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Marc Tenenbaum

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

DAD/TA

date October 23, 1979
to Area Directors
from Milton Ellerin
subject The Young Resignation and Black Anti-Semitism

At the conclusion of the recent Staff Cabinet session on Black/Jewish tensions, there was an expressed need that AJC document the anti-Semitism, the cause of so much distress in the Jewish community, flowing from the Andrew Young resignation.

The attached report incorporates the bulk of the evidence upon which we base our conclusion that the incident did, in fact, precipitate a significant outpouring of anti-Semitism by many American black leaders.

ME:en
Attach.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION WITHOUT PERMISSION

THE YOUNG RESIGNATION AND BLACK ANTI-SEMITISM

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

by Milton Ellerin,
Director,
Trends Analyses Division

Domestic Affairs Department
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y.

#79-970-16

October 23, 1979

THE YOUNG RESIGNATION AND BLACK ANTI-SEMITISM

An analysis of media reports by Milton Ellerin,
Director, Trends Analyses Division

Statements by some black leaders following the resignation of Andrew Young as Ambassador to the UN should not be assessed in a vacuum. They take on a different and more ominous dimension when considered against the backdrop of the generally acknowledged growing hostility and resentment over the past two decades by these leaders towards Jews and Jewish organizations. Their black bill of particulars against major Jewish agencies, repeated in the abundance of media stories on black/Jewish relations is familiar.

Jewish perceptions that the Young resignation precipitated an outpouring of black anti-Semitism, are on target. Some of them, taken out of context, may not appear to be in the classical anti-Semitic mode. However, the circumstances and under which many of the statements were made plus the sophistication of those who made them, makes it difficult to accept the denial of their anti-Semitic intent.

There is no attempt to label those statements and utterances in the following compendium which we consider to be patently anti-Semitic. They should be obvious. Statements falling into the grey area, which some might argue are not anti-Semitic, surely irritated, angered, annoyed or disappointed large numbers of Jews. As Murray Friedman, AJC's Middle Atlantic States Director, has observed, "Statements by some black leaders bordered on and even crossed over the edge of racial defamation."

Certainly the black press contributed, in large measure, to Jewish anger. The perception publicly stated by the Rev. Wyatt Walker, SCLC delegate to the UN, that "Jews did this to Andy Young," although sometimes muted by assigning culpability to "Zionists," was almost universally accepted by the black press. Almost without exception, the black press and black columnists made pointed reference to the fact that black/Jewish relations had long been "festering." Many, while accusing Israel of being racist, deplored what they universally held to be a serious split.

At this writing, we cannot gauge the extent to which the Young resignation precipitated black anti-Semitism at the grass roots level. It is noted, however, that William Raspberry, a Washington Post columnist who is black, pointed out on October 5th that while Jews were as quick to scream "anti-Semitism" as blacks were prone to label every disagreement as "racist," nevertheless "the Young affair served to legitimize real anti-Semitism" in much of the black community which had "long simmered" and now has been "brought to the surface." A black Detroit News columnist, June Brown, in stressing the need for blacks and Jews to discuss their differences, reported that "some fanatics are using the Young affair to flood the city with anti-Semitic material and phone calls," and that her mail "has contained some really sickening anti-Jewish material."

Jewish concerns over black anti-Semitism took a quantum leap following a black leadership emergency meeting convened at the NAACP offices in New York City on August 22, 1979. The meeting, called to discuss the Young resignation, was expanded in scope to include a heated discussion of black grievances against American Jews. Some 200 black leaders, who collectively constituted a "Who's Who" in the black community and represented every major black organization, attended the all-day session. Afro, Washington's leading black newspaper, described the meeting as a "display of unity unknown in recent years."

Previously prepared working papers expressing indignation over Young's resignation, a statement on black foreign policy, and protests over treatment accorded blacks involved in foreign affairs were adopted with little or no debate. In sharp contrast, the prepared statement on black/Jewish relations produced what Afro described as "dynamite." The original draft, read by Julian Bond, was received "with loud mutterings of discontent." Several protesters charged it was "too bland," and that it was a statement of "appeasement."

After the statement was read, an unidentified black clergyman rose to say that the black community was under attack by "organized Jewry," and "we must say that we are men, and that we will deal with it." (Several respected black leaders who actively participated in the conference privately stated that they had never experienced such intense anti-Jewish feeling and anti-Semitism as was expressed at that session.)

After the original draft was rejected, a special committee was created on the floor and mandated to come back with a statement that would be acceptable to everyone there.

As finally adopted, the "Statement on black/Jewish Relations" which acknowledged that individual Jews and Jewish organizations had worked with blacks as part of a liberal coalition, asserted that "It is clear that Jewish organizations and leadership have done so when it is in their perceived interest to do so, as do we." (The "as do we" was not in the committee's original statement, and was added on the floor at the insistence of moderate blacks.)

Other salient portions of the adopted statement charged that "within the past ten years some Jewish organizations...have become apologists for the racial status quo"; that "powerful Jewish organizations opposed the interests of the black community in the DeFunis, Bakke and Weber cases"; expressed deep concern "with the trade and military alliance" between Israel and the "illegitimate and oppressive racial regimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia," and insisted that this relationship "imposes upon Jewish organizations in this country an obligation to insist that the State of Israel discontinue its support of those repressive and racist regimes"; demanded that "Jews...show more sensitivity and be prepared for more consultation before taking positions contrary to the best interests of the black community"; insisted that "all discussions seeking

to ameliorate or resolve fundamental differences between American blacks and Jews be conducted in terms of specific issues and problems rather than in terms of emotions, supplication, subtle or flagrant threats and coercion or arrogance..." and stated that "Blacks...were deeply affronted by the inherent arrogance in the attacks on Ambassador Young by certain Jewish groups...."

Additionally, the Black Leadership Conference meeting gave full support to the widely-reported meeting in New York between Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the PLO's U.N. Observer held a few days before the NAACP-convened conference.

The Conference majority, at its conclusion, seemed eager to throw down a gauntlet to the Jewish community. It was expressed most dramatically by Kenneth Clark, who after the adoption of the statement on Black/Jewish Relations declared that "This is our declaration of independence," an observation widely-reported in the nation's media as referring to independence from undue Jewish influence. Concomitant with Clerk's "declaration of independence" statement was the observation of one attendee that the feeling tone of the entire meeting was one of "We've got the Arabs, and they are on the rise -- who needs the Jews."

In assessing the ambience of the black leadership meeting, it is interesting to note that The New York Times captioned its story "Black Leaders Air Grievances on Jews," and the New York Daily News, much more terse, headlined its report, "Jews, Carter, Denounced by Blacks." Given the nationwide publicity that the meeting generated, the public expressions about Jews, and an on-the-scene observer's report of the pervasive, strident anti-Semitic feelings aired on the floor, the Black Leadership Conference must be viewed as a major anti-Semitic incident.

Jewish concerns continued to grow with an apparent embrace of and increased affinity with the PLO, following the Lowery-PLO U.N. representative meeting in New York. Shortly after the black leaders meeting, a ten-man SCLC delegation, led by Lowery and District of Columbia Congressional Delegate Walter Fauntroy, Chairman of the SCLC, visited Lebanon, and attracted wide media coverage. The SCLC leaders embrace of Yassir Arafat; their joining with Arab guerrillas in singing "We Shall Overcome"; an invitation to Arafat to speak at an SCLC "educational forum" on the Middle East planned for the United States in the near future; and the Rev. Jesse Jackson's announced plans to visit Arafat contributed to Jewish disquiet over a prospective alliance between American black leaders and a force which avowedly wishes to destroy Israel. (Fauntroy later withdrew the Arafat invitation.)

An integral part of the total Jewish concern over black anti-Semitism flows from the words and deeds of the Rev. Jesse Jackson. Jackson, whose flair for publicity in no small measure resulted in his being the most visible and widely-quoted black leader on the Young resignation both before and after his controversial Mideast trip.

Among Jackson's most disturbing comments are the following:

- 1) He saw Young's resignation as a "capitulation" to the "American Jewish community," and said that "the real resistance to black progress has not been coming from the Ku Klux Klan but from our former allies in the American Jewish Community." (New York Daily News, 8/17/79)
- 2) In a position paper "A Quest for Peace in the Middle East and the Vital Interests of Black People," released by Push, Inc. on August 20th, in relating his version of the Young resignation, Jackson accused the "Jewish Ambassador" (Yehuda Blum, Israel's Ambassador to the U.N.) of taking the "issue to Tel Aviv" and thereafter "Tel Aviv overreacted and made it a public issue." Further, that "when it was a public issue, there was a Jewish outcry - "remove him." In his version of previous black/Jewish relations, Jackson alleged that "in times of peace and prosperity, Jews are white - a part of the majority privilege. But in times of crises, Jews identify with blacks as part of the rejected...." Speaking of the "majority" Jewish position on quotas he said..."Jewish resistance to affirmative action and quotas helped to resurrect white resistance to our interests"... "Jews openly fought our interests...."
- 3) In an interview with a Washington Post reporter, Jackson observed that "the tensions between Jews and blacks have been simmering for years. There have been a lot of confrontations between blacks and Jewish landlords, blacks and Jewish merchants." (8/27/79)
- 4) Jackson again on black/Jewish relations, stated that while the two groups have traditionally shared a "concern for decency" that "Once we began to move up, the Jews who were willing to share decency were not willing to share power," (Washington Post, 8/21/79) an observation he reiterated in subsequent interviews in a variety of ways, i.e. "the conflict began when we started our quest for power." (Washington Post, 9/20/79)
- 5) Blaming "politics" for American Middle East policy, Jackson rhetorically asked why "should federal officials worry about alienating at most five million Jews" and then answered his own question by stating it was because of "political and economic fear" politicians had of the "organized Jewish community" and their "media pressure...." (New York Daily News, 9/23/79)
- 6) In an interview with the Christian Science Monitor (9/25/79), Jackson, in commenting on long standing black/Jewish tensions, declared that prior to the Young resignation, blacks, who were "already seething," would not express themselves "because they were afraid of economic reprisals and journalistic attacks."

- 7) En route from New York to Tel Aviv, Jackson confided to a newspaper man that he was "sick and tired of hearing about the Holocaust and having America being put in a position of guilt." (Washington Post, 9/27/79)
- 8) In his first Chicago newspaper interview following his meeting with Yassir Arafat and other Arab leaders, (headlined by the Chicago Tribune, 10/7/79) "Jackson Attacks U.S. Media Jews", Jackson charged that his Mideast meetings had been misrepresented in the American press by Jewish journalists who could not overcome their emotional ties to Israel. Said Jackson: "I have seen very few Jewish reporters that have the capacity to be objective about Arab affairs."; and that his media critics "were all Jewish."

Jackson was by no means the only black leader, national or local, whose post-Young remarks were upsetting to the Jewish community.

Thelma Thomas Daley, president of Delta Sigma Theta, a predominately black sorority of some 90,000 members, issued a statement which accused Jewish groups of "subverting affirmative action programs"; supporting apartheid in South Africa in their backing of Israel; and in perhaps one of the most vitriolic of any anti-Semitic statement by any black leader said: "We have been patient and forbearing in their masquerading as friends under the pretense of working for the common purpose of civil rights. This latest affront reveals clearly that their loyalties are not compatible with the struggle of black Americans for equal opportunity under the law. Indeed, we question whether their loyalties are first to the State of Israel or to the United States...." (New York Times, 8/19/79)

Coleman Young Miller, president of the Evanston (Ill.) branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People: "You'll note that Young stepped on the tails of the Scandinavians and didn't lose his job; he made the English angry and didn't lose his job; he compared Florida justice with Iranian justice and didn't lose his job. I guess it got down to the power of Jewish folks. It is as simple as that." (Chicago Tribune, 8/16/79)

Julian Bond, referring to American Jews, stated: "Young has finally angered the one lobby that cannot be angered." (Atlanta Journal, 8/16/79)

Rev. Thomas Kilgore of Los Angeles, pastor of the Second Baptist Church and Board member of the SCLC, stated that recently blacks have perceived many Jewish groups as their "most vociferous opponents," and maintained that Young's resignation was the result of "terrible pressure from Congress and terrible pressure from the Jewish community." Paul Hudson, L.A. NAACP president, agreeing with Kilgore, stressed that "it was overreaction on the part of the Jewish community," and predicted that the black community "is going to see it as if Young were pressured out by Jews and Israel." (Los Angeles Times, 8/19/79)

Esther E. Edwards, Director, Regional Office of the National Black Human Rights Caucus: "Young was used as a scapegoat to appease Jewish ethnics here and in Israel...." (Philadelphia Tribune - black - 8/21/79)

Angela Davis - called on Carter to "stop scapegoating Ambassador Young" and called Carter's move a cheap trick designed to appease the expansionists in Tel-Aviv and their Zionist puppets here in the U.S. (N.Y. Amsterdam News, 8/25/79)

Roy Innis - Saw Young's resignation as an "international conspiracy to dismantle black leadership." (N.Y. Amsterdam News, 8/25/79)

The Afro-American, in an editorial on black/Jewish relations (August 28th), after expressing complete agreement with those in the black community "who attribute...the exit of Young to Jewish pressure...." stated "...the Jews have been acting like spoiled children in their responses to Young's resignation." The editorial asserted that Jews, "long used to having their own way in influencing American foreign policy in the Mideast...are both shocked and disgruntled that the U.S. seems to be listening to Arab peers in its attempt to arrive at a just and workable policy."

Rev. Herbert Daughtry, Black United Front, writing in the opinion column of the Amsterdam News (8/25/79). "People of Afrikan descent living in America must never forget that just a few years ago the United Nations acquainted (sic) Zionism with racism. African Americans need to change their policy and attitudes towards Zionists and begin immediately to work towards a cessation of dependency upon them."

James Lawson, United African Nationalist Movement, warned Jews that "we will no longer be bound by Henry Kissinger's Israeli plans. We must recognize the PLO and we must stop the Jewish Intelligence from spying on Americans." (N.Y. Amsterdam News, 8/25/79)

Columnist Ethel Payne, writing on the anger in the black community over Young's resignation, reported that an unidentified Chicago cab driver, beating the steering wheel of his cab in frustration, bursting out: "It's them. They hate us. They rob us. They block every move we try to make to get a piece of the action. Now they got Andy." Payne carefully explained that the "they" was "the Jewish influence in the removal of Young." Ms. Payne, in expressing her own sentiments, opined that "unless representatives of the Jewish community are willing...to concede that there have been faults on their side as well as misconceptions by blacks," the "peace negotiations between blacks and Jews were likely to fail." Further, she warned that "black leaders run the risk of further straining their hard won credibility" in any attempt to reduce current black/Jewish tensions because "suspicion is high that they will carry the appeasement too far and that once again black people will be placed in the position of atonement for wrongs committed against them." (Afro-American, 8/28/79)

"...Andy was forced out not because he conversed with the PLO, but because of the reactionary nature of the Israeli government and the American Zionists.... The President has been made to choke on his words and scurry around to appease and placate the anger of the Zionists." (Black News, Brooklyn, N.Y., August/September 1979)

Olaf Betts, identified in the Pittsburgh Courier as a "black leader" (9/1/79) in a roundup of how Black and Jewish leaders reacted to Young's resignation: "Why was Young removed, then? The main thing was the power, influence and money of the American Jews. To tie it with any other thing is ludicrous."

In Atlanta, Georgia, The Call and the Post (9/1/79), a black newspaper, editorialized: "U.N. Ambassador Andrew Young's resignation, after the media's history of character assassination against him, provides us with the occasion to learn an important lesson: Black Power does not equal Jewish Power."

J. Whyatt Mondeshire: "What American Jews had failed to accurately predict was that their protests of the Young-Zehdi encounter...would not be accepted as another example of them exercising their 25-year-old prerogative of telling blacks where they should stick their noses and where they shouldn't. By denouncing the only black man who had the president's ear...American Jews had gone too far in the eyes of black churchmen thus unleashing the flood tide of resentment that had been building at the grassroots for a decade." In commenting on past Black/Jewish relations he wrote: "In their paternal relationship with blacks, many Jews had become blind to the mounting resentment to their failure to and/or inability to even try to recognize the new black agenda." And that "in the information industry, newspapers, magazines, publishing, television, and films, where Jews have either major holdings or exercise considerable influence, there is still no need to practice de jure segregation since defacto segregation is still doing so well." (Stones Journal, Philadelphia, September 1979)

Elombe Brath, co-chairman of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition: "To many of us who have basic problems trying to distinguish between the concept of a 'chosen people' and the theory of a 'Master Race,' we find both the Zionist entity in Palestine and the neo-Nazi regime in Azania equally rooted in a false assumption of a selective white supremacy." (Amsterdam News, 9/22/79)

Roger Wilkins, speaking at a 9/24/79 memorial tribute to Stanley D. Levison, said: "Stanley was saying that he accepted Martin (Luther King) on the basis of his intellect. It was something he always did - accept people on the basis of their intellect. He looked at a human being as a human being. Unfortunately, the Jewish leadership has not done that. They don't look at the intellect, they don't accept the black as an intellectual or for his intellectual ability or as a human being. What the Jewish leaders have done until recently was to tell us how far we could go and what we could do, and when we stopped dancing to that tune and refused to bow to their directions, the split had to come."

Juan Williams' column, Washington Post, writing about the "so-called Black/Jewish rift" in Washington, Williams quotes Sherry Brown, President of the Frederick Douglas Community Improvement Council of Anacostia as having said: "We have to understand who our true enemies are. Jews have historically profited as slumlords and merchants from the suffering of black people.... They're the ones who run those stores with the cheap goods, high markups and low credit terms. That's the way they can keep their hands in your pocket." (Washington Post, 10/4/79)

In retrospect, the vehement resentment and universality of black anger over the Young resignation, and the widespread assumption that Jewish pressure was its primary cause, leads to the inescapable conclusion that the incident evoked an outpouring of anti-Semitism. In all probability there was a deep reservoir of black hostility towards Jews and the Young affair caused the waters to spill over.

Many Jews were taken back by the overt anti-Semitism expressed and widely-reported in the nation's media by some black leaders. The sudden embrace of the PLO and Yassir Arafat by both Lowery and Jackson, neither one of whom, prior to the Young incident was known to have an affinity for their cause, did nothing to reassure Jews who previously were supportive of black causes. To many Jews, the embrace was an act of defiance and a symbolic slap in their faces.

As previously noted, it might be argued that some of the statements by black leaders and comments in black publications were anti-Israel or anti-Zionist. However, perceptions in the Jewish community were that, in the current ambience, they were, in fact, anti-Semitic.

Jewish feelings about the anti-Semitic overtones are supported by Atlanta Journal columnist Durwood McAlister who, at the height of the tempest observed that: "...the simple and straightforward resignation of Andrew Young is being reshaped and reinterpreted as a craven capitulation by President Carter to the pressures by a powerful and angry Jewish Lobby."

Most disturbing, however, was the fact that the Young resignation revealed that some black leaders were quite willing to scapegoat for much of the prevalent black discontent.

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RESOLUTION ON
AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND THE MIDDLE EAST

1 The Executive Committee of the NCCCUSA, meeting in New York City September 7,
2 1979, wishes to pay a special tribute to Ambassador Andrew Young on the Occasion
3 of his resignation as the chief delegate of the United States to the United
4 Nations.

5 Ambassador Young's relationship to the NCCCUSA has been a close one. He is a
6 former NCCC staff member, an ordained clergyman of a member communion (the
7 United Church of Christ) and a long-time partner of this Council in its struggle
8 for racial and economic justice.

9 Long before his appointment as UN Ambassador, he distinguished himself as a
10 pioneer of the Civil Rights movement, a skilled negotiator on behalf of oppressed
11 Americans, a builder of bonds between blacks and Jews, a world ecumenical states-
12 man and an apostle of non-violence. His contributions during three terms in the
13 House of Representatives and during his 2½ year tenure as US Ambassador have
14 made him one of our country's most valuable public servants. If today millions
15 throughout the world have a new trust and respect for our nation's fairness,
16 especially toward Third World peoples, it is in large measure because Andrew
17 Young took the risk of opening forbidden doors and challenging taboos--always
18 appealing to the best in people. He has been faithful to the biblical tradition
19 of fearless prophet and preacher of liberating news. We express to him the
20 abiding gratitude of the NCCCUSA and its churches.

21 His recent resignation as UN Ambassador was surrounded by issues in the Middle
22 East conflict which have been the concern of the NCCCUSA for many years. We

23 find ourselves in fundamental agreement with remarks he made to his UN Security
 24 Council colleagues on August 23, 1979. Consistent with his belief that dialogue
 25 is indispensable to peace, he challenged the United States and Israel to desist
 26 from their no-talk policy with the Palestine Liberation Organization, while at
 27 the same time challenging those nations hostile to Israel to have good relations
 28 with it. He underscored also the futility of a continued policy of mutual violence.

29 A quite similar position has been expressed by the NCCC over the years. The
 30 Executive Committee in its Middle East Resolution of December 13, 1974, said:

31 We call upon Israel and the Palestinians to recognize the right
 32 of the other party to the same self-determination which they
 33 desire for themselves. We affirm the right of Israel to exist
 34 as a free nation within secure borders. We equally affirm the
 35 right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and a
 36 national entity....Furthermore, we call upon the United States
 37 to develop more open contacts with the leadership of the
 38 Palestinians, including the Palestine Liberation Organization,
 39 as a means of furthering prospects for peace.

40 More recently, still determined to contribute to a climate in which Israel's
 41 existence could be safeguarded as a free nation within secure and recognized
 42 borders and Palestinians could secure a self-determined national entity, the
 43 Governing Board of the NCCCUSA has twice adopted Middle East Resolutions, once
 44 following the Camp David Agreements, and again after the signing of the Egypt-
 45 Israel peace treaty. While acknowledging the limitations and vagueness of these
 46 Camp David documents on key issues, the Governing Board

47 - praised God for the fact that such negotiations "took place within
 48 the context of a common call to prayer, addressed to the Muslim,

49 Jewish and Christian religious communities;"

50 - celebrated the initiatives of Egypt's president in his contribution to

51 the search for peace;

52 - rejoiced with Israel "in feeling that its dream of peace and de-

53 liverance might be realized and the threat of annihilation diminished;"

54 - reiterated the consistent position of the NCCCUSA on "the mutual recog-

55 nition by Israel and the Palestinians of the right of the other party

56 to self-determination" as essential to peace and justice in the Middle

57 East;"

58 - pointed to a principle which we still regard as indispensable if the

59 Camp David accords are to succeed, namely, "to broaden the context of

60 the peace discussions to include the recognized representatives of the

61 Palestinian people in order to enable them to become full partners in

62 the peace process;" and

63 - expressed anxiety and concern for "escalating hostilities between Israel

64 and the Palestinians, including repeated Palestinian raids into Israel,

65 and massive retaliation by Israel against Palestinians."

66 Ambassador Young's resignation, in connection with sensitive Middle East issues,

67 affords the NCCCUSA not only an occasion to render him tribute, but also an op-

68 portunity to affirm our own record of concern for these same issues. Therefore,

69 this Executive Committee of the NCCCUSA:

- 70 1) Thanks God for Ambassador Young and also for all those who
- 71 have taken the risk of dialogue for peace in spite of a history
- 72 of fear and enmity;
- 73 2) Urges the member churches to continue to pray and work for a
- 74 comprehensive peace settlement, making use of the 1979-1980

- 75 study on the Middle East;
- 76 3) Pledges the use of every available resource within the NCCCUSA
77 to contribute to the broadening of understanding of the complex
78 issues of the Middle East;
- 79 4) Authorizes the NCCCUSA President to appoint a special panel of
80 Governing Board members whose task will be to study in depth
81 the issues related to the Middle East/Israel-Palestinian conflicts
82 in order to explore and recommend means to make our churches more
83 effective as instruments for peace, justice and reconciliation.
84 We ask that the Governing Board in November, be apprised of the
85 appointments to the Panel as well as any progress report which
86 the Panel may be prepared to make.
- 87 5) Requests that a meeting be sought with President Carter, or if
88 necessary, Secretary of State Vance for the purpose of discussing
89 the policy concerns lifted up by this resolution.

Policy Base: Policy Statement: On the Crisis in the Middle East, May 2, 1969.

(This is provided by way of explanation of point 4 of the proposed resolution and for discussion. It is not proposed for a vote as part of the resolution)

PURPOSE OF A SPECIAL PANEL

ON THE MIDDLE EAST/ISRAEL--PALESTINIAN CONFLICTS

While the Middle East/Israel--Palestinian conflicts have been before the National Council of Churches of Christ for many years, events have been moving at an accelerated pace in recent days and will be in the foreseeable future. The Camp David process, plus attempts to involve the Palestinian community in discussions, all leading to a comprehensive peace are signalling potentially important developments for the immediate future. As the negotiating process continues it will be increasingly important that our churches be informed and able to deal with the complexities which will surface.

Therefore a high level special panel consisting of Governing Board members will be helpful in keeping our churches abreast of developments and assist us in determining the actions required by the National Council of Churches of Christ.

Such a group could:

-Represent the Council in direct contact and discussions with those Americans most affected by the Middle East conflict, as well as in briefing sessions with those direct parties to the conflict.

-Work with the Task Force Reviewing the NCCC Policy on the Middle East to facilitate its presentation to the Governing Board.

-Review and suggest action by the Council on questions or concerns expressed by the Governing Board members or others, working in cooperation with those existing sub-units of the Council concerned with different aspects of the Middle East.

- Advise the Council on contacts with the higher levels of the U.S. Government on matters related to the Middle East conflict.

-Suggest ways in which the entire Governing Board and NCCC constituency might be better informed on issues related to the Middle East conflict.

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*Background for
Staff Cabinet*

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

CONFIDENTIAL

date September 12, 1979
to Richard Maass
from Alfred Moses
subject U.S.-Israel Relations and AJC

Recent meetings in Washington and Jerusalem have brought me closer to the problems affecting Israel and have helped me to focus more clearly on the likely future course of U.S.-Israel relations.

The Israeli public is continually reminded of Israel's dependence on the United States and made to feel the strain this dependency produces. The composition of the United Nations Force in the Sinai and the emotions generated by the Kuwaiti resolution are only the most recent examples. Recurring points of disagreement can be expected and while the intensity of this disagreement may be severe at times, a truly major break or change in relations is not expected absent a blatant abandonment by Israel or the United States of the commitments made at Camp David.

The economic situation in Israel is serious and worsening and the present government seems incapable of dealing with this and other major domestic problems thereby deepening the malaise already widely felt within Israel. The 400,000 "yordim" (Israeli immigrants) in the United States and Canada tells us something about the problems besetting Israel.

The top ranks of the civil service, so critical in a parliamentary democracy such as Israel, have been seriously weakened by recent resignations and Likud replacements. Individual ministers are forcing Government decisions by forming or working with their own constituencies on certain critical issues. The combined efforts of Arik Sharon and Gush Emunim in forcing the Government's hand on settlements is a good example of this.

What we are likely to be faced with, as I see it, is a continuing deterioration in Israel's economic condition perhaps reaching crisis proportions within the coming months, coupled with recurring, and at times sharp, tension between the United States and Israel, with the portrayal of Israel in the United States press as intransigent in its negotiating position and oppressive in its dealings with Palestinians both on the West Bank and Gaza. In Israel proper there is, in fact, a growing sense of resentment and militancy among Israel's own Arab minority. This in turn can be expected to lead to a growing acceptance in the United States of the legitimacy of the Palestinian cause. U.S. ties to Saudi Arabia and our strategic interests generally in the Arab world will continue to put pressure on the United States to demonstrate its effectiveness in pressuring Israel to resolve the Palestinian question.

MEMORANDUM

Within Israel the polls will likely show continuing support for the government's West Bank policy as long as the alternatives pose security risks without clearly seen commensurate benefits. The reluctance to dissolve the Military Government on the West Bank will only increase with the painful and extended negotiations, each concession sought by the U.S. being weighed in the Israeli public's mind on a scale balanced, in the Israeli Government's portrayal, by the threat of a united Arab attack on Israel. The economic and social disintegration within Israel acts to encourage the Government to increasingly focus its and the public's attention on security issues where support can most easily be rallied. The Begin Government has learned only too well the benefits to be derived from using security as the principal justification for further settlements on the West Bank and in defense of other issues, which in some cases do not involve security at all and, in other cases, are not solely bound up with security.

There are no easy answers to the problems which beset Israel, short of a firm commitment to withdraw politically from the West Bank which is not likely given the present government leadership, and not much more probable under any likely successor in the short run. In the long run, substantial withdrawal is inevitable. A few thousand Israelis in settlements protected by the Israeli Army, in an area occupied by close to 800,000 Arabs can only be viewed as a military occupation.

If I am correct in my analysis, Israel's position will continue to deteriorate over the next year and the call on world Jewry, and particularly American Jews, to support Israel will intensify. Those pressures are already upon us and have too frequently been expressed by Israeli spokesmen who are insensitive to what is required to maintain wide support for Israel in this country.

Israel's dependence on the United States today is almost total. This dependence in turn places certain demands on American Jewry. Without the support of American Jewry for Israel, and its endorsement of the policies of the Israeli Government, our Government would feel freer to respond in a different way to the issues now confronting the parties in the Middle East.

There is no assurance that this support can be successfully maintained. After the 1980 Presidential elections, it is entirely conceivable that, regardless of who wins, this Government will decide that other American interests - economic, security and political - require that the United States impose its will on Israel. This is a real possibility and to the extent Israel ignores or is insensitive to these currents and the forces which influence them, all of us are the losers. Despite his unfortunate forays at other times, Andy Young reflected a feeling widespread in the Carter Administration, in his statement that Israel was squandering its moral capital in its bombings in Lebanon.

Some of our leaders may feel that the Committee should not speak out in a way perceived to be in any sense critical of Israel. However, the memory of Eilon Moreh and other Israeli acts that make it increasingly difficult to sustain U.S. public support for Israel make it necessary, as I see it, that we speak out in a way that makes it clear that although our strong commitment to Israel is in no way diminished, we can not support Israeli acts which we feel are inconsistent with the objectives of achieving peace. Such a statement might make the following points:

1. Israel is already committed to the withdrawal from 60,000 square kilometers of territory occupied in the Six Day War in return for positive assurances of peace from a sovereign state. These assurances have been given by Egypt, in return for which Israel is in the process of withdrawing from 90% of the territory occupied during the Six Day War.
2. Syria has refused to negotiate with Israel and until there is a change in Syria's position, Israel cannot be expected to make further unilateral withdrawals from the Golan Heights nor is she required to do so without security safeguards and genuine peace.
3. In the Camp David Agreement Israel recognized the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and committed herself to achieving a comprehensive peace in the Middle East.
4. The West Bank with its long common border with Israel and its proximity to Israel's heartland poses a serious security problem for Israel which cannot be resolved without the participation of Palestinian Arab leadership which is willing to accept Resolution 242. The problems of the West Bank and Gaza are made more difficult by the absence of a sovereign state that is willing to give assurances similar to those given by Egypt in return for Israel's commitment to withdraw from the Sinai.
5. Both the United States and Israel have a commitment to resolve the Palestinian question within the framework of the Camp David Agreement. The United States should refrain from initiatives outside the framework of the current Israeli-Egyptian negotiations which are inconsistent with the express language of the Camp David Agreements. Israel for its part should refrain from acts which operate as a denial of Palestinian rights such as the confiscation of privately held Arab land on the West Bank or, during the process of negotiations, the establishment elsewhere of new settlements on the West Bank that do not have an acknowledged security importance.
6. The transfer of substantial political power to the Palestinian Arabs living on the West Bank, consistent with Foreign Minister Dayan's statement at Leeds Castle that Israel does not seek to govern the lives of the Palestinian Arabs on the West Bank and in Gaza, should be completed within the time-frame set forth in the Camp David Agreement. Pending such transfer Israel should refrain from acts inconsistent with the spirit of the Dayan statement.
7. The U.S. should continue to make clear its condemnation of PLO terrorism. The Israel Government, in its understandable concern over acts, or potential acts, of terrorism, should be mindful that its moral hold on the world can be lost by indiscriminate acts of reprisal and deterrence no matter how great the provocation.

Fleishman - Brown
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BLACK-JEWISH COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP COALITION OF LOS ANGELES

STATEMENT -- Friday, August 17, 1979

AS LEADERS IN THE BLACK AND JEWISH COMMUNITIES HERE IN LOS ANGELES WE EXPRESS OUR REGRET OVER THE RESIGNATION OF ANDREW YOUNG FROM HIS POST AS U.S. AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

WE BELIEVE THE RESIGNATION WAS UNFORTUNATE FOR BOTH COMMUNITIES. WE BELIEVE MR. YOUNG'S DECISION WAS HIS OWN. THE PRESIDENT DID NOT REQUEST THE RESIGNATION, NOR WAS THERE PRESSURE EXERTED BY THE JEWISH COMMUNITY FOR YOUNG'S DISMISSAL.

THERE HAS BEEN AN HISTORIC AND SIGNIFICANT RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BLACK AND JEWISH COMMUNITIES. THE CONTINUITY OF THIS COALITION IS VITAL TO THE FUTURE OF URBAN SOCIETY IN AMERICA. WE SHALL NOT ALLOW THIS SITUATION TO BE USED BY ELEMENTS IN OUR COMMUNITIES TO SUCCEED IN DRIVING A WEDGE BETWEEN US.

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT SOME ISSUES DIVIDE BLACKS AND JEWS.

HOWEVER, WE AGREE ON MANY ISSUES AND IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE WORK TOGETHER ON THOSE AREAS WHERE WE DO AGREE AND NOT DWELL ON AREAS THAT DIVIDE US.

WE ARE DETERMINED TO CONTINUE THIS HISTORIC WORKING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE COMMUNITIES.

**BLACK/JEWISH COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP COALITION
OF GREATER LOS ANGELES**

2616 HOLLYRIDGE DRIVE, LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA 90068

September 6, 1979

TO: Black-Jewish Community Leadership Coalition

FROM: Robert S. Perlzweig

At the request of Ethel Narvid and Bill Elkins, I am pleased to send you this summary of the activities and future plans of our Coalition.

The Black-Jewish Community Leadership Coalition started two years ago as a result of efforts by Mayor Bradley's office to restore the alliance between Blacks and Jews which had flourished in the 1960's, but which came apart as both groups turned inward. At the beginning this program was known as the Black-Jewish Dialogue.

The first year was one of exploration during which the group developed a list of issues and projects on which there could be cooperative efforts. The following are a number of the concrete activities which we undertook:

- the rabbis and ministers involved in the dialogue undertook a series of pulpit exchanges..**
- there was school youth exchange program organized by Temple Judea, the Youth Department of Jewish Federation Council, and the Westminster Neighborhood Center.**
- the Golden State Minority Foundation received the assistance of the Jewish Community Foundation in bringing the story of its activities to potential supporters in the Jewish community.**
- in April, 1979, twenty-six of the participants in the Dialogue went on a ten-day trip to Israel.**
- during the spring, 1979, Board of Education elections, including the Howard Miller recall, the Coalition provided a forum for discussion and joint action among the individual participants.**
- the Coalition was active in working with the Southern California House delegation to secure the defeat of the Mottl constitutional amendment to outlaw school busing for desegregation.**
- during July and August, 1979, Black Leadership was, through the Coalition, able to call upon Jewish Leadership to support the appointment of a Chicano to the vacant seat on the Board of Education.**

-- the Coalition has provided the vehicle for dealing with the issues coming out of the Andrew Young resignation, including the holding of a joint press conference.

-- the Coalition is working with the White House to arrange for the hiring of skilled and semi-skilled minority workers from the Watts area to participate in the construction of the two air bases in the Negev which are part of the recent Egyptian-Israeli Peace Agreement.

The following activities are now developing as a result of our meetings this summer:

-- an Economic Development Committee is being formed under the chairmanship of Victor Carter. We plan to have a full meeting on October 3, 1979. We are asking Ernie Shell, Irl Korsen and Richard Giesberg to participate in a Planning Committee for the October meeting. You will recall that at our June 25th meeting the following individuals also signed up to participate in this committee: Grace Payne, Dr. Hiawatha Harris and Norman Eichberg. The following names have been suggested as additional participants: Ernest Auerbach, Mack Blaustein, Ted Williams and Stephen Moses. We request additional suggestions for this important committee.

-- we are asking John Mack to chair the Committee on Employment. The others who have signed up for this committee are: Harry Adams, Irl Korsen, Ernest Shell, Judge Reese and Ethel Narvid. Again, we need your cooperation in seeking additional members.

-- Dr. Stuart Bernstein and Marnesba Tackett have been asked to chair the Committee on Quality Education. Louise Harris and Juanita Shell have also agreed to serve on this committee. The co-chairpersons will be seeking additional members from our two communities who are concerned with education.

-- Grace Payne and Rabbi Earl Kaplan of University Synagogue, will be asked to chair the Committee on Youth. Rabbi Kaplan was first involved with our program when he was serving at Temple Judea and he is now interested in becoming involved again. The Youth Department of the Jewish Federation has also indicated that they will cooperate in the activities of this committee.

-- the pulpit and congregational exchange are being arranged under the auspices of the Council of Synagogue Organizations and the gathering with the leadership of Norman Eichberg and Rev. Garnett Henning.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date Sept. 17, 1979
to Bert Gold
from Betty Lande
subject Jesse Jackson Meeting in Denver

About a dozen Denver Jewish communal leaders and professionals, myself and Colorado Chapter Chairperson John Livingston included, met with the Reverend Jesse Jackson the evening of September 11, 1979.

The meeting itself was something of a "command performance," requested of the Federation by Samuel Gary, prominent local oil man and a major Federation contributor. Gary, through his Piton Foundation, is also a large contributor to Jackson's Operation PUSH.

Fortunately Jim Rudin was in Denver for an appearance at the Episcopalian convention and was able to play a major role both in updating the Colorado Chapter Board on the Andy Young affair and in helping those who were to meet with Jackson to discuss strategy. Jim, John and I met in the afternoon with the others who were to see Jackson. Jim led off the meeting with a confidential assessment of Jackson's behavior and attitudes toward the Jewish community, based on AJC's information from within the Black community. Those present were frankly bewildered at the wisdom of holding such a meeting, and a variety of strategies were discussed, ranging from cancellation to operating with a single spokesman. In the end we concluded we could only listen carefully and respond bluntly. Jim's report on Jackson's statements, actions and history were crucial in briefing the group on the issues.

The meeting itself was tense and the discussion brutally frank and often angry. Jackson came to the meeting with a half-dozen local Black ministers, as well as Gary and his Foundation executive Fern Portnoy.

Following introductions, Jackson proceeded to deliver a half-hour presentation which could roughly be divided into three parts: a grouping of Israel-PLO-Andy Young issues; Jewish legal action in affirmative action cases; and Israel and South Africa. His remarks were essentially what we had expected, the phraseology, specific lines, and arguments identical to his interview on "Sixty Minutes" last night (Sept. 16).

Our leadership responded very directly to Jackson's statements, and a very heated exchange took place over the next hour and a half. In the course of that interchange, Jackson delivered some surprisingly hard-knuckled statements. He pointed out that South African Jews made the largest per capita contributions to Israel and that "they get their money from Black slavery." He characterized Israel as a "reparation" for the Holocaust and suggested that other reparations are in order to Blacks. He stated that Israel was costing the American tax-payer

\$5 million a day, and therefore couldn't morally resist third-party intervention. He referred to "Begin's arrogance." He said that if the Arabs invested in America's cities they would "get a hearing," a statement consonant with his assertion on "Sixty Minutes" that he would welcome Arab financial support for Black education programs. He told us we could believe Bayard Rustin's "bullshit" (his word) if we wanted to, but that that didn't represent Black feeling. He repeatedly blamed the Jewish community and "Tel Aviv" (not Jerusalem) for Andy Young's "forced resignation." He spoke of his wife's visit to Arafat and to the camps in Southern Lebanon and to "terrorism on both sides." He said that he intended to meet with Arafat himself.

In a flagrant attempt to play on Jewish fears, Jackson time and again referred to the latent anti-Semitism he claims is lurking barely below the surface of American life. "The real American, the buffalo-shooting, white-hatted real WASP" he pictured as just waiting for the most minute cue to strike down the Jewish community. He invoked the Protocols of the Elders of Zion, the old Jewish power and international control ploy and others, which he attributed as quotes from nameless WASP "leaders" to whom he said he spoke in the wake of the Andy Young affair.

Needless to say, those present responded directly and bluntly to Jackson, giving no quarter. Jackson was bent on intimidating the group, an endeavor in which he failed. Neither side convinced the other in any way.

The questions that still linger are "why did Jackson want this meeting? What were his motives?" I believe there are a number of motives involved. He obviously wants to use reports of meetings in one Jewish community to open doors to him in others. Our Philadelphia office has already spoken to me of such an outreach. Jackson name-dropped Los Angeles and Chicago Jewish names liberally throughout his discussion, although Jim told us in his briefing that mainstream Jewish leaders in Chicago refused to meet with him. For his own reasons he wants to play on any possible Jewish guilt and fright. He no doubt wanted to show off in front of local Black leadership in order to jack up Operation PUSH. He also may think that by being so blunt he is establishing himself as honest, and a person whose word one can trust.

Jackson is also now pushing for a major study on Black-Jewish relations -- he ineptly characterized it as a "white paper." Of course, this would be under his leadership. He says we have the ability to understand the causes of the conflict and to design the cures. He's calling for the establishment of a "serious domestic agenda," and is saying that we need to know what that agenda should be. I understand that in his Los Angeles meeting he raised significant amounts of money from the Jewish group he met with there. That group was evidently called together by Norman Lear.

The evening was both fascinating and frightening. Jackson is a man of electric presence, a totally compelling communicator, a dazzling combination of fire and ice. He has a rare ability to capitalize on the issue of the moment, and to turn it to his own advantage. It is obvious that he is mounting a major campaign to capture the top position of Black leadership in this country, and it appears that he will use any means at his disposal to obtain his goal. I believe we must be very careful not to allow ourselves

to inadvertently become accessories to Jackson's campaign. His performance convinced me of the validity of that which I already suspected -- that he is a man who bears American Jews and Israel ill-will, and is extremely dangerous to us. We need not be accessories to his ambitions.

Best regards --



BL:dkm

cc: Jim Rudin
Neil Sandberg
Will Katz
Seymour Samet
Milton Ellerin
Harold Applebaum

