism to clarify misunderstandings over issues like Israel and South Africa and [to clarify for the black community] the reasons for Jewish opposition to Jesse Jackson."

Hoenlein was asked if he was disturbed that the issue of

South Africa had been placed as one of the three main topics to work on, whereas the issue of black attitudes toward Israel had not been given a similar priority. He replied, "I believe that Israel will be on the agenda. (The coalition) did not want n togethe to mix South Africa and Israel [by putting the to mix South Africa and Israel (by putting them together on the agenda as priority items to be considered). It should be pointed out that many black leaders are supporters of Israel." Asked why Israel had not been included as an item on the program of the coalition, Dinkins commented, "We wanted

to focus first on areas where we have agreement and common interests and not on areas where there is disagreement." interests and not on areas where there is disagreement."
Dinkins added quickly, however, "You certainly will not find black members of this coalition who are anti-Israel. Some may disagree with Israel's position on the West Bank, but there are many Israelis who also do not agree with that..." Dinkins noted, "Some black Americans have suggested that it is unjust that the Palestinians don't have a homeland ...but to deduce from that [stand] that most blacks are anti-Semitic is nonsense."



Board of Education, announced three up by the coalition, to address that issue.

Dinkins said that while public education, South Africa, and affirmative action are the first issues to be considered, "that does not mean we are excluding the consideration of other issues. It is really unfair to suggest that because we did not make [Israel] the number one issue, we feel it is not impor-

Rebuilding Relations at Home First
According to Paterson, "I think that Israel is a mutual concern, but I am not sure the differences can be excised simply
of discussion. I tend to think we ought to focus first on
rebuilding relations between blacks and Jews at home. That
will stifle the negatives that some have used to pull us apart."
Gold said that while Israel had not been selected as one of
the three main issues to be considered, "nevertheless, one of
the hymoducts of our discussions was that into as we see in.

sights into the black need for economic and political empower-ment, the blacks got a sense of the Jewish feeling for and com-mitment to the security of Israel."

Brickner maintained, "Israel is a kind of religion with Jews, and if we start with the issue of Israel we could blow this thing out of the water. We can deal with South Africa in a way that we cannot deal with Israel."

He added, "In any case, deals." the byproducts of our discussions was that just as we got in-sights into the black need for economic and political empower-

we cannot deal with Israel."

He added, "In any case, dealing with South Africa gives us an opportunity to confront the charge often heard in the black community that Israel strengthens the military hand of partheid. I think it is a false charge and I believe that by openly studying the question, we can soften this misperception of many in the black community." any in the black community."

Mayor's Comments were "Unfortunate"

In the wake of Koch's characterization of the coalition as PASSOVER-1985

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a "cabal," a number of coalition members told the Jewish

World that they believed the mayor was mistaken.

According to Gold, "I think the mayor's comment unfortunate, and I regret them. The coalition has made sure from the very beginning not to be a partisan group...There is no way that the coalition can stay alive and be partisan. I think the mayor shot from the hip in making his comments

without checking the list of coalition members."

Gold noted that he himself has been a Koch voter and that the coalition includes members like Lew Rudin, a prominent realtor who has been a heavy contributor to Koch's campaigns in the past. He added, "I don't know why Koch is so scared, because I don't think there is a strong candidate this year who would have a chance of defeating him. I do not think there will be a black candidate."

Tatum remarked, "When the mayor's statement was first

and to me, my reaction was one of incredulousness. I couldn't elieve he had said it. I just feel greatly saddened that this is the reaction of the chief magistrate of New York City to a serious effort to deal with problems between the two largest minority groups in New York City. I would have thought he would have welcomed such an organization."

Start with Two Largest Minorities
Tatum was asked about a comment by Koch that what needed is a black-white coalition, as opposed to a black-lewish coalition. He replied, "I would agree with that. It ought to be black-white. But given the focus of the media all year on discord between blacks and Jews, we decided that we begin somewhere, and it made sense to start with the two largest minorities—the two groups that have served as the social conscience of this country. We hope that what we are doing here will serve as a model for other cities with large black and Jewish populations and will help in terms of getting to the larger problem of blacks and whites." According to Tatum, "What the mayor is not recognizing

According to latum, "what the mayor is not recognizing is that our group began meeting before the beginning of the Presidential campaign, let alone the mayoral campaign. We came together out of recognition that a vacuum existed. I do not have a road map of where this coalition is going, but I believe it is a giant step forward. The Times recognized that when they put two stories about this group on page one within the space of a week."

mented, "The mayor is a nice man, but he is wrong. If he would read our statement, it would be clear that we went out of our way to make clear that this is not a political move. The moment he politicizes this group, he pro-stitutes it. I think he hurt himself with this statement."

Stating, "I am not the mayor's enemy," Brickner noted that the mayor might have gotten that impression because the two had tangled in the past on the issue of the homeless and over had tanged in the past on the issue of the nometess and over the public assertion by Brickner that the mayor had misrepresented an incident in which he alleged that he con-fronted anti-Semitism at a black church. Brickner added, "It is true that some in the coalition are not friendly to the mayor because of his mouth and man-

ner...Others are in his camp lock, stock and barrel. In any case, it is certainly not the purpose of the coalition to oppo

Leaders or Elitists?

Brickner was asked whether the fact that the coalition is composed of a small group of 100 prominent blacks and Jews which one can join by invitation only might not leave the group which one can join by invitation only might not leave the group open to criticism that it is merely a select contingent of elitist Jews and blacks engaged mainly in talking to each other. He replied forcefully, "I prefer to use the word 'leaders' rather than elitists. The fact of the matter is that intellectual and cultural leadership can shape the attitudes of the masses. We certainly cannot make decisions based on the bigoted attitudes sses or on the ideas of taxi drivers from Queens."

Asked if there was not an element of irony in a spokesman for progressive causes speaking disparagingly of the 'masses,' Brickner remarked, "All of us are elitists. You are an elitist as a journalist because you shape the ideas of others. Should shape our relationship with the black community on the basis of the pain of semi-literate and semi-educated Jews in Oueens whose hatred fof blacks predicates all they do?'

Queens whose hattred for blacks; predicates all they do?"
Brickner added, "The attitude of such people is," Instead
of being grateful for all we have done for them, the blacks
come and rape my daughter and rip off my son." What they
people don't understand is that that element fof the black community] will only cease to prey on them when we as a society

can provide jobs for the jobless and homes for the homeless, better public education and increased safety in the streets."

According to Brickner, "Too many Jews see this problem in terms of race rather than of class. We are not going to solve em by responding on the level of their complai

Gold answered the question about the seemingly insulated quality of the coalition in less expansive terms than did Brickner. "To a large extent it is true that we are talking to each other. But the members have gone out in teams to talk to black and Jewish audiences, to bring the message back to our own groups." Gold added, "We hope that we will be able to sensitize the black and Jewish communities to the need to reach out to each other."

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Koch warns of enemies' partisan use of coalition

Mayor Ed Koch is emphatically not backing away trom his characterization of a number of the leaders of the Black/Jewish Coalition as a "cabal" dedicated to his defeat in the 1985 mayoral election.

In an interview with the Jewish World. Koch expanded the list of personal and political enemies he believes are using the coalition to oppose his reelection to include attorney Basil Paterson, City Clerk David Dinkins, Village Voice writer Jack Newfield, and Haskell Lazere, executive director of the New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee. Koch also mentioned the names of Rabbi Balfour Brickner, Amsterdam News publisher Wilbert Tatum, and attorney Stanley Lowell, whom he identified last week in the New York Times as leaders

Koch said he believes the coalition would be more effective and useful if it expanded to become a black-white coalition rather than a black-Jewish one. The mayor commented, "Inrather than a black-Jewish one. The mayor commenter, "In-stead of limiting this thing to two minority groups, let's broaden it to take in the majority," He added, "I would like to see the President appoint another Kerner Commission to see whether [race relations] in this country have gotten better

(The Kerner Commission, headed by former Illinois Gov. Otto Kerner, reported to President Lyndon Johnson in 1968 that the U.S. was divided into two societies-white and

lack—that were steadily growing further apart.)
Asked whether he believes that coalition mem Malcolm Hoenlein and Peggy Tishman of the Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC) and Bertram Gold of the American Jewish Committee would be party to an anti-Koch cabal, the mayor responded, "Of course not. If you read carefully what I said in the Times, I made it clear I believed that the vast majority of members of this group are decent people who are dedicated to finding a way to repairing and restoring relations [between blacks and Jews]."

Medla Focused on 'Enemies'

Koch commented, "Unfortunately, these people are being

used by those who seem to be the spokespeople for the group—people like Tatum, Brickner and Lowell, who in the

past have expressed very openly their desire to defeat me. Those people are not being upfront and honest."

Koch said that those members of the coalition whom he perceives as his enemies "are the only ones you ever hear talking—the ones who are quoted in the media. After the Times story came out, Horace Morris called to say he supported me, but no one quoted him. He is on the coalition to strengthen relations. Frank Savage, Gordon Davis, David Jones, Peggy Tishman and many others are all decent peo ple. But the members who are speaking are the ones who have been saying that what must be done is to get rid of the mayor." Koch was asked about the fact that coalition spokespeople

had repeatedly disavowed any partisan political intentio ed that since the group had been founded in late 1983, well before the Presidential and mayoral elections, it

look at the history of some of these people. You can go back to 1981 and find statements by Bill Tatum against me. Jack Newfield has been attacking me in the Village Voice since 1977.

Basil Paterson was in my administration and left on good terms. Now he calls me insensitive, but he didn't say that when



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Mayor Ed Koch noted that their desire to defeat me.

an you say about a rabbi who told me that it is not the job of his synagogue to help the homeless? After that his own [synagogue] board voted to take in the homeless." Will Use Group for Own Purposes Reminded that the coalition had promised to focus its agen-

da on creating new approaches to the issues of South Africa, affirmative action and public education, Koch said, "I am all in favor of a group meeting to address substantive issues. I am just opposed to these self-appointed spokespeople using the group for their own purposes." Asked if he really believ-ed that the majority of the coalition would allow themselves to be duped in that way, Koch replied, "I did not say they are being duped, but rather used. Those who oppose me will use the group to make unfair comments about me and then retreat behind the cover of these decent people."

According to the mayor, "I feel that it is unfortunate that they are limiting this to blacks and Jews. I happen to believe that black-Jewish relations are far better than black-white rela-

tions. Why not broaden this to include Irish, Italians, Poles and Ukrainians? Rather than keeping this group limited to 100 black and Jewish leaders, wouldn't it have a larger influence if we expand it to 200 Jews, blacks, Hispanics, whites, and Asians?

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Koch added, "I happen to believe that Jews do not have to apologize for our record against discrimination. We have a good record. We do not have to apologize for our position on racial quotas...I am against racial quotas as well as discrimination. I think some of these people do not like that.

He commented, "There may be some non-Jews who read about this group who will say, 'Great, this is blacks and Jews, so we don't have to worry.' But they should have to worry and be aware that bigotry is human."

Asked if there was not a special need for a black-Jewish coalition at this time, given the alienation between blacks and Jews during the last year over the Farrakhan/Jackson imbroglio ar... other issues, Koch said emphatically, "Don't you think that other whites besides Jews were upset by [Black Muslim leader Louis] Farrakhan? Don't you think that other whites got upset when they heard Farrakhan calling for a race war...and [the Rev. Jesse] Jackson refusing to condemn Far-rakhan? Why only talk about the Jews?"

Calling for a Kerner Report II, Koch commented, "I think the Kerner report should be updated so we can see what hap-pened during the last 20 years. Let the President appoint another Kerner Commission." Asked if that was a realistic request given the present conservative climate, Koch demand-ed, "Why not? Has anybody tried? Do you think Archbishop [John] O'Connor or Bishop Paul Moore would decline to serve on such a committee if asked? My point is that we have to go beyond the problems of blacks and Jews and look at the problems of blacks and whites, which are far greater."

Koch was asked whether by making his charge of "cabal" he might not sabotage the efforts of the Black/Jewish Coaline might not sabotage the efforts of the Blasck/Jewish Coalition. "No, all I am doing is making sure that the people I
mentioned are not able to use this coalition as a vehicle. I
believe that now that I have spoken, they will not be able to
use the group in this way. The decent people have been alerted.
I think that I made them aware of the dangers of letting these
people speak for them. Now that the majority have been
alerted, they will repudiate any attempt to use the coalition
cannot be the will repudiate any attempt to use the coalition. against me, but will see that it works instead against discrimination in our city, state and nation."



AJCongress execs arrested in apartheid protest move

The arrest of the three top officers of the American Jewish Congress for carrying out an illegal protest in front of the South African Embassy in Washington last week was the most dramatic manifestation of increasing support and involvement of leading Jewish organizations with the growing anti-apartheid protest movement in this country.

However, even as Jewish groups have moved to declare solidarity with the American black community in revulsion for apartheid, there has been concern in the Jewish community about seeming to too closely embrace a movement that has

sharply criticized Israeli ties to South Africa.

There is also debate among the Jewish groups about whether to support the principle of divestment, which calls on U.S. corporations to pull out of South Africa until the apartheid system is removed. The AJCongress has expressed support for a bill by Rep. Stephen Solarz (passed last year by the House but defeated in the Senate), which imposed certain sanctions on trade relations with South Africa. However, representatives of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith seemed cool to the idea of divestment.

According to AJCongress executive director Henry

Siegman, who was arrested at the embassy together with the tion's president, Ted Mann, and vice president e Bikel, "We have a long established policy in opposition to apartheid, but felt it important [in the context of the anti-apartheid protests] that at least elements in the Jewish community be seen as taking this issue very seriously and acting on its concern.

"Our action was a statement on just how horrendous we feel the practice of apartheid really is."

Arrests Not Necessary

Before undertaking their act of civil disobedience at the embassy, the AJCongress leaders held a press conference together with Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC), and David Sa stein, director of the Religious Action Commission of UAHC, to denounce the detention by South Africa of a number of black trade union officials. According to Richard Cohen, a spokesman for Schindler, the two UAHC leaders declined to participate in the action at the embassy becar declined to participate in the action at the emoassy because "Schindler felt that it didn't make sense to break U.S. law in order to change South African law. He felt they made the same point by holding the press conference, which was very well attended, without getting arrested." Siegman, who declined to criticize the decision of the UAHC

not to participate in the action at the embassy, nevertheless stated, "I believe that by engaging in civil disobedience, you heighten the impact of what you are saying."

Siegman said that he, Mann and Bikel then went to the

South African embassy and asked for an appointment with the ambassador. When told that the ambassador would not see them, the three refused to leave the embassy property and Bikel led the group in freedom songs. After refusing a porder to move, the three were handcuffed together and to a police station before being booked and placed in a cell. Later they were taken, still handcuffed to each other, on a one and a half hour ride-across the city to be fingerprinted.

The three men were finally released after about four hours in police custody when their attorneys finally arrived. "We had not expected to be detained as long as we were, but we were given the normal treatment. When you carry out an act of civil disobedience, you make yourself vulnerable." Siegman said that while the three Jewish leaders were be-

ing held in the cell, Rep. Mickey Leland (D-TX) was brought in for also having protested in front of the embassy. According to Siegman, "Leland expressed himself warmly on how much Jewish involvement in this meant to him.

Siegman stressed that the AJCongress leaders had decided to carry out their protest independent of Transafrica, the problack Africa lobbying group which has acted as the coor-dinating group for the anti-apartheid protest movement. Siegman explained, "We decided to not to carry out our action at the normal hour during which Transafrica had been organizing these protests on a daily basis, but instead to do it at a different time to make clear that we were not acting under the auspices of Transafrica."

According to Siegman, the AJCongress felt it important to disassociate themselves from Transafrica because "[Randall] Robinson (the executive director of Transafrical has expressed himself as basically hostile to Israel. However, after our arrest, Robinson said some extraordinarily conciliatory things [about the Jewish involvement in the anti-apartheid movement] which appeared to be a new line for him."

Israeli Ties Are For Survival

Asked about his own perceptions concerning Israel's ties

to South Africa, Siegman commented, "The fact of the matter is that many black African states have trade relations with that for them it is a matter of survival. I understand that those are the terms under which Israel deals with South Africa as " He added, "If Israel had its druthers, it wouldn't m tain those ties because it dislikes apartheid. Therefore, if Israel does have such dealings it is because it sees it as a matter of

Asked if he believed all of Israel's trade with South Africa stemmed from critical national interests, Siegman respond-ed, "I would say that every country defines its own interests. I do believe that Israef should be aware that some American Jews, including the AJCongress constituency, would like to see Israel reexamine those ties and to keep them at the level of absolute necessity. It is also true that at the present moment there are many American Jews who are not absolutely aded that this is the case."

persuaded that this is the case."

Stressing that the AJCongress has not articulated an official position on Israeli ties to South Africa, Siegman commented, "To the extent that [these] remarks will be read by the Israelis as a criticism of ties with South Africa that go beyond the absolute necessity that would be all to the good...! would hope that such criticism would be received in Israel as constructive, as it is intended as such."

Asked if he head am.

as it is menaded as such.

Asked if he had any concern that protests by American
Jewish groups against apartheid might have negative repercussions for South African Jewry, Siegman stated, "Naturally
the security and well-being of any Jewish community is of great
concern for us. We are concerned about the South African
Jewish community and must therefore walk a delicate balance. However, we feel strongly that American Jews cannot remain

over the kind of discrimination that is taking place."
added, "I gather that the official spokespeople for the South African Jewish community would prefer that we keep our protests to the absolute minimum. However, since our arrests I have spoken to a number of South African Jews who

old me that they were very encouraged by our actions."

Siegman noted, "It happened that the same day that we were arrested in front of the South African embasy, there was a conference going on in Washington on [how to combat] the Zionism-is-racism equation. It seems to me that in dealing with the Zionism-racism equation, the kind of thing that we did will be more effective than holding a conference."

Trade Tles Are Image Problem sched by the Jewish World, Irving Levine, National Affairs Director of the American Jewish Committee, con "We issued a strong statement last week of opposition to apartheid, and we are on the list [arranged by the national organizers of the anti-apartheid protests) to be arrested in from organizers of the ann-apartuels protests to be a research in roof the South African consulate in New York." Levine said that he did not know on which day the AJCommittee people will be called upon to be arrested and said it had not yet been decided which representative of the organization would carry

Oueried whether the AJCommittee shared the AJCongress Queried whether the AlCommittee shared the AlCongress concern about the politics of Transafrica, Levine said that as far as he knew his organization had not dealt directly with Transafrica, but with Walter Faunteroy, a black U.S. representative from Washington D.C., and with Harriet Michel of the New York Urban League. He commented, "There is a little problem with Transafrica, but basically we see our participation as part of an overall stand on human rights. Because we participate in this protest does not mean we agree with the organizing groups on every issue."
On the issue of Israel-South Africa ties, Levine said, "My

own feeling is that there is an image problem for Israel on this. On the trade issue, Israel is no worse than any other country, and on the question of arms sales, others are also involved in that area. We do believe, though, that Israel should show a little more sensitivity."

Levine said that there is "mixed feeling" in the Jewish com-munity on the divestment issue. He stated, "We believe that the issue has not been adequately debated yet to make a

Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, said that the ADL had received a permit to hold a Hanukkah ceremony on Wednes-day, December 19 in front of the South African consulate in Manhattan, "We will light a [Hanukkah] candle and relate the story of Hanukkah to the yearnings for freedom of South

Asked if the ADL contingent plans to get themselves arrested, Perlmutter replied, "We will not be arrested—at least I hope we won't." He added, "We all have to act out our commitments in our own ways. For us the symbolism of



Speaking after his arrest for protesting illegally at the South African embassy in Washington, AJCongress Executive Director Henry Siegman said, "I believe that by engaging in civil disobedience,

relating Hanukkah to the plight of South African blacks makes

relating Hanukkan to the plight of South African blacks makes the kind of ethical statement we want to make."

According to Perlmutter, "We not only feel great revulsion with apartheid, but we would also like to express sympathy for those Africans in other nations of Africa who are suffering due to the dictatorships in their own countries."

Perlmutter said that the ADL would hold its own anti-apartheid protest separate from those being organized by Transafrica and other black groups. "I am not moved to join w Transafrica and contribute to their credibility. Robinson a Transafrica have expressed hostile views [about Israel]"

Perimutter stressed that the ADL's antipathy for Trans-africa would not stop it from carrying out its protest. "If a scoundrel says it is dark outside, that does not mean that it is not in fact dark outside. My own conscience impels me to protest apartheid, but I do not need to do it in concert with those who have such a hostile view.

Black Nations Also Trade
On the Israel-South Africa linkage, Perimutter commented,
"The charges against Israel for trading with South Africa made by many blacks are not accompanied by similar charges by the same people over the trade relations between black African nations and South Africa." Perlmutter said that such singling out of Israel was "replete with hypocrisy" and added, "These critics lose even more credibility because of the cowardly way that these nations walked away from Israel and cozied to the Arabs [after the Yom Kippur War]. Israel's re-rements [to have relations with South Africa] were made all the more stringent by the fact that all of those [African] nations broke relations with Israel." Perlmutter said, "ADL does not have a position on divest-

ment. It should be noted, however, that polls of South African black laborers reveal they turn down the notion of divestment. Alan Paton [an anti-apartheid novelist] has long opposed divestment, and [Nobel Peace Prize winner] Bishop [Desmond]

Tutu did not call for divestment..."

Meanwhile David Scott, the legislative aid for Transafrica, told the Jewish World, "We have noted with great appreciation the participation of the Jewish American leadership in the anti-apartheid effort. We welcome their participation and support. There has been a recognition that this is not only an issue of black concern, but also a human rights issue that co

Scott was asked whether he was bothered that groups like the AJCongress and the ADL have insisted on holding their own anti-apartheid protests separately from the larger antiapartheid movement coordinated by South Africa, "No, the fact that there are differences between us on the issue of Israel's relations with South Africa should not preclude the American Jewish groups from taking a stand against apart-heid." He said, however, that Transafrica had informed several Jewish groups that had expressed interest in taking part in the anti-apartheid actions coordinated by Transafrica that, "We feel that the policy connection between Israel and South Africa needs to be acknowledged. It would leave a real hole in our program to only protest U.S. policy toward South Africa, without mentioning Israeli policy."

Against Supposed Milltary Ties

Scott maintained, "We are not anti-Israel, but rather anti-

Israeli ties to South Africa. Not only does Israel, like a n of other nations, have trade relations with South Africa but

there are also well known military ties."

Asked to define the nature of South African-Israeli military ties, Scott stated, "It is difficult to document because such cooperation is carried out covertly. However, there have been



inned protest of South Africa's apartheid policy. any Jewish leaders feel these protests are inappropriate

ns of an exchange of nuclear expertise, leading to an of an atomic device off the South African coast, e also been allegations of an exchange of arms and dowever, as I said, it is difficult to document."

it is fair to punish Israel for alleged military ties clear proof, Scott responded, "The United Na-Against Apartheid does have some documents. it we do not know the specifics, but there is be extent that we cannot ignore it... we do feel Ince there.

anger, a spokesperson for the Israeli Mission to ations, said, "There is no truth to the allegations supplying arms to South Africa. Israel is honorneil Resolution 418 which is an embargo on of to South Africa."

off said that the anti-apartheid movement is "calling for in international effort to isolate South Africa culturally and politically. We definitely want to see divestment. We want to see a complete international boycott of the apartheid regime until they agree to and begin to implement a plan for genuine

Scott said that the anti-apartheid protests in Washington and around the country will continue at least until February, when the new Congress convenes. Asked what Transafrica is asking of Israel, Scott said, "We are making no demands on the Israeli government. We would like to see Israel walk in line with an international effort to isolate South Africa culturally and politically."

Queried as to whether Transafrica agrees with the view that 'Zionism is racism,' Scott said, "We have no official position on Zionism. We are not mandated to address the issue of Zionism. We are simply calling on Israel to join in the ef-fort to isolate apartheid."

Arrest Action Called Hypocris

Meanwhile, Dov Fisch, the executive director of Herut-America, denounced as "real hypocrisy" the action of the AJCongress leaders in being arrested in an anti-apartheid pro-test. Fisch remarked, "II they had an honest commitment to human rights, they would go and get arrested protesting for [Soviet-Jewish prisoner of conscience Anatoly] Shcharansky, for Syrian Jewsy, or for the Falashas [Ethiopian Jews]. I find appalling the readiness of the leadership of the AlCongress to go to jail for South Africa, when there are Jews suffering

phression.

Charging that "the American Jewish Congress has an ap-allingly weak record" on protesting on behalf of Jewish istress, Fisch commented, "I would be much more impressed with the efforts of the AJCongress leaders to build black-Jewish rapprochment if we read in the papers about three black leaders going to jail after protesting the treatment of Jews at reacters going to Jan after protesting the treatment of Jews on the Soviet embassy. Or let three black leaders go to jail on behalf of Ethiopian Jewry. The American black leadership is in an excellent position to intercede on behalf of the Falashas. I am tired of a one way street with Jews standing up for the rights of blacks and getting nothing in return." Asked whether he or any members of Herut had gone to

jail recently on behalf of Soviet Jewry, Fisch responded, "I will be happy to go to jail tommorrow [for Soviet Jewry] with Henry Siegman and three black leaders. Let the AJCongress initiate the same kind of project for Soviet Jewry or Syrian Jewry that they have undertaken for South African blacks. The plight of Shcharansky is far worse than the discrimina-tion and second class citizenship endured by blacks in South Africa. Shcharansky lies half blind in a cell in Siberia. With charansky, with Syrian Jews and Falashas, it is literally a

matter of life and death." Arrests Address Black, Jewish Agendas

Asked about Fisch's remarks, Siegman commented, "It is clear that Fisch has a very different view of the world than does the AJCongress. We don't share the same values and

does the AJCongress. We don't share the same values and do not have a common language."

He stated, "The people who were arrested outside the South African Embassy are deeply involved in the Soviet Jewry liberation movement and have been so for many years. I was one of the first coordinators of the American Jewish Conference on Soviet Jewry [which later became the National Conference on Soviet Jewry] and organized and coordinated the mass demonstration in Washington in 1965."

He added, "The AJCongress is a member agency of the National Conference on Soviet Jewry, and if Fisch is dissatisfied with the efforts of the community on behalf of Soviet Jewry, he ought to address his complaint to that organization. We are doing what we can in that battle. Fighting for the rights of South African blacks does not contradict

struggling for the freedom of Soviet Jews."

At week's end, Schindler of the UAHC issued a joint state ment with Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP. which a spokesman for Schindler termed "the first time that a prominent Jewish and black leader issued a statement that addresses the Jewish agenda as well as the black agenda."

The statement by the two leaders praised President Reagan for using Human Rights day to "condemn the eyil of apartheid in South Africa and the persecution of Jews in the Soviet Union." The statement went on to urge the Administration to abandon its policy of 'constructive engagement' which, it said, "has retarded the cause of social justice in South Africa and has failed utterly to mitigate that government's repressive racist policies."

The statement condemned "the continued persecution of Anatoly Shcharansky and Andrei Sakharov plus the campaign of vilification of Judaism' and expressed the hope that upcoming negotiations between the U.S. and USSR "will generate a climate of reciprocity and tolerance that will facilitate improvements in human rights."

The statement concluded, "The support of Jewish and black people for the struggle against racism stems not only from a common heritage that tells us that God created all of humanity, but also from the fact that we ourselves have been victims of hatred and discrimination over the centuries."

