



THE JACOB RADER MARCUS CENTER OF THE
AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES
A DIVISION OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE – JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION

MS-630: Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler Digital Collection, 1953-1996.
Series A: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1961-1996.

Box
2

Folder
9

Black-Jewish relations, 1979-1988.

For more information on this collection, please see the finding aid on the
American Jewish Archives website.

312-373-3366

August 24, 1979

Ma telegram

Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, President
Operation PUSH
930 East 50th Street
Chicago, Illinois 60615

fje

Your telegram saddened and dismayed me. It reflects a failure to understand the issue in all its complexity.

1/ The charge that Prime Minister Begin pursues a "no-talk" policy distorts the truth. Prime Minister Begin negotiated with the one and only Arab nation willing to seek peace. He persuaded the people of Israel to take enormous territorial and political risks -- the surrender of the whole of the Sinai and of vital sources of energy -- to achieve the peace which was concluded.

2/ The PLO has offered no olive branch, as you assert. If you know of such a statement and such an offer I would be very interested in hearing details; it has escaped my attention. The PLO remains dedicated to the destruction of Israel and to the genocide of its people. The PLO insists on the slaughter of innocents as its primary weapon. Mr. Terzi has re-articulated his organization's determination to destroy Israel even after his meeting with the SCLC.

3/ Your suggestion that America yield to Arab blackmail at the expense of Israel undercuts your moral convictions. It is also flawed pragmatically. The extortionist never stops with the first payment. OPEC has increased its prices without reference to Israel and will continue to do so no matter what resolution may be passed in the United Nations. There is only one sane alternative and that is to achieve energy independence for America.

4/ The public litany of grievances against Jews and Israel may be good press; but it is a counterproductive method of communication. It is time to stop the rhetoric and resume talking. Our two communities share many common goals. Let us end the demagoguery and get back to work.

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations

Me

SPEECH OF BENJAMIN L. HOOKS, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
OF NAACP, FOR DELIVERY ON
MONDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1979

These are very difficult times for the poor and downtrodden American. Inflation has ^{them} him paying more for shelter and the basic necessities of life--health care, food, transportation and clothing. The cost of food, shelter, health care and fuel alone is rising at an annual rate exceeding 17%. Inflation has the price of ordinary hamburger ground beef at well over \$2 a pound, and gas over \$1 a gallon. Landlords are seeking more rent from tenants who can hardly afford to pay what they have been paying so far. The minimum wage worker finds it especially impossible to keep pace with the cost of living--because \$2.90 an hour translates out to \$116 per week.

We are living in a period of economic recession. Economists do not agree that that is what we are caught in. But ask the able-bodied man or woman forced on to the relief rolls,--out of work, out of luck, and out of savings. They will tell you that this is an economic recession. They will tell you how it feels, or how difficult it is, to ^{EEK} wreck out a living for a family from a fixed, inadequate income. They will tell you how demeaning and unproductive it is to continually search for work in a shrinking economy, to be told you're ^{UNDERQUALIFIED} unexperienced or "overqualified."

Talk to the black teenager languishing his hours, days, weeks and years on the street corners of the urban ghettos. Talk to the black and Hispanic youths forced out of school in order to get work--at meager wages--to help the family cope with the ravages of inflation. Talk to them, because in urban communities across the nation, black unemployment is twice the rate of white unemployment, and black teenage unemployment is close to 50%. In some urban areas, black youth unemployment soars to 80 and 85%, and there are people who have never had jobs in their lives. More than 30% of

black families are in officially-defined poverty; and the majority of black families are teetering on the poverty line.

In this American recession, black Americans are in a depression. White Americans have a severe cold; black Americans are suffering from pneumonia.

We have to take recognition of this racial disparity if we are to address, in a realistic way, the problems that beset our nation and exacerbate tensions between the haves-and-the-have-nots. We have to recognize that through years and years of purposeful, deliberate, pervasive, intensive discrimination against blacks in the schools and in the workplace,--that whites, as a group, have been advantaged and enriched. Consequently, we have an overdeveloped white community and an underdeveloped black community. Through the operation of prejudice, and the domination of whites in powerful institutions, we have two separate and unequal societies--one primarily white and privileged; the other primarily non-white and under-privileged. This situation of the black's second-class status has little next to nothing to do with whether the black race is any more or any less deserving as a people to participate fully in the mainstream of American society. It says what is self-evident--that blacks have been shut out, locked out, shoved aside, tracked, steered, and confined to the worse sections of our country. Their plight in housing, in education, in employment, remains essentially one of racial discrimination--victims of an insidious double-standard.

The whites in America instituted and wove in a smothering pattern a thousand different personal humiliations, both public and private, based upon color. Through the courts, through the laws, through the "black codes," the "white primaries" and the primacy of rights firmly established for white males, the black people of these United States have been put behind the eight-ball. Racial segregation in housing, in school in employment, continued the teachings and doctrine of slavery--that black people were not entitled to equal and identical rights, as the white people. Once the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments were attached to the U.S. Constitution, a thousand conspiracies

were plotted to keep blacks from exercising their political and civil rights. These included bombings of churches and homes, beatings, lynchings and assassination of black leaders. ~~These plots were instituted not just by the KKK, but by ordinary white Americans who felt they had a justifiable excuse for barbaric behavior toward people they viewed as savages.~~

Not even the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and the 1965 Voting Rights Act could secure for black Americans unfettered rights and guarantees of citizenship. Words--statutes--good intentions stimulated some progress, but all very moderate and not enough in closing the racial gulf. In 1968, the Kerner Commission offered America a challenge--face up to the fact that racism has created two separate and unequal societies--and take deliberate actions to reverse the inevitability of racial confrontation.

And so some sectors of American society got to work. They realized that the policies that had deprived blacks of equal opportunity were not the result of color-blind practices. Accordingly, the age of Affirmative Action was born--a deliberate attempt to increase non-whites in colleges, professional schools, in skilled jobs and in professions in which they were previously, grossly, underrepresented.

I say underrepresented. That is an understatement. I should say "virtual exclusion" of blacks. For example, in New York State, which never did have a slave-trade, but did have plenty of racial discrimination, the number of blacks in medical schools in the early 1960's was appallingly low. In New York, in 1963, there was no more than 17 Negro students in the first-year classes of all its medical schools. Cornell graduated, two blacks from 1960 through 1969.

Between 1950 and 1970, while the black population increased from 10 to 11%, the percentage of black professionals--dentists, lawyers, college professors, engineers, and phsycians--remained constant at $2\frac{1}{2}$, 1, $2\frac{1}{2}$, 1 and 2% respectively. The very small

number of minority professionals graduated from predominantly black Howard and Meharry.

In 1969, following the urban riots, affirmative action programs were instituted at many schools. So that in the first-year classes of medical schools in 1969-70, Cornell had 2 blacks, Mt. Sinai had 4; New York Medical had 8; Columbia had 7; Albert Einstein had 14; New York University had 6; and the State University of New York Downstate Medical Center had 4. In one year, a total of 45 black students had been enrolled--5.3% of the 846 first-year students enrolled at these medical schools, the first significant increase in black enrollment in New York medical school history.

The NAACP has just completed a 10-year study of law and medical school admission and has found that during the ten-year period of affirmative action programs, never has the percentage of all non-white freshmen nationally been above 10%. Today 90% of all seats in medical and law schools still go to whites.

We like to think that there has been racial progress. But the indications of that progress are weak; and when one considers the negative impact of our economic recession on blacks, that meager progress is steadily being eroded. The last-hired black--under seniority rules of most businesses and labor unions--is the first to be fired. It doesn't take much for a marginally middle-class black to be thrown back into poverty, to swell even more the burgeoning ranks of the black underclass. This sets up a bitter cycle of hopelessness, despair and anger, threatening a race of people's faith in the system, whose most talented are discouraged and whose masses are shut-out of achievement on the mantle of "reverse discrimination."

That is the cry of the white Americans who attempt to disguise their insistence on not giving up their position of domination over the black masses. That is the false cry of whites who claim to be personally "innocent" of discrimination against the black, and who cling to the privileges accorded them by virtue of a history and tradition of considering white males "better" or "more" qualified.

MPHS 38 Schools NAME P DID NOT LIKE SPECIFIC
PLAN - DID LIKE CONCEPT-IDEA 5

So, black Americans welcomed the University of California Davis Medical School's attempt to accelerate the inclusion of blacks in the California medical profession. We welcomed its recognition of a long history of racial discrimination in the state of California and the need, therefore, to target for admission persons from minority groups who are qualified for medical training and who, by reason of economic and other circumstances, have been disadvantaged in gaining admission to the medical schools in California. California's population is over 25% black and brown but less than 2% of all California physicians are black; only 1% is Chicano. This is due to a pattern of exclusion. The University of California--San Francisco Dental School did not even admit one black for 26 years prior to the late 1960's. Whether this exclusion has been intentional or because society did not think black people worthy of a professional education comes out to the same thing--gross underrepresentation of blacks in the professions. The answer to underrepresentation is greater numbers of blacks in these schools, and in the professions. The answer to the exclusion of women from the fire fighters and police forces is their inclusion; and so we have the same formula for black and brown people--inclusion. We do not ask that there be instituted double-standards of performance in any school; we simply ask that an applicant's color be considered as a way of integrating the class, of increasing the numbers of black and brown people in the colleges, in professional schools, in skilled jobs. Setting goals, timetables, numerical remedies, the courts have agreed, are appropriate means for achieving the elimination of manifest racial imbalances.

It is the disagreement over the use of inclusive quotas that have increased tensions between blacks and many Jews. We understand the historic dimensions of the controversy. Quotas were used to restrict the number of Jews in colleges and universities. But Jews should know and appreciate the fact that quotas have also been used to restrict blacks. Blacks have been "quota'd out." Indeed, the Jewish population is not monolithic in their attitude toward affirmative action and numerical remedies

to societal discrimination. While some self-styled Jewish groups helped finance and support the Alan Bakke case up ^{to} the Supreme Court, other Jews supported the NAACP's amicus brief and backed our affirmative action work through contributions and other assistance. Still, it cannot be ignored that erstwhile allies in the civil rights movement within the established Jewish organizations have directly challenged black people's interests before the highest court of the land--in De Funis, in Bakke, and to a lesser degree, in the Weber case. They have done so on the basis of defending "merit" and opposing "reverse discrimination." ^{But} And in so doing they have given ^{sided with} credence and legitimacy to the reactionary movements of white militants who would discard or weaken all affirmative action programs because of its color-conscious elements.

The all-commanding question is, whether blacks and Jews can be effective allies in the civil rights movement without candidly facing up to and addressing this pivotal philosophical policy dispute. This is a central issue that surfaced from the four statements from the recent meeting of black leaders in New York City convened to assess the implications of Ambassador Andy Young's resignation. That group said, rather matter of factly, that:

"Realism demands that the burden of resolving the black/Jewish tensions...cannot be placed disproportionately on the backs of already overburdened blacks;...(and) realism demands...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 threat and coercion or arrogance."

This contemplates a recognition of the wide spectrum of views of black people and Jews, and the reality that established civil rights organizations and Jewish organizations have a responsibility to each other to be candid, forthright, and diligent

WE HAVE A PROBLEM
~~TO RECOGNIZE IT~~

YOU RECOGNIZE IT
WE CAME UP WITH A SOLUTION
IF NOT GOOD -- HELP US GET
IF NOT TO BE FOUND
WILL INSIST ON IT!

in communicating the high priorities of their respective memberships and of avoiding, whenever possible, the open, public rancor of two friends fighting. Should we disagree nothing is solved by threats of an across-the-board withdrawal of support for one another's mutual objectives. Responsible black leadership will have no truck for ugly

anti-Semitism. And we will expect our Jewish allies never to abandon us on a crest of anti-black sentiment, whereas their interests as whites become more paramount than their identification with the plight of the poor, the powerless, and the oppressed.

The black people and the Jewish people are on the threshold of a great-regeneration of cooperation. The fall-out from the Andy Young resignation--over the issue of meeting with the PLO--has served notice on both communities that we must be candid with each other before the newswriters arrive. We have got to spell out what is rationally the best course to defend the interests of our country, to secure and protect the state of Israel, and to gain human and political rights for the Palestinian. To do this, we have got to be specific and not just generic in our prescription for peace in the Middle East. This, no doubt, will have to entail compromise from the warring parties. But it cannot, must not, will not mean the destruction of the Israeli state. It will have to include recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to a homeland, and it cannot, must not, will not mean the violation of territorial borders established in the interest of securing the peace. The stark realities, born of Israeli's existence, is that Jew and Arab must live in the same region, and so we have to move beyond the headlines and dissolve the battlelines.

The peace-making process, if it is to be fruitful and lasting, will have to include both sides of the combat, talking to each other. The NAACP believes that the U.S. policy of not talking directly with the PLO is shortsided. If the U.S. is going to be an effective mediator, then it will speak directly with the PLO and the Israelis

in an effort to produce changes in the positions of each side. A no-talk, no compromise policy is a destructive and dangerous course to pursue and is detrimental to the security of Israel, to any legitimate demands of the Palestinians, and to the national interests of the United States.

Armies will not change ideas on the Israeli or the Palestinian. Not even secure borders and the most sophisticated military hardware can do that. Armies are not sociological in their structure or mission. The armies, when they are mobilized, cause death and destruction and that's the reason there must be a bilateral and immediate ceasefire, an immediate end to wanton acts of violence and terrorism, and a cessation of territorial acquisitions. The responsibility is upon the political leaders, not the armies, to end Israeli-Arab friction and clashes.

A change in the affairs of men is occurring. We ought not fear it because change, on the domestic and international fronts, will test our commitment to certain basic values. Freedom, equality, justice are not only words to recite; they are concepts to put into practice. To the extent that the black man in America is yet struggling for common rights of citizenship, we must look for and welcome change in the affairs of this nation. To the extent that Israelis are yet struggling to secure their existence and to win peace, they will welcome a change toward stability and coexistence with their Arab neighbors.

No genuine settlement will be imposed on the state of Israel. ^{legitimate} No/settlement will compromise the security of the Israeli people. The word of God as set forth in Leviticus 26:13:

"I am the Lord your God which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, that you should not be their bondsmen; and I have broken the bonds of your yoke, and made you go upright."

Our task for this time is to go forward, and to go upright.

I believe there is every reason to be hopeful about the future, and to be optimistic about improving black/Jewish relations. Black people are not going to

abandon their allies or shirk their moral principles over a barrel of oil. Nor will black Americans be willing or content to stand on the shoulder of the American society to allow the traffic of progress and superior privileges to go unabated for white Americans.

It is left to us--leaders in the black American and Jewish community--to devise the mature strategies that will reckon with the new emerging world economic order and reintergroup tensions. This is our larger and greatest challenge. It is important that calm reasonableness prevail, that the difficulties of adjustment be realized, and that without any sacrifice of basic principles, the spirit of sharing and cooperation characterize our future civil and human rights campaigns. Let it not be said of us that we failed to take advantage of a challenge posed, to emerge from a dark period into a better climate for all. And let it not be said that we imposed unnecessary hardships either upon those responsible for working out the details of the adjustment, or those who have traditionally borne the brunt of sacrifice and deprivation.

Thank you for inviting me and listening. God bless you.

WE HAVE PROBLEMS - WE MUST FACE THEM
MISTAKES HAVE BEEN MADE

THE TIME HAS COME WHEN WE MUST HEED

THE WORDS OF PROPHET OF OLD

COME NOW LET US REASON TOGETHER

OUR COMMON FOES - BIRCHERS - KICK NAZIS
ARE CHUCKLING IN GLEE

IF WE FAIL

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS
OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

August 20, 1979

TO: Members of the Presidents Conference

FROM: Yehuda Hellman

We believe you will be interested in reading the enclosed letter from Ted Mann to President Carter. It represents our current thinking on the issues arising out of Andrew Young's resignation as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

August 16, 1979

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to clarify the position of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations regarding the events which culminated in the resignation of Andrew Young as our country's permanent representative to the United Nations and your acceptance of that resignation.

As you know we did not ask for Ambassador Young's resignation, nor is his resignation an issue in the relationship between the Jewish and the black communities. Our differences are with State Department policy. Those differences remain.

That policy, as we have perceived it, is to find a way to bring about P.L.O. recognition of Israel's right to exist and U.N. Resolution 242 so that the Palestinians will feel free to engage in the peace negotiations. It is clearly not a venal policy, and it even has a surface plausibility but in fact it will lead to a dead-end. It will stop the peace process dead in its tracks.

Palestinians are not taking part in the peace negotiations for only one reason: The P.L.O. threatens to gun them down if they do. But there are courageous men and women in the West Bank, just as there are everywhere, who will take part in the negotiations once it is clear to them that the P.L.O. cannot produce for them the autonomy which they seek -- that this autonomy is something they must come in and negotiate for themselves.

The truth is that the P.L.O. cannot produce anything worthwhile for the Palestinian Arabs. Mr. President, if by some miracle the P.L.O. relinquished its designs on Tel Aviv, Haifa and Jerusalem and recognized Israel's right to exist and Resolution 242, surely it would still absolutely insist on a P.L.O. state in Judea and Samaria, which you, yourself, oppose. If by some greater miracle the P.L.O. accepted autonomy, surely it would still insist on a P.L.O. presence on the West Bank. But Israel quite rightly regards even such a presence as a form of national suicide. When you consider what the P.L.O. has done to Arabs -- I refer not only to the P.L.O.'s terrorist acts and assassination threats against Palestinian moderates, but its attempts to destroy Jordan in 1970-71 and its actual destruction of Lebanon more recently -- can you imagine what would be in store for Israel?

-- over --

What then is the point in a policy that tries to produce P.L.O. recognition of Israel's right to exist? Underlying such a policy is the assumption that such recognition can be achieved without concessions to the P.L.O. that will endanger Israel's security.

The superb results of Camp David occurred because of the historic decision by President Sadat to live in peace with Israel -- and because the people and leaders of Israel believed him and responded accordingly. President Sadat was not pushed to Jerusalem by the United States; the people of Israel would not have believed his words of peace if he had been.

There is a lesson to be learned from that recent history.

For all these reasons, Mr. President, we urge you to assert an American policy in the Middle East that encourages the Palestinian Arabs of Judea and Samaria and Jordan to accept the invitation of the parties to join the negotiating process on autonomy. Such a policy cannot be achieved through accommodating the P.L.O.

Respectfully,

THEODORE R. MANN
Chairman

September 13, 1979

Jerome A. Cooper, Esq.
409 North 21st Street
Suite 201
Birmingham, ALA. 35203

Dear Mr. Cooper:

The fact that I was quoted as having said something does not mean that I made the statement as reported. At no time did I accuse President Carter of orchestrating the recent Black-Jewish confrontation following on the heels of the Andrew Young affair.

What I did say is that Jews and Blacks allowed themselves to be suckered into a confrontation while the real issues which concern both communities were being ignored.

Perhaps you missed the reports of the White House Briefing which took place immediately on the heels of Andrew Young's "resignation" on that Wednesday afternoon. The following is what an NBC reporter said over nationwide TV:

"There is great sadness here that so valuable a member was forced to resign. A high-ranking White House person expressed the fear that this forced resignation would further exacerbate the already strained relations between Jews and Blacks in America and he added 'those Jews will never be satisfied until President Carter himself jumps off the cliff to prove that he is loyal to Israel'."

Not only I, but many other Jews had protested this statement as encouraging the dispute between Blacks and Jews and as suggesting, moreover, that Jews were responsible for the firing of Young, which was manifestly not true. The statements were never denied by the White House and the misconception was given further encouragement when the President failed to assert, as he should have, that he did not yield to any Jewish pressure nor even feel it.

Jerome A. Cooper, Esq.
September 13, 1979
Page -2-

No, I did not support President Nixon when he ran nor did I support President Ford's candidacy. I supported Jimmy Carter both in the presidential campaign and earlier along during the primaries.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

COOPER, MITCH & CRAWFORD

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

JEROME A. COOPER
WILLIAM E. MITCH
THOMAS N. CRAWFORD, JR.
GEORGE C. LONGSHORE
JOHN C. FALKENBERRY
ROBERT H. STROPP, JR.
EARL V. BROWN, JR.

SUITE 201 - 409 NORTH 21ST STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203
TELEPHONE (205) 328-9576

September 4, 1979

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

You were recently quoted as having charged President Carter with having "suckered" blacks and Jews into a conflict over the Andrew Young affair in an effort to reduce political fallout on the President.

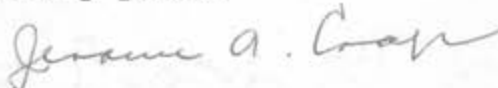
Such a Presidential intent seems to me most unlikely, and your statement seems to reflect your unreasoning and bitter attitude toward the President.

You are entitled to that attitude, although I think it unfortunate. You are not entitled to give the impression that you speak for citizens of America who are of the Jewish faith.

Are you by any chance among the Jewish leadership that urged the Jewish community to support Nixon when he ran?

I am a member of Temple EmanuEl here in Birmingham and would appreciate, if convenient, your outlining the facts upon which you based the above charge against the President.

Sincerely yours,



Jerome A. Cooper

JAC:jb

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

515 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

PLaza 2-1616

Cable Address: COJOGRA

Vol. 6, No. 10

MIDDLE EAST MEMO

October 8, 1979

FAILURE OF A MISSION

Jesse Jackson has returned empty handed from Beirut. That failure, however, has not inhibited him from boasting of success in his talks with PLO terrorist chieftain Yasir Arafat. Jackson proclaimed that the PLO had "seized the moral initiative" by "declaring a cease-fire in South Lebanon." What the PLO had actually done, as The New York Times pointed out, was to reaffirm its adherence to a five-week-old UN sponsored cease-fire in Southern Lebanon. A PLO spokesman, asked whether the statement represented a change in the PLO position on the cease-fire, said with "a slight smile," according to the Times: "We will respect it more."

When Jackson went to the Middle East he said his goal was to obtain a statement from Arafat renouncing terrorist activity in favor of diplomacy. No such renunciation was made. Indeed, while Jackson was embracing Arafat in full view of the media circus that accompanied him, a PLO bomb exploded in a busy Jerusalem street, killing two and wounding a score of other innocent civilians. So much for Jackson's moderating influence.

Nor has the PLO offered to change one comma of its basic political document. The hate-filled Palestine National Covenant remains the PLO blueprint for control of the whole of Palestine; it rejects "all claims of historical or religious ties of Jews with Palestine" (Article 20) and declares that "the liberation of Palestine will destroy the Zionist and imperialist presence" (Article 22).

Perhaps the truest measure of Jesse Jackson's sympathies was his behavior in Israel. He refused to meet with Lebanese Christians, who could have told him of their own war for survival against PLO attack. He refused to meet with Jews from Arab countries, who could have told him of the persecution and humiliation they endured before 800,000 of them fled to Israel. But he did not miss a trip to the West Bank city of Nablus, where PLO supporters--protected by the right of free speech that is one of the hallmarks of Israel's democracy--carried him on their shoulders crying, "Jackson, Arafat! Jackson, Arafat!"

The supreme irony is that even Jackson's PLO friends turned on him at the end. The day after Jackson returned home, Beirut newspapers reported that a PLO executive committee member had denounced him for trying to "split the Arab and Palestinian ranks by demanding a freeze in the Palestinian armed struggle, recognition of Israel and participation in the Camp David accords"--none of which the PLO was prepared to grant. All Jackson got was a statement that the PLO did not seek to "exterminate Jews" or drive them "into the sea"--hardly worth the trip considering that the PLO is capable of neither and has in any case said it all before in an effort to clean up its PR image.

To prove Jackson an even greater dupe, a spokesman for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine--one of the terrorist gangs that make up the PLO--denounced Jackson by name for even suggesting his mission was successful. "We reject the extemporaneous statements by Jackson and refuse to stop our operations in Israel," the spokesman said. Palestinians, the spokesman added, "will never stop resistance against those who occupy their land."

attn

Joint Statement by Black and Jewish Organizations in the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights

The undersigned Black and Jewish organizations are deeply concerned over recent reports of a rift between Blacks and Jews. That we have our differences is clear. But to suggest that such differences constitute an irreparable rift is to misunderstand the nature of a coalition and of our relationship.

The essence of our plural democracy is that it encourages every group to express its views on whatever issues it chooses in accordance with its own values and judgments. It is out of such differing values, judgments and priorities that the temper of our society is forged.

A free plural society demands not the elimination of differences but the expression of differing views without rancor or bitterness.

For 30 years we, together with other groups, have worked through the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights in furtherance of its stated purpose: to establish "an integrated, democratic, plural society in which every individual is accorded equal rights, equal opportunities and equal justice without regard to race, sex, religion, ethnic origin, handicap or age; and in which every group is accorded an equal opportunity to enter fully into the general life of the society with mutual acceptance and regard for difference."

In pursuit of that goal, as members of the Leadership Conference, we have committed ourselves to support, "as a matter of right - a useful job and a decent wage for all who are employable or who can be made so by training or retraining; income sufficient to provide all others with the essentials for living in dignity and self respect; decent housing in a decent environment for all; medical care for all in health, sickness and disability; and education to the limit of each person's capacity to benefit from it."

That shared commitment continues undiminished. Our years together have been marked by great advances, great achievements. The work that still must be done is too important to let differences divide us.



Telegram

TIC364(1644)(4-058151S235)PD 08/23/79 1637

ICS IPMBNGZ CSP

3123733366 TDBN CHICAGO IL 427 08-23 0437P EST

PMS RABBI ALEXANDER SCHINDLER, PRESIDENT

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS 838 5TH AVE

NEW YORK NY 10021

DEAR MR. SCHINDLER:

THE US ECONOMY WILL BE FACED WITH THE BIGGEST THREAT TO ITS
EXISTENCE THIS WEEK IN THE UN THE US DILEMMA IS IT COMMITMENT TO
AN INVESTMENT IN ISRAEL'S SURVIVAL AND SECURITY. ON THE OTHER HAND,
IT IS FACED WITH THE REALITY OF ITS DEPENDENCE ON ARAB OPEC FOR 43
0/0 OF ITS OIL SUPPLY AND AN AMOUNT EQUAL TO 141 BILLION DOLLARS OF
THE WORLDS CURRENCY RESERVES- 70 BILLION ARE IN US DOLLARS OR 30 0/0
OF THE TOTAL US CURRENCY EXCHANGE ON THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET.



Telegram

THE US MUST NOT BE FORCED INTO AN ECONOMIC OR MORAL COLAPSE BY PRIME MINISTER BEGIN'S INSISTANCE UPON A NO-TALK POLICY. THE US MUST NOT BE FORCED TO CHOOSE. IT MUST BE GIVEN THE FREEDOM TO DO A HARDER THING-TO RECONCILE COMPETING INTERESTS. OUR NATIONAL INTEREST IS AT STAKE.

BY INSISTING THAT THE US MAINTAIN A NO-TALK POSTURE ISRAEL IS NOT ONLY JEPORDIZING US SECURITY, BUT ISRAELI SECURITY AS WELL. FOR ISRAELI SECURITY IS DEPENDENT UPON US SECURITY. ISRAEL MUST NOT FORCE THE US TO CHOOSE BETWEEN US AND ISRAELI INTERESTS. IT MUST GIVE THE US SOME BAR GAINING ROOM.

THE NO-TALK POLICY IS AN INTERNATIONAL ABSURDITY, BECAUSE THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE TO A NO-TALK POLICY IS INCREASE TENSION AND QUITE LIKELY



Telegram

AND ESCALATION OF ACTS OF WAR AND POSSIBLY EVEN WAR ITSELF.

ISRAEL MUST RECOGNIZE THAT IT MUST NOT PUSH THE US INTO A CORNER. THE US WILL PROTECT ITS INTEREST FIRST. ISRAEL MUST NEVER BACK WHITE AMERICA INTO A CORNER AND ALLOW ITS LATENT ANTI SEMITISM AND RACISM AND ECONOMIC EXCUSE TO SURFACE.

THE IMPENDING CRISES OF COURSE IS THE SCHEDULED DEBATE AND VOTE ON RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338, AND POSSIBLY SOME COMPROMISE RESOLUTION TO BE INTRODUCED BY KUWAIT. IT IS REPORTED TODAY THAT AN ARAB LEAGUE COMPROMISE PROPOSAL, WHICH HAS THE APPROVAL OF THE PLO AND RECOGNIZES ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXSIST, WILL PROBABLY BE INTRODUCED.

SINCE THE ARAB NATIONS, INCLUDING THE PLO, SEEM TO BE OFFERING AN



Telegram

OLIVE BRANCH AND SOFTENING THEIR HARD LINE, WE CALL UPON ENLIGHTENED MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY TO SPEAK OUT URGING ISRAEL TO SOFTEN ITS HARD LINE AND GIVE THE UNITED STATES SOME BARGAINING ROOM. FOR IF ISRAEL CONTINUES ITS INTRACTABLE POSITION, THE POTENTIAL CONSEQUENCES WILL BE UNFORTUNATE FOR ISRAEL, THE US AND THE WORLD.

BLACK AMERICANS CANNOT REMAIN SILENT. MORALLY, PEACE AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE WORLD IS THE GOAL FOR WHICH WE MUST AGGRESSIVELY FIGHT. IN COLD WAR WE LOSE OUR JOBS IN HOT WAR WE LOSE OUR LIVES. IN PEACE ALL OF US WILL PROSPER. SINCERELY,

REV JESSE L. JACKSON, NATIONAL PRESIDENT OPERATION PUSH
NNNN

MAILGRAM SERVICE CENTER
MIDDLETOWN, VA. 22645



Mailgram



4-039585S236002 08/24/79 ICS IPMRNCZ CSP NYBB
1 2122490100 MGM TDRN NEW YORK NY 08-24 0137P EST

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATION EJM
838 5TH AVE
NEW YORK NY 10021

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

2122490100 MGM TDRN NEW YORK NY 304 08-24 0137P EST
ZIP

REV JESSE L JACKSON, PRESIDENT OPERATION PUSH
930 EAST 50TH ST
CHICAGO IL 60615

YOUR TELEGRAM SADDENED AND DISMAYED ME, IT REFLECTS A FAILURE TO UNDERSTAND THE ISSUE IN ALL ITS COMPLEXITY, 1. THE CHARGE THAT PRIME MINISTER BEGIN PURSUES A "NO-TALK" POLICY DISTORTS THE TRUTH, PRIME MINISTER BEGIN NEGOTIATED WITH THE ONE AND ONLY ARAB NATION WILLING TO SEEK PEACE, HE PERSUADED THE PEOPLE OF ISRAEL TO TAKE ENORMOUS TERRITORIAL AND POLITICAL RISKS--THE SURRENDER OF THE WHOLE OF THE SINAI AND OF VITAL SOURCES OF ENERGY--TO ACHIEVE THE PEACE WHICH WAS CONCLUDED 2, THE PLO HAS OFFERED NO OLIVE BRANCH AS YOU ASSERT, IF YOU KNOW OF SUCH A STATEMENT AND SUCH AN OFFER I WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED IN HEARING DETAILS; IT HAS ESCAPED MY ATTENTION, THE PLO REMAINS DEDICATED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF ISRAEL AND TO THE GENOCIDE OF ITS PEOPLE, THE PLO INSISTS ON THE SLAUGHTER OF INNOCENTS AS ITS PRIMARY WEAPON, MR TERZI HAS REARTICULATED HIS ORGANIZATION'S DETERMINATION TO DESTROY ISRAEL EVEN AFTER HIS MEETING WITH THE SCLC 3, YOUR SUGGESTION THAT AMERICA YIELD TO ARAB BLACKMAIL AT THE EXPENSE OF ISRAEL UNDERCUTS YOUR MORAL CONVICTIONS, IT IS ALSO FLAWED PRAGMATICALLY, THE EXTORTIONIST NEVER STOPS WITH THE FIRST PAYMENT, OPEC HAS INCREASED ITS PRICES WITHOUT REFERENCE TO ISRAEL AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO NO MATTER WHAT RESOLUTION MAY BE PASSED IN THE UNITED NATIONS, THERE IS ONLY ONE SANE ALTERNATIVE AND THAT IS TO ACHIEVE ENERGY INDEPENDENCE FOR AMERICA, 4, THE PUBLIC LITANY OF GRIEVANCES AGAINST JEWS AND ISRAEL MAY BE GOOD PRESS, BUT IT IS A COUNTERPRODUCTIVE METHOD OF COMMUNICATION, IT IS TIME TO STOP THE RHETORIC AND RESUME TALKING, OUR TWO COMMUNITIES SHARE MANY COMMON GOALS, LET US END THE DEMAGOGUERY AND GET BACK TO WORK

RABBI ALEXANDER M SCHINDLER, PRESIDENT
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATION

13138 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

6241 (R1/78)

English

WESTERN UNION
1500 N. 1ST ST.
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011

WESTERN UNION
1500 N. 1ST ST.
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011

WESTERN UNION
1500 N. 1ST ST.
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, PHONE, WESTERN UNION, ANY TIME, DAY OR NIGHT:
FOR YOUR LOCAL NUMBER, SEE THE WHITE PAGES

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM, PHONE, WESTERN UNION, ANY TIME, DAY OR NIGHT:

FOR YOUR LOCAL NUMBER, SEE THE WHITE PAGES

OF YOUR TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

OR

DIAL (TOLL FREE) 800-257-2241

(EXCEPT IN NEW JERSEY 800-632-2271)

OR DIAL WESTERN UNION'S INFOMASTER SYSTEM DIRECTLY:

FROM TELEX 6161 FROM TWX 910 420 1212

WESTERN UNION
1500 N. 1ST ST.
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10011

1500 N. 1ST ST.

NEW YORK, N.Y.



איחוד
ליהדות
מתקדמות
באמריקה

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

CONFIDENTIAL

FROM: Ira S. Youdovin
TO: Al Vorspan, Balfour Brickner, David Saperstein
COPY: Alexander M. Schindler ✓

The Black-Jewish meeting taking place this week on the national level will probably be emulated on a local level in communities throughout the country. Because of our preeminence in the field of inter-racial relations, Reform congregations are likely to be in the forefront of this effort. There are dangers in this.

1. Our constituency has always been vulnerable to Black-laid guilt trips, partially because Black allegations of Jewish complicity in maintaining the status quo are accurate. Of course, when it came to actually yielding material gains in the name of affirmative action, our people usually draw the line at feeling guilty. Vulnerability to anti-Israel/pro-PLO positions may be more acute.

2. Many of our people have never fully reconciled their feelings of harboring dual loyalties. Andy Young and others have labeled America's policy regarding the PLO as being contrary to the best interests of the United States. This will hit home.

3. To effect "dialogue," local Jewish spokespersons are likely to concede that Blacks have a point regarding American recognition of the PLO. This will erode Jewish solidarity against State Department-Administration duplicity.

4. Before we leap into encouraging these dialogues and/or distributing guidelines, it is wise that we consider the foregoing, and also make a careful evaluation of the significance of Black opinion on the Middle East. On this score, the "bottom line" is that Black opinion on the Middle East is a most insignificant factor in shaping policy. The strains currently being felt in Black-Jewish relations are distressing. But we should not over-react, particularly in a way that might jeopardize our constituency's solidarity with Israel. Black Americans have no inherent interest in the Middle East. When the emotion generated by the Young affair subsides, Black leaders will almost certainly re-direct their attention to their people's very pressing problems.

5. My recommendation therefore is:

---The UAHC do nothing to promote Black-Jewish dialogues
---When requests are received for material for use in dialogues already scheduled, we arm our people as strongly as possible using a compendium of PLO statements, its National Covenant, Alex's excellent statement to the press, etc.



איחוד
ליהדות
מתקדמת
באמריקה

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

21 August 1979

FROM: RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER

TO: Leadership of the Reform Movement

The attached memorandum represents the position of the UAHC. I call your special attention to the specific responses it recommends.



838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

ASSOCIATION OF REFORM ZIONISTS OF AMERICA

OFFICERS

President
Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn
Vice-Presidents
Donald S. Day
Tracy H. Ferguson
Ruth Nussbaum
Rabbi David Polish
Treasurer
Norma U. Levitt
Associate Treasurer
L. Kenneth Rosett
Secretary
Theodore K. Broido
Executive Director
Rabbi Ira S. Youdovin

21 August 1979

FROM: Rabbi Ira S. Youdovin

SUBJECT: The Young Controversy and the PLO

It is now clear that Andrew Young's meeting with the PLO was not an isolated deviation from firm U.S. policy. Nor should Mr. Young's dismissal be misinterpreted as a comforting reaffirmation of American commitment not to deal with the PLO until it recognizes Israel's right to exist and accepts U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. On the contrary, the Young affair has probably accelerated assessment of this commitment -- which has been a cornerstone of U.S. Middle East policy -- by making the issue a matter of public debate and galvanizing elements urging greater U.S. sympathy for the PLO.

In the weeks ahead, American Jewish leaders will be called upon to generate public opinion demanding that Washington affirm its unswerving commitment to its only democratic ally in the Middle East while, at the same time, working to prevent an irreparable schism between Jews and Blacks.

1. Analysis. When Mr. Young met with the PLO's U.N. observer Zehdi Labib Terzi on 26 July, he had every reason to believe that he was acting in the spirit -- if not the letter -- of his government's operative policy. At the time, the State Department was working for postponement of a Security Council meeting called for 1 August to consider a Kuwaiti-sponsored resolution, said to have been written by Yasir Arafat, which would have had the effect of superseding Resolutions 242 and 338. Heretofore, the United States would have been counted upon to veto any attempt to tamper with 242 and 338 as being deleterious to Israel's interests and jeopardizing the framework upon which the Camp David accords are based. In this case, however, American diplomats were involved in a full-scale effort to avoid casting a veto which Arab blackmailers had threatened would provoke another OPEC price increase, if not an outright embargo on U.S. oil supplies. This effort continues.

The American objective is finding language for a substitute resolution referring in some way to 242 and 338, but phrased in rhetoric on Palestinian rights acceptable to the PLO. If the PLO will endorse even a vague reference to 242 and 338, the State Department can claim that the terrorists have changed their policy and are now legitimate negotiating partners. While no sane person would be anything but overjoyed with signs of PLO moderation, the fact is that the Washington

Star on 12 August quoted Yasir Arafat as reiterating in the strongest possible terms his organization's rejection of 242 and 338 and Israel's right to exist. In this light, the American initiative is nothing but an ill-advised and utterly dishonest attempt to cosmetize the PLO as something its own leader says it is not.

2. The American Commitment. America's commitment not to deal with the PLO until it recognizes Israel was given four years ago by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. In exchange, Israel agreed to withdraw from territories west of the Suez Canal taken in 1973, including some rich in petroleum resources. In the dynamic of Middle East affairs, Israel is inevitably compelled to trade hard-won tangibles such as land for intangibles, promises written on paper. At Kilometre 101 and at Camp David Israel has demonstrated her willingness to take risks for peace. But if the United States can back away from a commitment fundamental to its Middle East policy, what is to prevent Egypt from reneging on its commitments three years hence, after the last Israeli soldier has departed from Sinai? American policy on the PLO is not merely a posture that can be changed for short-term strategic reasons. It is a commitment that affects the entire climate of Middle East negotiations. American duplicity in honoring its own pledges ill serves the peace process, particularly when the State Department resorts to such transparent measures as explaining that these "contacts" do not constitute "negotiations." We believe that many people who are now calling for American dealings with the PLO do not fully understand the implications of this tack.

There is also insufficient appreciation of the impact Arab oil blackmail is having on American foreign policy. On 2 August, a "high Administration official" was quoted by the reliable Hedrick Smith of the New York Times as saying that if substantial progress is not made on the Palestinian issue within 10-12 weeks, American oil supplies might be affected. The Administration certainly bears responsibility for insuring our country's energy supply, but knuckling under blackmailers' threats is an ill-advised way of pursuing this objective. Universal experience has shown that paying blackmail only whets the extortionist's appetite for higher stakes.

3. Jews and Blacks. The Young affair is not an issue between Blacks and Jews. Nor should it be allowed to become one. Andrew Young's color had nothing to do with his appointment as U.N. Ambassador, his service at the United Nations, or his resignation.

The Jewish community did not call for his resignation. The day before Mr. Young resigned, the presidents of nine major American Jewish organizations met with Robert Strauss, who was then on his way to the Middle East. Only one of the presidents demanded that Mr. Young be dismissed. Headlines proclaiming "Jewish Leaders Demand Young's Ouster" were written a priori, with reporters subsequently telephoning around to obtain substantiating quotes.

The exact circumstances surrounding Mr. Young's resignation are still vague. One thing is sure, however: he was not driven out by Jewish pressure.

On the contrary, the Jewish community is acutely aware of Mr. Young's extraordinary record as a force for good in our country and in the world. UAHC president Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler characterized him as "a steadfast friend of Jewish causes from his earliest days in the Civil Rights Movement."

Jews and Blacks share a broad range of mutual concerns. In recent years our traditional alliance has been eroded somewhat by disagreements over such issues as affirmative action. It is crucial that the current situation be a challenge to

renewed dialogue, not a reason for erecting new barriers which are certainly contrary to the interests of both Jews and Blacks.

On the other hand, we must make every effort to head off an emerging Black position supporting the PLO. While the Black community understandably feels an affinity for their Third World brothers and sisters, the PLO's ruthless exercise of violence mocks the non-violence of Martin Luther King, Jr. and betrays the memory of this great American.

4. Summary: Directions for Community Involvement. Concern for Black-Jewish relations should not obscure the central issue: The State Department's policy that seeks to cosmetize the PLO and transform this terrorist gang into a fit negotiating partner. President Carter has on numerous occasions reiterated Secretary Kissinger's commitment to Israel. The State Department, however, has violated that solemn pledge by overtly or covertly encouraging Ambassador Young to traffic with the PLO, a pattern that it repeated with U.S. Ambassador to Austria Milton Wolf. It is time for President Carter to establish his authority over the Arabists in the State Department and make crystal clear that we are a country that honors its commitments to its friends, its allies and its principles.

a. Send cables -- and encourage others to send cables -- to the White House demanding that the United States veto any Security Council resolution which in any way alters Resolutions 242 and 338. It is not surprising that President Sadat joined Prime Minister Begin in rejecting the proposals brought by Robert Strauss. The Camp David accords and the Egypt-Israel peace treaty are based on these resolutions. Tampering with 242 and 338 jeopardizes the entire peace process.

b. Undertake to explain to groups in your community the true nature of the PLO, and the importance of American resolve not to deal with terrorists. The PLO's commitment to destroy Israel is so beyond the pale of acceptable conduct that many Americans refuse to take the PLO at its oft-repeated word. Yasir Arafat has had many opportunities to prove that international acceptance might have a moderating influence. He has addressed the U.N. General Assembly, met with leading statespersons and was recently afforded state receptions by Austrian Chancellor Kreisky and former West German Chancellor Brandt. Nevertheless, the uncompromising line continues and intensifies.

c. Jewish friends of the NAACP, Urban League, SCLC, etc., should find occasions to remind these groups that the PLO is pledged to the elimination of the State of Israel and that for Blacks to sponsor the PLO would be equivalent to Jews putting a kosher stamp on the Ku Klux Klan. It is grotesque that the SCLC, in placing the mantle of respectability on the PLO, did not even insist on the elementary conditions that the terrorist gang foreswear indiscriminate killing and accept Israel's right to live.

Americans are also conditioned to believe that conversation, itself, is beneficial. In most instances this is true. But the right of a sovereign nation to exist is hardly a basis for fruitful discussion. Until the PLO declares itself ready to accept minimal standards of human decency, the only appropriate response is no response at all.

✓

June 6, 1985

Mr. Martin S. Pollens
3 Webb Road
North Tarrytown, NY 10591

Dear Martin:

Just a note to let you know that Morris Abram is no friend of ours, at least not in regard to black-Jewish issues, affirmative action. In fact, he has constantly berated us for our stance and we are at odds on many subjects.

With warm regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Martin S. Pollens, C.S.W., P.C.

STATE LICENSE NO. P-003423

6/3/85

3 WEBB ROAD

NORTH TARRYTOWN, NEW YORK 10591

(914) 631-3714

Rabbi Alexander Schneider
Pres. VAHC
838 Fifth Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10021
Dear Rabbi Schneider:

Thanks so much for your
personal & speedy response to my letter
regarding VAHC position on the Bitburg
affair. I am reassured that yours is
a position of non-appeasement.

The article that I referred to
of an appeasement quality, was by Morris B. Abram.
and it appeared in the N.Y. Times of
May 10, 1985. Abram's manifesto regarding
President Reagan is appalling! I am

sending along a copy in the event that
you missed it. If Mr. Gorum is a
colleague or friend of yours, perhaps
you can assist him.

Rabbi Schindler, since my young
NETY days and the Kagiah at
Great Barrington, I have grown up
being proud of my religious tradition -
and especially grateful that Reform Judaism
has not taught "historical theology."

You and other faculty taught us that
by thinking and acting we can help
to determine our fate. As an adult
member of a VAH Congregation, I am
continuing to live in the spirit of my
early NETY nurturing.

Sincerely,
Marty Pollack

NY TIMES Don't Be Misled By the Bitburg Trip

(FRIDAY, MAY 10, 1985)

By Morris B. Abram

Before agreeing to lay a wreath at the Bitburg cemetery, President Reagan should have asked himself whether it was right for the leader of the free world to pay his respects at a graveyard that contained the remains of nearly 2,000 Nazi soldiers, including 49 SS troops. But now, those of us who urged him not to go, and who protested his visit, must ask ourselves whether the visit has revealed indifference on his part to the plight of the Jewish people. I think it has not.

On innumerable occasions, Ronald Reagan has given eloquent expression to the American people's revulsion at the Nazis' war crimes.

The writer Elie Wiesel, chairman of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council, reports, for example, that only days before the President's departure for West Germany and Bitburg, remembrance of Nazi atrocities against the Jews brought tears to the President's eyes. His grief, which

Reagan isn't indifferent to Jews

Mr. Wiesel assures us was genuine, tells us much that we need to know and must acknowledge about the President's attitude.

Of course, tears cannot undo the tragedy of the Holocaust; they cannot bring back to life the six million Jews and millions of others who died. As President Reagan said, at Bergen-Belsen, of those destroyed there: "Here they lie. Never to hope. Never to pray. Never to love. Never to heal. Never to laugh. Never to cry."

To give meaning to their deaths and content to our mourning, we must commit ourselves as Mr. Reagan did on Sunday to the moral commandment "Never again." And, further, we must realize that wherever anti-Semitism has threatened Jews, the

Morris B. Abram, a lawyer who is a member of the United States Civil Rights Commission and who has served as president of the American Jewish Committee, was on the staff of Justice Robert H. Jackson, the American prosecutor at the International War Crimes Tribunal, in Nuremberg.

Reagan Administration has come to their defense.

The Administration has strengthened our ties to Israel, whose creation and continued existence represents the redemption of the victims of the Holocaust.

America supports Israel, as it always has and should, because it is the only real outpost of Western values in the Middle East. But the Reagan policy of "strategic cooperation" further explains why Israel is now in the front rank of America's allies. The new military relationship is responsible for the already long and continually lengthening list of joint ventures in military planning.

Thus, for the first time ever, the United States and Israel are developing coordinated responses to potential threats to the security of the region. For the first time ever, the United States is prepositioning nonlethal, mostly medical, equipment in Israel, and there is ongoing discussion of prepositioning military equipment as well. And, for the first time ever, the United States and Israel are participating in joint military exercises.

Economic relations between Israel and the United States are also being restructured, to Israel's benefit. Israel has become the first United States trading partner to be given fully free access to American markets. In addition, in the future economic aid to Israel will be in the form of grants so that Israel will not be burdened with additional, economically sapping loan repayments.

In Africa, where the remnants of the Ethiopian Jews are being starved to death, the Reagan Administration has done much that cannot yet be reported. We already know, though, of its extraordinary action in sending United States Air Force planes to the Sudan for the sole purpose of rescuing fleeing Ethiopian Jews and flying them to Israel.

Also, at every high-level encounter with the Soviet Government, the Reagan Administration has demanded that Soviet Jews be allowed to emigrate. By all accounts that I have heard — and I have been privy to many, here and in Israel — no previous Administration has been as steadfast or as forceful as this one in supporting the cause of Soviet Jews.

I believe these to be the policies of a President who indeed remembers the six million and who acts accordingly.

That does not change my view that it was wrong for him to visit Bitburg. But it is vitally important for us to understand that Bitburg was the mistake of a friend — not the sin of an enemy.

Mr. Reagan
is a
great "actor".
This article
represents
the worst
kind of
appeasement.
MSP

May 30, 1985

Martin S. Pollens, C.S.W., P.C.
3 Webb Road
North Tarrytown, NY 10591

Dear Mr. Pollens:

Thank you for sharing your thoughts and concerns with me in regard to the President's visit to Bitburg. Let me assure you that I was not silent on the matter. Indeed, I made a number of statements on various occasions during the period of the visit. For your perusal, I enclose herewith some press releases sent out by the UAHC on this subject.

The New York Times carried my comments in a lengthy article; two successive issues of Time quoted me, and my comments were noted by Newsweek, A.P. and U.P.I. and appeared in the press across the nation. I regret that you didn't come across any of these for you would have known that we did speak out with vigor.

Let me assure you that neither I nor the Union of American Hebrew Congregations will ever take the route of appeasement! We did not do so during the difficult days of the President's journey to Germany and we will not do so in the future should similar situations arise.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

Martin S. Pollens, C.S.W., P.C.

STATE LICENSE NO. P-003423

5/25/85

3 WEBB ROAD

NORTH TARRYTOWN, NEW YORK 10591

(914) 631-3714

Rabbi Alex Schandler, Pres.
VAHC
838 Fifth Ave.
New York, N.Y. 10021
Dear Rabbi Schandler:

I believe that America and the Jewish people have come through a very dark and depressing period with President Reagan's trip to the Bethburg Cemetery.

As a life-long Reform Jew, I was concerned that the VAHC should provide leadership in the expression of protest to this gross insensitivity and desecration of holy memory. And from a short film clip of Ronald Day, I was not aware of VAHC involvement. I am writing to inquire

Edie -
The film club we do -
long sentence former
in U.S. Time -
Two successive
issues?
Also He-swell
all
over the
country
we
do not
have no
volunteer
route.

about action that the VAHC might have
taken in regard to this issue.

Did you see Abram Sachar's
column on the op-ed page of the
N.Y. Times, suggesting that we should not be
too upset by this affair by the President
because he has been the "best" friend
Israel has ever had in a U.S. President.
Therefore, we should not protest too vehemently.

I hope the VAHC and
you, as its President, do not subscribe to
the "appeasement" attitude, fearing that the
President, if he doesn't like the protest, will
punish Israel in the future.

You have my full support
in direct, graceful, and unequivocal
response to what is clearly anti-Semitic behavior.

Sincerely, Martin A. Pollens

LYNNE IANNIELLO
Director, Communications

NEWS

*AKS
Taking up
with KarB*

CAW
PL
FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, NY, June 26....The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith today labeled remarks made at the NAACP's convention in Dallas by David Saperstein, co-director of the Religious Action Center of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, as "patronizing" and "purposefully misleading." In supporting the NAACP's pro-racial quota position, Rabbi Saperstein had said that ADL was out of step with the Jewish community in its opposition to preferential treatment in affirmative action programs.

Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, issued the following response:

"Kissing backsides isn't the way to strengthen relationships -- it's an old and familiar snivel. Understanding between groups doesn't come from patronizing; it comes from an honest and dignified exchange of views. For Rabbi Saperstein to criticize ADL while rationalizing Jesse Jackson's anti-Semitism is sadly revealing.

"His implication that the entire million member Union of American Hebrew Congregations supports quotas is more than disingenuous, it's purposefully misleading. The simple fact is that every poll taken on the subject reveals that the majority of Americans, including Jews, oppose racial quotas.

"The Anti-Defamation League has long supported legitimate affirmative action programs. What we find unacceptable are programs which confuse affirmative action with discriminatory racial preferences.

"Rabbi Saperstein's attempt to transform the issue of racial quotas into one of simply 'goals and timetables' is, at the very least, sleight of hand."

#

AJ, BP, C, EWI, MPC, MP, BHN, BHRTV-85

Revision of the Law of Return would create tension between the State and world Jewry because, for the first time, the Knesset - a secular authority - would presume to pass judgment on the Jewish competence and validity of religious movements outside the State. The State is already severely criticized for the religious coercion which the religious parties impose in Israel. Shall this coercion now be imposed on Jews abroad as well?

We fully understand the exigencies of the moment and desire that an effective coalition be formed as soon as is possible. This urgency, however, must not be allowed to serve the needs of those who set their own parochial aims above the welfare of the State and the unity of the Jewish people, which is its precondition. At this critical time in Israel's history, when issues of war and peace command the attention of Jews everywhere, it is not our intention to voice the many concerns we have regarding the current status of non-Orthodox Judaism in Israel. We will, however, respond as we did three years ago to any new attempt at enforcing additional restrictions.

We, therefore, call upon Mr. Begin to resist pressure being exerted by the Orthodox parties and to maintain the status quo, so that world Jewry can stand united in support of Israel, undeterred by internecine controversy.

+ + + + +

ANATOLY SHCHARANSKY

We note with grave concern reports emanating from Moscow that Anatoly Shcharansky has been formally charged with the crime of treason. These charges, which were first made in an *Izvestia* article alleging Mr. Shcharansky's involvement with the Central Intelligence Agency are patently false. His only "crime" has been an expressed desire to emigrate from the Soviet Union, and his courageous commitment to participate in a group monitoring Soviet implementation of the human rights sections of the Helsinki agreement.

More specifically, this is the latest, and perhaps most disturbing, manifestation of a campaign being waged by the Soviet government against Jewish activists and others who demand a greater measure of freedom within the Soviet Union. Its seriousness parallels that of the infamous "Doctors Purge" of the Stalin era, and raises unpleasant echoes of the Mendel Belis trial. We commend President Carter's statements on behalf of Shcharansky and we urge the United States to persist in protesting this flagrant violation of human rights so that all charges against Mr. Shcharansky be dismissed immediately and that he be permitted to emigrate to Israel to be reunited with his wife.

54th General Assembly

November 1977

San Francisco, California

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

As Jews, deeply committed to the prophetic imperatives of our tradition, we are dedicated to those deeds which will create justice for all the people of our country. Affirmative action aimed at correcting historic injustice in our society is a significant and successful vehicle for achieving such a goal.

We must be particularly sensitive to the dangers which we face in a society where inequity is allowed to persist. The long range interests of our people, as well as all Americans, are best served by the creation of a society that is truly just.

BE IT, THEREFORE, RESOLVED that we, the members of the UAHC, feel that the continued denial of equal opportunity makes it morally obligatory that universities, labor unions, employers and governmental institutions utilize goals and timetables (rather than quotas) in an effort to provide economic and educational opportunities for qualified Blacks, Chicanos, women and economically disadvantaged persons and minorities.

+ + + + +

ARZA/KADIMA

We Reform Jews - ideologically and programmatically, as individuals, as congregations and as a movement - have manifested our commitment to the State of Israel and its future.

Despite this commitment, Reform Judaism has remained outside the organizational framework of Zionism. The World Zionist Organization is today the one forum in which broad segments of Israeli and Diaspora Jewry have constructive dialogue. Until this day, the only voices in that world-wide Zionist forum affecting programs, funding, quality of Jewish life and education have been those of Orthodoxy and of secularism. The time has come for Reform Judaism to join in this dialogue. The UAHC Board of Trustees has created an opportunity for such dialogue by establishing, subject to ratification by this biennial, national affiliates of the Union to be known in the United States as ARZA (Association of Reform Zionists of America) and in Canada as Kadima. The purpose of these affiliates would be "to seek individual members from amongst our congregations and to seek full voting membership in the World Zionist Organization through its territorial bodies, the American Zionist Federation and the Canadian Zionist Federation."

By giving Reform Judaism a full voice in the councils of the World Zionist Organization, the proposed new affiliates will enable us as Reform Jews to communicate more effectively our concerns regarding Israel and the Jewish future, in particular the status of the Israel Movement for Progressive Judaism. It will also increase potential for a more equitable distribution of funds allocated in Israel and throughout the world for educational and cultural projects. The affiliates would add to the deliberations of world Jewry a flexibility to meet the needs of each generation and the combination of prophetic ideology and relevant action which is the cornerstone of Reform Judaism.

Within our own ranks, ARZA and Kadima will provide the long-awaited vehicles for those who have been frustrated in seeking a channel for their Zionist commitment.

The Board recognized that there are members of our Union who may not wish to seek affiliation with ARZA or Kadima. As is the case with all UAHC affiliates, membership in either is voluntary. Since diversity is an essential strength of Reform Judaism, non-membership in these affiliates will in no way reflect upon any UAHC member's commitment to our Union.

THEREFORE, this Biennial Assembly ratifies the action of the UAHC Board of Trustees, which established ARZA and Kadima. In so doing, we reaffirm the essential freedom of choice of our individual members to join the new affiliates.

+ + + + +

Black and Jewish Leaders Call for New Harmony

By CARLYLE C. DOUGLAS

Special to The New York Times

DALLAS, June 25 — Blacks and Jews share responsibility for a "breakdown of interaction" between the two groups, David Saperstein, co-director of the Religious Action Center, and Benjamin L. Hooks, executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, said at a joint news conference today.

"Each of us has been waiting for the other to say, 'Let's get back together,'" Mr. Saperstein asserted. Earlier, he addressed delegates to the N.A.A.C.P.'s 76th annual convention, saying "the media's fixation" on friction

between blacks and Jews had exacerbated the problem. He maintained that any differences between blacks and Jews "pale in comparison to relationships between black and white Anglo-Saxon Protestants."

Mr. Saperstein said tension arose from what he called the myth that Jewish organizations were either completely opposed to affirmative action or opposed using numerical goals and timetables to achieve specific results.

'Interchangeable' View Seen

He said the largest of the 11 major Jewish organizations in the country, the million-member Union of American Hebrew Congregations, represent-

ing the Reform branch of Judaism, had a position on affirmative action that was "virtually interchangeable with the N.A.A.C.P.'s." Mr. Saperstein's organization provides liaison to the Federal Government for the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

The belief that Jewish organizations oppose such programs, he said, arose because the best known legal challenges to affirmative action programs in professional schools were mounted by Jews. But, he said, of the 11 big Jewish organizations, only the Anti-Defamation League actively opposes goals and timetables in affirmative action programs.

Referring to the head of the Anti-Defamation League and the Mayor of New York, he said, "It is cruelly unfair to measure the entire Jewish community by the Morris Abramson and the Ed Koches."

"The A.D.L. is wrong on this issue and its position does not reflect that of the majority of Jews," he said.

Mr. Hooks said the idea that Jews were opposed to goals and timetables was a perception as "unfair" as the belief that Thomas Sowell, a conservative black economist, spoke for a large proportion of blacks.

He Says Work Is Continuing

Mr. Saperstein denied that his appearance at the convention represented an attempt to "paper over a deep rift." He said that black and Jewish groups had been working for

months to strengthen their relationship.

He cited a two-day conference in Washington in May, which brought together 80 black and Jewish leaders from around the country. Among their shared concerns, according to a statement issued by Mr. Hooks and Rabbi Alexander Schindler of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, were "the destruction of social programs by the Reagan budget, the attempted dismantling of civil rights enforcement by the Justice Department and the security of the state of Israel."

Mr. Saperstein said, however, that there was "no question but that some resentment remains" among Jews over remarks by the Rev. Jesse Jackson in his Presidential campaign last year.

But, he said, if Mr. Jackson was "in-

sensitive to anti-Semitism in his own remarks," he has appeared recently to be attempting to make amends. Mr. Jackson's efforts in that direction, he said, included statements condemning President Reagan's visit to a cemetery in Bitburg, where members of the Waffen SS are buried.

Coin Minting Bill Approved

WASHINGTON, June 25 (UPI) — The House gave final approval Monday to a measure to mint commemorative coins to raise money for the restoration of the Statue of Liberty and Ellis Island. In addition, the bill authorizes the minting of new silver bullion coins, with the silver for the coins to come from the strategic stockpile, which is awash in unneeded silver.

EAST SIDE
466 Lexington Ave.
(Corner East 45th St.)
212-986-3323
HOURS: Mon. to Sat. 8:30-8
OPEN SUNDAY 10-6

Brothers

CAMERAS, ELECTRONICS & VIDEO

WEST SIDE
130 W. 34th St.
(Opposite Macy's)
212-695-4158
HOURS: Mon., Thurs., Fri. 9-8:30
Tues., Wed., Sat. 9-7:30
OPEN SUNDAY 10-5

MAIL ORDERS ACCEPTED...FOR ORDERS OUT of NEW YORK STATE CALL TOLL FREE 800-847-4039

Guaranteed In Stock at Our...

LOWEST PRICES

EMILY R. AND KIVIE KAPLAN BUILDING
2027 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036
(202) 387-2800



religious action center
Commission on Social Action of Reform Judaism

Co-Director: ALBERT VORSPAN
Co-Director & Counsel:
RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN

June 28, 1985

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
National Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Dear Nate:

I have heard of your illness and I can only wish you God's healing and a speedy recovery.

I know that you read The New York Times report of my speech before the NAACP convention. While I believed that it was important to indicate that the ADL's position was not reflective of the view of the majority of Jewish organizations, the Times report skewed my remarks into an ad hominem attack on the organization. At the press conference after the speech, I went to great lengths to talk of the many contributions which the ADL has made to the fight against racism and discrimination. In addition, I explained the ADL's position at great length as a principled and moral position. Since the Times reporter was not at the speech but only the press conference, I felt it was particularly unconscionable to omit the context of the quoted remarks. May I suggest contacting the Dallas Morning News reporter, William R. Deener, for an independent source of my remarks.

For your use in whatever way you feel is appropriate I am enclosing a copy of my letter to the New York Times and a draft of my speech in the general form it will be published in the NAACP's national magazine.

B'shalom,

David Saperstein

P.S. I have just read your press release. It certainly does not raise the level of this debate. I am deeply disappointed in you.

cc: Ken Bialkin
Rabbi Alexander Schindler ✓
Dan Mariaschin

*to the best of my recollection,
bracketed parts indicate
written text omitted for
time reasons in the oral
presentation.*

Draft of NAACP speech. Dallas, June 25, 1985

You cannot know the honor you pay me with your invitation to address this conference. My life has been blessed by my association with this organization. As a child, two of my great heroes were Roy Wilkins and Kivie Kaplan. Kivie Kaplan was a living legend for social action minded Jews. This extraordinary Jewish leader; a builder of the NAACP; the architect of its life membership program; its president for the last 7 years of his life--until running from one NAACP meeting to another he was felled in the airport by a heart attack. Kivie Kaplan whose good will vanquished racists; whose vision transcended any religious or racial barrier. His message to us today would be to "Keep smiling."

I have been blessed during my decade long tenure in Washington to work side by side with two of the most colorful, talented, and successful lobbyists in the Nation's Capitol: Clarence Mitchell and Althea Simmons.

And I have been blessed to call Benjamin and Francis Hooks friends. Dr. Hooks who is today perhaps the civil rights leader exemplar, the most articulate and eloquent spokesperson for our common vision in the land today. He has been my teacher and inspiration. Truly I am honored.

This conference follows by some five weeks another extraordinary and memorable retreat of national and local black and Jewish leaders called by the NAACP and the UAHC. The retreat was aimed at finding ways to heal some of the wounds of the past years; of forging a coalition of equals, of partners committed to working together in pursuit of a nation of fairness and equality for all its citizens. Throughout the country, other black and Jewish organizations, public interest groups and foundations watch with anticipation, knowing that if we, the children of Roy Wilkins and Kivie Kaplan cannot succeed in leading a new coalition of decency, no one can.

And that retreat succeeded only because we did some brutally honest soul searching and sharing. [We came to some frank conclusions: that a great distance had grown up between us; that we had to give up the fairy tale that our interests would always be congruent; that sometimes we would have to agree respectfully to disagree; sometimes we would be competing in the arenas of economic, political, and social advancement. But we also realized that that was true of every friend and ally -- that such competition ought not prevent us from working together.] We succeeded in forging an alliance of respect and cooperation because we were willing to shatter some of the myths and stereotypes we held of each other. Today I stand before you at the start of this legislative plenary to shatter some of those myths so that we can overcome misunderstanding and distrust in order to reshape this nation into the land we both dream of. Some of these words might be startling and I hope refreshing to hear from a Jew. I can only assure you that they are true and reflect where most Jews in America are.

In setting the context for this exploration, let us honestly recognize that the breakdown of interaction between the two communities has made us less sensitive to each other's fears and needs, causing a sense of betrayal and disappointment made all the worse because our expectations of each other are so high.

Jews have failed to appreciate that affirmative action is as precious to blacks as Israel is to Jews; that despite civil rights laws, virulent racism still deprives blacks of opportunities we and others take for granted; that the poverty rate for blacks is three times that for the country as a whole; that

pride in Rev. Jackson's successes has little to do with his view on the PLO but everything to do with his ability to legitimize the political aspirations of blacks, to prove that, finally, even the White House can be an equal opportunity employer.

Blacks, on the other hand, have forgotten that one generation after the gas chambers of Auschwitz, Jewish nerves are still raw; that Jews know full well that if the Arabs could militarily destroy Israel today, they would not hesitate to do so and only American aid and support stands in the way; that blaming Jews for the failure of Jackson's political aspirations is scapegoating; that loose talk about Jewish control of the media and political system is nothing less than anti-Semitism.

So let us shatter some myths.

MYTH: These differences mean that Blacks and Jews no longer can work together. The old coalition is dead. Despite the cautions of responsible leaders in both communities that our differences must not be blown out of proportion and that our common interest and common efforts vastly outnumber our limited differences, we and the media have become obsessively fixated on those differences and on the statements of extremists in our communities.

REALITY: The reality is different. The reality you know. The reality is blacks and Jews working together every day to implement decent education and affordable housing, day care, and health care in local communities throughout the country. Louis Harris last year released a study indicating that Jews were more sympathetic than any other non-black Americans with the aspiration of blacks. Jews and blacks were the only two groups in America to vote overwhelmingly for Fritz Mondale. Jews in Los Angeles, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Atlanta have played a vital role in electing black mayors voting over 2-1 for black candidates, as opposed to the non-Jewish white community. Blacks from Birmingham to New York City have helped elect Jewish members of Congress as well as local officials.

On a daily basis in Washington national representatives of Jewish and black organizations work closely in advocating passage of legislation that would secure voting rights, fair housing, affirmative action, women's rights and handicapped rights. Jewish congressmen like Wolpe and Solarz are leading opponents of South African apartheid. Black members of Congress are strong supporters of Soviet Jewry and aid to Israel; and they unanimously opposed the sale of AWACs to Saudi Arabia.

There is a strong and abiding foundation to our relationship. Once we were indispensable partners in a coalition that transformed America for the good. Our fates are still bound up with each other. For we know that so long as any minority can be deprived or oppressed, no minority is safe. Only the enemies of social justice and equality rejoice when Jews and blacks square off against each other. Our proper enterprise is to join hands against our common enemies of bigotry, poverty, ignorance, and joblessness, and to work together for change.

MYTH: That Jews are part of the white majority and no longer a minority in America.

REALITY: Obviously there is some truth in this. Blacks see me as a white for that is the color of my skin. But you cannot truly understand Jews until you look beyond that barrier of skin into the soul of the Jew. We Jews remain a distinct minority--vulnerable, marginal, ever aware that even in this land of opportunity we are viewed by others as different. We feel threatened by the religious right and its political agenda; we know that the Klan and Nazis hate us as they hate blacks and all minorities; that many avenues of success are still limited particularly into the corporate board rooms of power, where neither blacks nor Jews are often seen.

We know that the ancient pharaohs who enslaved us cared not about our color; that the heads of the Inquisition were white; that the Russian perpetrators of the pogroms were white; that the heads of professional schools in America which used exclusionary quotas to limit Jewish students in every school in this land but forty years ago were white; that Hitler and Mengele and all the architects of the Nazi death camps were white. We too were white; yet we were different. We were the outsiders. The legacy of that history animates the Jewish passion for social justice. We know that if this thing called democracy doesn't work for everyone, it won't in the long run work for us.

[We know that social upheaval, urban tensions, economic distress, unemployment struggles between minority groups and denial of equality and justice for any are the noxious elements that undermine our security and well-being and will inevitably lead to scapegoating and anti-Semitism. And we know how much we need social justice to help our own. Although it defies the stereotype, there are Jewish homeless in New York and Chicago; there are Jewish unemployed throughout the country; 17% of our community is economically vulnerable and we are the community with the most serious problems of providing for our elderly because we are the oldest community in American life. The median age of the general populace--it just turned 30; the median age of the Jewish community--46 and growing older. We know that unless we stand together with blacks and labor to ensure as the policy of this country that those that built this land; paid its taxes and fought its wars have the inalienable right to live out their lives with dignity and decency, we will never be able to provide for our own.]

MYTH: That Jewish organizations oppose affirmative action.

REALITY: No myth has been more destructive to Black/Jewish relations--and no myth has less basis in truth. Of the eleven so-called major Jewish organizations in America, the largest--my own UAHC with over one million members and the Conservative movement with over one million members support affirmative action programs using goals and timetables as opposed to quotas. Our position is virtually interchangeable with the NAACP's. Did you know that we and others entered the DeFunis case on the side of the affirmative action program?

While Jewish groups may disagree on how to apply their views to particular cases, our general stance is shared by the American Jewish Committee, the National Council of Jewish Women, and the Jewish Labor Committee. Did you know that the American Jewish Congress and American Women's ORT support the use of court ordered quotas where there has been a finding of discrimination? Why is it that the black community has not read in the general or black newspapers of this diversity of views? Of the major groups, only two, the Orthodox and Anti-Defamation League, oppose goals and timetables believing them to be no different than quotas, and only one--the ADL--does it actively. Yet to the black community the ADL represents the entire Jewish community.

I am here today to tell that this stereotype is wrong and that the perpetuation of that myth is counterproductive to our common goals. Public opinion polls indicate that Jews are more supportive of affirmative action than any other segment of the white community.

(see last page)* It is true that we have our ADL and our Morris Abrams and Ed Koches who disagree with my views. They are entitled to their views. Indeed, I believe their views are well-intentioned and that they enrich the free marketplace of ideas, adding to our democratic strength. But make no mistake about it: to the majority of Jews and Jewish organizations their views on this issue are wrong. And it is as cruelly unfair to measure the entire Jewish community on this by the Morris Abrams and Ed Koches as it is to measure the black community by the Clarence Pendletons and Tom Sowell. Measure us rather by the Joe Rauhs and the Al Vorspans; by the Howard Metzenbaums and the Bella Abzugs, by the rabbis like Schindler, Brickner, and Murray Saltzman who the president made his first target to remove from the old, once great Civil Rights Commission.

The majority of Jews believe that the issue is simple and straightforward. A society has an obligation--a deep, moral obligation--to overcome the evils of past discrimination, by giving special and meaningful help to its victims. But who are the victims? The Administration would suggest that they are limited to those individuals who can prove in court that they personally were the subject of discrimination. But blacks were not brought here in slavery as individuals, but as a people. They were not forced to live under Jim Crow laws as individuals, but as a people. And when discrimination is directed against groups, then so, too, must the solution be. [Challenge those Jews who tell you otherwise to tell you who said these words:

...years ago we thought that an equal opportunity would solve the problem of the gap between the various ...communities. If we have learned anything in these last ... years it is that equal opportunity is not sufficient. Preferential treatment is necessary if we are to bridge the gap and catch up with the 50% of our population who...through no fault of their own, but because of centuries of cultural and educational discrimination, could not compete.

Martin Luther King? Drew Days? Ben Hooks? No, these were the words of former Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin who was explaining how Israeli society was seeking to make real the promise of equality for its citizens who had come from Arab countries and who lagged educationally behind those who had come from European countries].

[And the fact is that race conscious affirmative action--especially remedial action--has a proven and documented record of success over the past two decades. Even the most rigorous remedies--goals and timetables and court-ordered ratios--have with few exceptions been administered with fairness, and with a sensitive regard for their impact on everyone, including those in the majority.]

MYTH: The Jewish community supports the Justice Department's efforts to overturn the fifty-one local affirmative action consent decrees and court orders.

REALITY: I am proud to tell you that just yesterday, the seventy members executive committee of the NJCRAC, the largest umbrella organization in my community, representing the eleven major national agencies and 113 communities around the country, (having recently voted to endorse the Kennedy-Gray bill in opposition to apartheid) voted, with only two votes cast in opposition, to publicly condemn the Justice Department for its efforts. And in communities like Indianapolis and Chicago where legal action is being taken we will join in all legal efforts to resist these pernicious efforts to undo a decade of successful programs.

MYTH: Jews support what this administration has done to the Civil Rights Commission.

REALITY: Nothing could be further from the truth. When the president began his efforts, the NJCRAC opposed it. I testified before the Senate Judiciary Committee regarding our opposition. Our prominent Reform Rabbi Murray Saltzman was one of the first whom the president wanted to replace.

And when this past month, the President further undermined the independence and integrity of the Commission by replacing many of the state commission members and chairs we immediately joined in a joint statement with the NAACP in condemnation of this move. And how did this administration react to that criticism? Astonishingly by suggesting that since there were 40 more Jews added among the 550 members of the state commission, criticisms of the President's actions must reflect "unspoken anti-Semitism." What affrontery! What chutzpah! For Linda Chavez, the administration's spokesperson on this issue, to attempt to distract legitimate criticism by interjecting the issue of anti-Semitism is a reprehensible form of political scapegoating. Above all, it is a blatant effort to drive a wedge between our communities. We must arise together to say, "We will not be divided." Mrs. Chavez' comments demean the office of the President for whom she speaks. It is now incumbent upon the President to disavow these statements which represent perhaps the first time in American history that an administration has stooped to using the issue of anti-Semitism as a political tool.

And finally, let us dispel one last myth. But this one is not about Jews--it is about this administration and its claims to be committed to civil rights and to the traditional values of America.

It is time for all people of conscience and decency, Jew and non-Jew, to condemn the policy of character assassination emanating from the White House and even from the United States Civil Rights Commission against those who oppose their views. What an outrage to characterize the heads of the civil rights movement today as just a bunch of money-grubbing predators, trying to protect their cushy jobs. What audacity to attack this prestigious and historic organization in such an extraordinary manner or to condemn en masse the 165 organizations affiliated with the Leadership Conference of Civil Rights where blacks and Jews work together daily.

And how indecent it is to impugn the good names of the men and women some of whom have been the heart and soul of the civil rights movement in this country over the past forty years. It is possible, of course, for people to differ in good faith on issues affecting civil rights. It is possible to be so fearful of quotas that every remedial order, every example of meaningful affirmative

action, is seen as a threat to individual freedom. But is it fair, is it seemly, to launch an attack on those very institutions, those very individuals, who have struggled for decades to fulfill the dream?

Our leaders' attempt to demolish the towering figures and the honored traditions of this movement bring shame to our nation.

In the old days, the way to resist the advancement of civil rights was with fire hoses and police dogs and clubs. But as a preeminent Jewish leader Jordan Band has pointed out, there is another way, which may be just as cruel. And that is to oppose civil rights by loving it to death. By professing undying support for the abstract of absolute equality, while creating obstacles to the real advancement of those who have been left behind. How has this administration done that? By weakening the enforcement of the civil rights laws; by reducing school lunch programs for poor kids; by cutting the job corps; by chipping away at work incentives for welfare recipients; by reducing nutrition programs for poor pregnant women; by holding down educational aid and subsidized housing and a host of other programs that help the poor; by opposing the Civil Rights Restoration Act which would reverse the effect of the Grove City College decision of the Supreme Court; and by crippling the Legal Services Corporation.

My friends, fair employment is a hollow victory to the unemployed. Equality in theory is no victory at all to the hungry. Civil rights advocates who can do no more than proclaim that "equal means equal" without creating equality in face, present us with a cruel distortion of the word.

The President promises that his programs will bring civil rights; that his safety net will help the truly needy. But between the promise and the deed is an aching abyss filled with the shattered lives of millions of Americans: the elderly trapped on fixed incomes; the disabled facing barriers at every turn; the stymied victims of racism and sexism; the fathers forced to leave their families so they can receive welfare; the lost legion of minority youth who are out of school, out of jobs, out of hope--all these in danger of being recycled into a permanent underclass that erodes the soul of America and makes a mockery of our vision of fairness and equality.

If you wish to truly understand how Jews see these issues then you must look into the religious basis of our concern into the soul of the Jewish people. Perhaps the best window is a story told by Elie Weisel, the great Jewish writer - and at times I think the conscience of the Jewish community. He tells of an effort by three inmates to hide arms to resist at the concentration camp at Buna. They were caught and condemned to death by hanging in full view of all the inmates in the camp. Two of them were grown men who died instantly on the gallows. The third was a young boy with a strangely beautiful and angelic face. The boy was so light the fall did not break his neck and for half an hour he hung there hovering between life and death. The commandant commanded the inmates to walk before the boy and look at his face. Weisel writes: "By the time I got there his eyes were not yet glazed and his tongue was still red. And as I looked into his face I heard the man behind me ask "Where is God? Where is God that this could happen?" And within me I heard a voice respond: "Where is God? Here he is; he is hanging here on these gallows."

Where is God now? He is growing up to bitter frustration and despair in the ghettos and slums of our cities.

Where is God now? She is weeping with the crying mother cradling the sick child at the doors of the hospital closed to her because she can't afford it.

Where is God now? He is starving with a million children with bloated stomachs in the villages of Ethiopia.

Where is God now? He is scorned with the homeless who lie unnoticed on America's street beneath America's feet.

Where is God now? He is imprisoned with Jewish Refuseniks in the Soviet Union--people whose only crime is that they want to live as Jews.

Where is God now? He is deprived of his inalienable human rights with every black in South Africa, every minute of every day, until the scourge of apartheid is eradicated from the face of this earth forever.

[And I say to you that every moment we through our silence and apathy - through our feeling that we can't fight this administration which seeks to undo our good work - we do not act, we help to destroy God].

So let a new vision be proclaimed here at this conference--today when the eyes of America are upon you. Let us go forth black and white, Jew and Christian, men and women to reforge that coalition of decency. Together we can make real a vision of hope:

Hope for the lonely aged, who cry out in the night.

Hope for the hungry child, holding up the empty bowl.

Hope for the tortured prisoners, racked with pain and agony.

Hope for the lonely street people, searching for rest.

Hope for the unemployed, seeking real jobs at real wages.

Let God inspire us to teach this nation.

To build A-1 housing--not B-1 bombers.

To fill our silos with grain--not MX Missiles.

To freeze our weapons--not our elderly.

To control arms--not public speech.

To spring up for equality and justice--not trickle down our concern for human rights.

Once before the NAACP spearheaded a coalition which proclaimed a vision of hope, justice and peace which transformed this nation. Do not despair today because of our political travails. For this nation looks to you today; that vision is needed more desperately than ever before. Towards that end may we go forth together to build:

Build our communities into cities of fairness and opportunity;

Build our world into societies of justice and equality;

Build at last the nation of peace and freedom promised us.

Build stone upon stone; so that the time may come when those stones will be held sacred because your hands touched them and your children will say: "See - this our mothers and fathers did for us."

* At the press conference after the speech, I went to great pains to discuss the moral values underlying the ADL/Abrams view of affirmative action. I also spoke of their substantial contributions over many years to the fight against racism and discrimination.

For an independent and objective view of these issues were presented in both tone and substance. Contact the Dallas Morning News reporter covering the convention.

Bill Deener
214-977-8442



Co-Director: ALBERT VORSPAN
Co-Director & Counsel:
RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN

June 28, 1985

Mr. Morris Abram
345 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10022

Dear Morris:

I cannot tell you how deeply pained I was by our conversation yesterday. You have long been a hero of mine, representing the finest ideals of the Jewish people. While in recent years we have taken divergent viewpoints I had thought we did so with respect and appreciation. The irony is, as people in the Leadership Conference of Civil Rights could tell you, I have long been and continue to be a defender of you in their forums.

You feel wronged by my remarks. In retrospect, while I believe that what I said was true, I believe that it was an error to have used your name. I realize that you see it as part of a sustained attack on your integrity that has gone on over the past two years - an attack that I regard as abhorrent and unconscionable. I did in fact speak out publicly criticizing Ben Hooks for his remarks about you. My comments were carried on several radio stations. You can look as far and wide as you want and you will never find anyone that has heard me say a pejorative comment about you in public or private. And whether I was right or wrong in my judgment I did not intend - nor do I think even now - that my remarks at the convention were pejorative either.

While the intensity of your attack on me on the phone deeply hurt, I realize its source and can only hope time will bring some kind of reconciliation between us. I would like very much to meet face to face at the earliest possible time and discuss this first hand.

What I have been most concerned about was not the tone of our conversation but about the legitimacy of the substance of what you said.

This past day since we talked has been one of great soul-searching for me. I have been particularly concerned about your accusation that the only reason that one Jew would stand publicly before an audience of non-Jews and criticize another Jew is to grandstand to that audience for applause.

On the one hand, you are not just another Jew. You are one of the most famous and influential Jews in this nation. You have chosen to become a symbol for one point of view on this controversial issue. You are perceived by the Black community as synonymous with our entire community. I believe that image needs to be put into perspective. I had hoped to do so in a way which did not impugn your integrity for to do so would impugn my own.

Page 2

On the other hand, I believe now that I could have made the same point without having mentioned any names. What is clear is that regardless of the objective "truth" involved you feel I failed in the ethical considerations involved here. That weighs very heavily on my heart.

I can only assure you again of my abiding appreciation for you and your work, and of my pain for having caused you pain.

As I indicated on the phone I have enclosed a copy of my letter to The New York Times and a draft of my speech as it will appear in the NAACP's national magazine. Much of what I say in the letter was in the speech as I delivered it (the bracketed parts were not in the speech as I gave it - to the best of my memory). But Morris, at the press conference following my speech I spoke at great length about the contribution the ADL and you had made over the decades in the struggle against racism and discrimination. You can check with any of the reporters. Since the Times reporter was not at my speech but only the conference it is even more unconscionable that the article omitted the context of the quoted remark.

You indicated that you wished me not to change the reference to you in the printed version. My preference at this time would be to make the change since a number of periodicals in the Black and Jewish communities have asked for it and I do not want to compound the harm you feel was done.

B'shalom,

David Saperstein

P.S. Since you were offended by my implicit - albeit manifestly respectful - criticism of you, I hope you will chide the ADL for the tastelessness of their press release on this matter.



Co-Director: ALBERT VORSPAN
Co-Director & Counsel:
RABBI DAVID SAPERSTEIN

June 28, 1985

Mr. Nathan Perlmutter
National Director
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith
823 United Nations Plaza
New York, NY 10017

Dear Nate:

I have heard of your illness and I can only wish you God's healing and a speedy recovery.

I know that you read The New York Times report of my speech before the NAACP convention. While I believed that it was important to indicate that the ADL's position was not reflective of the view of the majority of Jewish organizations, the Times report skewed my remarks into an ad hominem attack on the organization. At the press conference after the speech, I went to great lengths to talk of the many contributions which the ADL has made to the fight against racism and discrimination. In addition, I explained the ADL's position at great length as a principled and moral position. Since the Times reporter was not at the speech but only the press conference, I felt it was particularly unconscionable to omit the context of the quoted remarks. May I suggest contacting the Dallas Morning News reporter, William R. Deener, for an independent source of my remarks.

For your use in whatever way you feel is appropriate I am enclosing a copy of my letter to the New York Times and a draft of my speech in the general form it will be published in the NAACP's national magazine.

B'shalom,

David Saperstein

P.S. I have just read your press release. It certainly does not raise the level of this debate. I am deeply disappointed in you.

cc: Ken Bialkin
Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Dan Mariaschin

FRANK MANUELLO
Director, Communications

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

New York, NY, June 26....The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith today labeled remarks made at the NAACP's convention in Dallas by David Saperstein, co-director of the Religious Action Center of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, as "patronizing" and "purposefully misleading." In supporting the NAACP's pro-racial quota position, Rabbi Saperstein had said that ADL was out of step with the Jewish community in its opposition to preferential treatment in affirmative action programs.

Nathan Perlmutter, national director of the Anti-Defamation League, issued the following response:

"Kissing backsides isn't the way to strengthen relationships -- it's an old and familiar snivel. Understanding between groups doesn't come from patronizing; it comes from an honest and dignified exchange of views. For Rabbi Saperstein to criticize ADL while rationalizing Jesse Jackson's anti-Semitism is sadly revealing.

"His implication that the entire million member Union of American Hebrew Congregations supports quotas is more than disingenuous, it's purposefully misleading. The simple fact is that every poll taken on the subject reveals that the majority of Americans, including Jews, oppose racial quotas.

(more)

"The Anti-Defamation League has long supported legitimate affirmative action programs. What we find unacceptable are programs which confuse affirmative action with discriminatory racial preferences.

"Rabbi Saperstein's attempt to transform the issue of racial quotas into one of simply 'goals and timetables' is, at the very least, sleight of hand."

.

[REDACTED]



איחוד
ליהדות
מתקדמת
באמריקה

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

21 August 1979

FROM: RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER

TO: Leadership of the Reform Movement

The attached memorandum represents the position of the UAHC. I call your special attention to the specific responses it recommends.



838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

ASSOCIATION OF REFORM ZIONISTS OF AMERICA

OFFICERS

President
Rabbi Roland B. Gittelsohn
Vice-Presidents
Donald S. Day
Tracy H. Ferguson
Ruth Nussbaum
Rabbi David Polish
Treasurer
Norma U. Levitt
Associate Treasurer
L. Kenneth Rosett
Secretary
Theodore K. Broido
Executive Director
Rabbi Ira S. Youdovin

21 August 1979

FROM: Rabbi Ira S. Youdovin

SUBJECT: The Young Controversy and the PLO

It is now clear that Andrew Young's meeting with the PLO was not an isolated deviation from firm U.S. policy. Nor should Mr. Young's dismissal be misinterpreted as a comforting reaffirmation of American commitment not to deal with the PLO until it recognizes Israel's right to exist and accepts U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338. On the contrary, the Young affair has probably accelerated assessment of this commitment -- which has been a cornerstone of U.S. Middle East policy -- by making the issue a matter of public debate and galvanizing elements urging greater U.S. sympathy for the PLO.

In the weeks ahead, American Jewish leaders will be called upon to generate public opinion demanding that Washington affirm its unswerving commitment to its only democratic ally in the Middle East while, at the same time, working to prevent an irreparable schism between Jews and Blacks.

1. Analysis. When Mr. Young met with the PLO's U.N. observer Zehdi Labib Terzi on 26 July, he had every reason to believe that he was acting in the spirit -- if not the letter -- of his government's operative policy. At the time, the State Department was working for postponement of a Security Council meeting called for 1 August to consider a Kuwaiti-sponsored resolution, said to have been written by Yasir Arafat, which would have had the effect of superseding Resolutions 242 and 338. Heretofore, the United States would have been counted upon to veto any attempt to tamper with 242 and 338 as being deleterious to Israel's interests and jeopardizing the framework upon which the Camp David accords are based. In this case, however, American diplomats were involved in a full-scale effort to avoid casting a veto which Arab blackmailers had threatened would provoke another OPEC price increase, if not an outright embargo on U.S. oil supplies. This effort continues.

The American objective is finding language for a substitute resolution referring in some way to 242 and 338, but phrased in rhetoric on Palestinian rights acceptable to the PLO. If the PLO will endorse even a vague reference to 242 and 338, the State Department can claim that the terrorists have changed their policy and are now legitimate negotiating partners. While no sane person would be anything but overjoyed with signs of PLO moderation, the fact is that the Washington

Star on 12 August quoted Yasir Arafat as reiterating in the strongest possible terms his organization's rejection of 242 and 338 and Israel's right to exist. In this light, the American initiative is nothing but an ill-advised and utterly dishonest attempt to cosmetize the PLO as something its own leader says it is not.

2. The American Commitment. America's commitment not to deal with the PLO until it recognizes Israel was given four years ago by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. In exchange, Israel agreed to withdraw from territories west of the Suez Canal taken in 1973, including some rich in petroleum resources. In the dynamic of Middle East affairs, Israel is inevitably compelled to trade hard-won tangibles such as land for intangibles, promises written on paper. At Kilometre 101 and at Camp David Israel has demonstrated her willingness to take risks for peace. But if the United States can back away from a commitment fundamental to its Middle East policy, what is to prevent Egypt from reneging on its commitments three years hence, after the last Israeli soldier has departed from Sinai? American policy on the PLO is not merely a posture that can be changed for short-term strategic reasons. It is a commitment that affects the entire climate of Middle East negotiations. American duplicity in honoring its own pledges ill serves the peace process, particularly when the State Department resorts to such transparent measures as explaining that these "contacts" do not constitute "negotiations." We believe that many people who are now calling for American dealings with the PLO do not fully understand the implications of this tack.

There is also insufficient appreciation of the impact Arab oil blackmail is having on American foreign policy. On 2 August, a "high Administration official" was quoted by the reliable Hedrick Smith of the New York Times as saying that if substantial progress is not made on the Palestinian issue within 10-12 weeks, American oil supplies might be affected. The Administration certainly bears responsibility for insuring our country's energy supply, but knuckling under blackmailers' threats is an ill-advised way of pursuing this objective. Universal experience has shown that paying blackmail only whets the extortionist's appetite for higher stakes.

3. Jews and Blacks. The Young affair is not an issue between Blacks and Jews. Nor should it be allowed to become one. Andrew Young's color had nothing to do with his appointment as U.N. Ambassador, his service at the United Nations, or his resignation.

The Jewish community did not call for his resignation. The day before Mr. Young resigned, the presidents of nine major American Jewish organizations met with Robert Strauss, who was then on his way to the Middle East. Only one of the presidents demanded that Mr. Young be dismissed. Headlines proclaiming "Jewish Leaders Demand Young's Ouster" were written a priori, with reporters subsequently telephoning around to obtain substantiating quotes.

The exact circumstances surrounding Mr. Young's resignation are still vague. One thing is sure, however: he was not driven out by Jewish pressure.

On the contrary, the Jewish community is acutely aware of Mr. Young's extraordinary record as a force for good in our country and in the world. UAHC president Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler characterized him as "a steadfast friend of Jewish causes from his earliest days in the Civil Rights Movement."

Jews and Blacks share a broad range of mutual concerns. In recent years our traditional alliance has been eroded somewhat by disagreements over such issues as affirmative action. It is crucial that the current situation be a challenge to

renewed dialogue, not a reason for erecting new barriers which are certainly contrary to the interests of both Jews and Blacks.

On the other hand, we must make every effort to head off an emerging Black position supporting the PLO. While the Black community understandably feels an affinity for their Third World brothers and sisters, the PLO's ruthless exercise of violence mocks the non-violence of Martin Luther King, Jr. and betrays the memory of this great American.

4. Summary: Directions for Community Involvement. Concern for Black-Jewish relations should not obscure the central issue: The State Department's policy that seeks to cosmetize the PLO and transform this terrorist gang into a fit negotiating partner. President Carter has on numerous occasions reiterated Secretary Kissinger's commitment to Israel. The State Department, however, has violated that solemn pledge by overtly or covertly encouraging Ambassador Young to traffic with the PLO, a pattern that it repeated with U.S. Ambassador to Austria Milton Wolf. It is time for President Carter to establish his authority over the Arabists in the State Department and make crystal clear that we are a country that honors its commitments to its friends, its allies and its principles.

a. Send cables -- and encourage others to send cables -- to the White House demanding that the United States veto any Security Council resolution which in any way alters Resolutions 242 and 338. It is not surprising that President Sadat joined Prime Minister Begin in rejecting the proposals brought by Robert Strauss. The Camp David accords and the Egypt-Israel peace treaty are based on these resolutions. Tampering with 242 and 338 jeopardizes the entire peace process.

b. Undertake to explain to groups in your community the true nature of the PLO, and the importance of American resolve not to deal with terrorists. The PLO's commitment to destroy Israel is so beyond the pale of acceptable conduct that many Americans refuse to take the PLO at its oft-repeated word. Yasir Arafat has had many opportunities to prove that international acceptance might have a moderating influence. He has addressed the U.N. General Assembly, met with leading statespersons and was recently afforded state receptions by Austrian Chancellor Kreisky and former West German Chancellor Brandt. Nevertheless, the uncompromising line continues and intensifies.

c. Jewish friends of the NAACP, Urban League, SCLC, etc., should find occasions to remind these groups that the PLO is pledged to the elimination of the State of Israel and that for Blacks to sponsor the PLO would be equivalent to Jews putting a kosher stamp on the Ku Klux Klan. It is grotesque that the SCLC, in placing the mantle of respectability on the PLO, did not even insist on the elementary conditions that the terrorist gang foreswear indiscriminate killing and accept Israel's right to live.

Americans are also conditioned to believe that conversation, itself, is beneficial. In most instances this is true. But the right of a sovereign nation to exist is hardly a basis for fruitful discussion. Until the PLO declares itself ready to accept minimal standards of human decency, the only appropriate response is no response at all.

Black Jews

September 14, 1988
3 Tishri 5749

Mr. Robert J. Marx
Congregation Hakafa
Glencoe, IL 60022

Dear Bob:

I read your statement on Black-Jewish Relations made over a month ago. For some reason it reached my desk only this day, or at least only now do I have the time to peruse it.

Be that as it may, I just want you to know how admiring I am of your words. Your thoughts were well conceived and magnificently expressed.

Be well. Have a good New Year, you and all those you love.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Ans
for type

Robert J. Marx
Congregation Hakafa
Glencoe, Il. 60022
(312) 835-0410
July 28, 1988

Statement on Black-Jewish Relations

There is ultimately something frightening about our meeting today. That we should need to gather here at all is both a confirmation of the prejudices of those who would teach us to hate and a realization of the fears of those who have never dared to hope. If we have become a city divided, then something terribly ugly and misshapen has been loosed against us. The enemy for both of us, for blacks and Jews, is prejudice and discrimination. It is racism in the market place and in housing and employment. It is anti-Semitism and its weary stereotypes. It is frustration and despair and anger and fear.

Let it be said at the outset that racism and anti-Semitism must not, cannot, be allowed to rise unanswered in our community. Our presence here today is an affirmation of the conviction that silence is as effective an ally of evil as violence. We are here today to vow that we will not be silent. We who are blacks and Jews need hardly be reminded that there is so much more that ought to unite us than the fears and suspicions that are invoked to divide us. We are both people who have been compelled to drink from the cup of persecution and discrimination. Over so many decades, we have struggled together to create a society of justice and equal opportunity. And yet, we now find among us men and women who translate even good motives into sinister ones, and who translate sinister motives into terrifying promises and even acts of violence.

Past cooperation is evidently no guarantee of present understanding or of future compassion. The present and future are in our hands, and yet we sense that we stand at a historic crossroad. We know, we who are here this day, that whatever future we fashion may be filled with either tension and hatred or with understanding and compassion.

The statement we issue today, is not a simple affirmation of good will. It is the product of aching soul searching, of countless agreements and disagreements, and of a determination that our two great communities must not be set against one another.

Do we speak for all Jews and all blacks? Of course not. There is much work to be done in both of our communities to build bridges and remove fences. But we are confident that we do represent so many people of good will, who will not

turn our city into another Lebanon. We are determined to create our own caring world, right here in Chicago, where all people, black and white together, may climb the mountain and look into the sacred eyes of hope.

hek (known)

American-Arab Relations Committee

820 Second Avenue
New York, New York 10017

ignore

Dr. M.T. Mehdi,
President

(212) 972-0460

October 3, 1985

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for your letter of September 17, 1985 replying to my letters of July 21 and September 12, 1985 in which I requested you to dissociate yourself from the racist remark of Israeli General Sharon. Sharon had referred to the gentile world as the "goy," an expression which is as ugly as "kike" or "nigger," or "Aerab."

In your letter you referred to a number of issues, but did not dissociate yourself from Sharon's racist expression. To disagree with him on a policy of some kind is one thing, to denounce him for his racism is another. Do please re-read my letters. I know that you are indeed opposed to racism, but in your reply you did not express opposition to Sharon's racism.

Regarding Rabbi Meir Kahane, of course, it is legitimate to denounce his ideas. But to give him "absolutely no platform" which the American Jewish community must have done, as you state, is not "koshar," at least because it violates the spirit of the First Amendment.

Kahane raises an important point which should be discussed and debated in the open society. I have appeared several times on radio and television with him, discussing his views on Zionism and other issues. The issue with Kahane is simple: He believes, with all good Zionists, that the Jews of Brooklyn (and elsewhere) have the right to occupy Palestine. We disagree.

If the Jews of the world have the "right" to occupy Palestine, then the Palestinians have the "duty" to make room. If the Palestinians refuse to fulfill their "duty" and leave their homeland, making room for the incoming Jews, they should be pressured, peacefully if possible, forcefully if need be, to leave and/or be evicted. For with the right to occupy Palestine comes the right to evict the "dwellers" on the land. That is exactly what Kahane is demanding and all "good" Zionist should support him!

These are serious questions which should be discussed publicly. If you wish, we can ask Mr. Tony Brown to see if he can arrange for a discussion of these issues on The Tony Brown Journal, particularly because this exchange started as the result of your remarks on his show concerning Rev. Minister Louis Farrakhan.

Please let me hear from you.

All good wishes.

Sincerely,

Cc. Mr. Tony Brown.

M.T. Mehdi

September 17, 1985

Dr. M. T. Mehdi, President
American-Arab Relations Committee
820 Second Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Dr. Mehdi:

Obviously you are not familiar with our news releases and the general posture of the Jewish community. How could you be? We have repeatedly denounced Kahane. In fact, the American Jewish community succeeded in isolating him and gives him absolutely no platform here.

As far as Sharon is concerned, I, too, have taken vigorous exception to his views when they clashed with mine. Indeed, several years ago I appeared on t.v. in Israel urging Begin to fire him. So much for the facts.

Now I would appreciate some information from you: what extremist Arab leader have you and your organization denounced? Unfortunately, I have seen nothing of that sort, even, for instance, when an Arafat danced in the street when Jewish women and children were killed; indeed, when he rejoiced in like manner when Sadat was assassinated.

With good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Mr. Tony Brown

bcc: Richard Cohen - F.Y.I. only

American-Arab Relations Committee

820 Second Avenue
New York, New York 10017

ac ?

Dr. M.T. Mehdi,
President

(212) 972-0460

September 12, 1985

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

On or about August 3, 1985, I received a note from your Assistant, Ms. Judith J. Miller, acknowledging the receipt of my letter of July 21, 1985 and advising me that you were on a trip. Hope it was a joyous experience and now you are back in the best of health.

I am awaiting to receive your reaction to General Sharon's anti-Gentilism in the light of your exhortation on Tony Brown's TV program that Black leaders have an obligation to shut up a Farrakhan or any other Black spokesperson who might be stimulating prejudice. As I said in my letter, I agree with you. But now I have an uneasy feeling that such ideals are only to be implimented by Blacks and others, but not by the Jewish leaders.

Indeed, I have a feeling that Jewish leaders and intellectuals behave towards the Arabs as the anti-Semite and the White racists treated the Jews and the Blacks, refusing to meet with them or even to communicate with them directly.

On our part, a group of Arab American leaders will be delighted to invite you to lunch at the United Nations. We shall also invite Mr. Brown. Please feel free to bring two or three of your colleagues. We need to break the ice and establish some exchange here in American between Arabs and Jews where we are freer than the Arab and Israeli leaders in the Middle East.

Please let me hear from you.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

M.T. Mehdi

Cc Tony Brown

Kalman
Grunberger
LH

American-Arab Relations Committee

820 Second Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dr. M.T. Mehdi,
President

(212) 972-0460

September 12, 1985

Mr. Tony Brown
TONY BROWN'S JOURNAL
1501 Broadway, Suite 2014
New York, N. Y. 10036

Dear Mr. Brown:

Please find herewith a copy of my letter of September 12, 1985 to Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

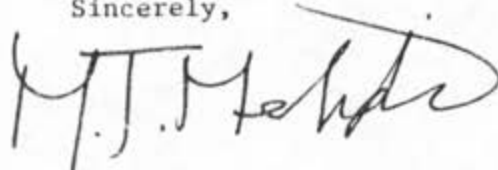
You may recall that Rabbi Schindler appeared on your program, July 20, 1985, exhorting Black leaders to "dissociate" themselves from remarks by Rev. Louis Farrakhan and others who might stimulate prejudice.

The Israeli General Ariel Sharon had made a statement, reported in the New York Times (May 7, 1985), insulting the human race (except the Jews, of course). I have called upon Rabbi Schindler to rebuke Sharon by dissociation himself from his reference to the Gentile as "goyim" which is as insulting as the reference by anti-Semites to the Jews as "kikes."

I have also invited Rabbi Schindler to lunch at the United Nations and I do hope that you will be able to join us when it is arranged.

The Tony Brown Journal is an educational experience.

Sincerely,



Cc. Rabbi Schindler

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler


August 23, 1985

Albert Vorspan

Harris Gilbert; Rabbi David Saperstein

Bek/S.
I chanced to be at a dinner party in Connecticut yesterday where I met Bill Goodman of our Danbury congregation. He tells me that a few months hence, every single Connecticut rabbi (Orthodox, Conservative and Reform) will exchange pulpits with a nearby Black pastor, with the black minister occupying the schul pulpit on Friday night or Saturday morning and the rabbi occupying the pulpit of the church on Sunday morning.

You're probably aware of this but just in case you aren't, I thought I would let you know. I think that's an excellent program.



August 12, 1985

Mr. Michael Kelley
25 Nagle Avenue, #5E
New York, NY 10040

Dear Mr. Kelley:

I have returned from travel out of the country and found your thoughtful letter of July 30 awaiting me. I am grateful to you for taking the time to write and share your thoughts with me. I thank you, too, for your kind comments regarding my appearance on Tony Brown's Journal.

With appreciation and kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

July 30

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

I watched ~~with~~ with great satisfaction
your appearance on "Tony Brown's Journal." Thank
you for speaking such refreshingly good sense—
and for doing so without being abusive or
condescending. Moderate black leaders
would do very well to heed your admonitions.
An antisemite is an antisemite, and because
he may also be black is no reason not to
condemn him forthrightly. The black man
has suffered mightily, but he cannot
resolve his suffering by persecuting or
oppressing in his turn. Racism must
be abolished, but another vice must not
be erected in its place. But it seems
too many black people, impassioned by
their cause, forget that others too have
a history of anguish.

Thank you again for emphasizing the
commonality of interests which unite the black
and Jewish communities, and Thank you
for not quavering at the sight of a black
anti-semite.

Michael Kelley

25 Eagle Ave
#5E
NY NY 10040



THE CITY OF NEW YORK
OFFICE OF THE MAYOR
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10007

July 17, 1985

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

Thank you for your letter dated July 10.


I do appreciate the fact that you felt badly about the incident and that David Saperstein, as you put it, stated "views (which) were his own and did not represent an institutional judgment on the part of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations."

I received a note today from Morris Abram in which he included a copy of a letter he received from Saperstein as well as a copy of Saperstein's speech. Morris described Saperstein's letter to him as "snivelling." He also sent a copy of the Anti-Defamation League release of June 26 quoting Nat Pearlmuter with which I agree.

Having seen Saperstein's letter to Morris and concurring with Morris' description of its contents, I require no personal response or apology from Saperstein. You are now at least on notice as to positions your Executive Director takes which undoubtedly are perceived as those of the institution he is representing.

All the best.

Sincerely,


Edward I. Koch
Mayor

mg

cc: Morris Abram

July 10, 1985

His Honor the Mayor Edward I. Koch
City Hall
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Mayor:

I returned to New York a few days ago after my usual peregrinations both inside and outside the United States and caught up with the events which transpired during my absence. Among them was the unhappy commentary which appeared in the New York Times following Rabbi David Saperstein's appearance at the National Convention of the NAACP.

I really feel bad about this incident and I write primarily to let you know that David's views were his own and did not represent an institutional judgment on the part of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

David tells me that the journalist recorded his commentary only in part and thereby made his comments concerning you much more abrupt than it actually was in its fuller context. I have little doubt that the journalist was largely responsible for the article as it finally appeared.

Be that as it may, I do want you to know that I feel very bad about it all.

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

45 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10154

TELEPHONE (212) 644-8000
TELECOPIER (212) 644-8202
RAPIFAX (212) 355-0118
TELEX WU 12-7831; WUI 666-843

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1946-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)
JOHN F. WHARTON (1927-1977)

ADRIAN W. DEWIND
LLOYD K. GARRISON
JAMES B. LEWIS
MORDECAI ROCHLIN
HOWARD A. SEITZ
SAMUEL J. SILVERMAN
JOHN C. TAYLOR, 3RD.
COUNSEL

SAMUEL MYERS
EUROPEAN COUNSEL

WRITER'S DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

(212) 644-8654

1714 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
TELEPHONE (202) 822-1800
TELECOPIER (202) 822-1845
TELEX 248237

8, PLACE VENDÔME
75001 PARIS, FRANCE
TELEPHONE 296.10.15
TELECOPIER 260.63.59
TELEX 213649F

EDINBURGH TOWER (34TH FLOOR)
15 QUEEN'S ROAD, CENTRAL
HONG KONG
TELEPHONE 5-220041
TELECOPIER 852-123-4286
TELEX HX66208

MORRIS B. ABRAM
NEALE M. ALBERT
MARK H. ALCOTT
DANIEL J. BELLER
MARK A. BELNICK
ALLAN BLUMSTEIN
RICHARD S. BORISOFF
JOHN F. BREGGIO
DAVID C. BRODHEAD
RICHARD J. BRONSTEIN
JOSEPH E. BROWDY
CAMERON CLARK
JEROME ALAN COHEN
EDWARD N. COSTIKYAN
JAMES M. DUBIN
RICHARD A. ENGELMAN
LESLIE GORDON FAGEN
PETER L. FELCHER
GEORGE P. FELLEMAN
BERNARD FINKELSTEIN
MITCHELL S. FISHMAN
MARTIN FLUMENBAUM
MAX GITTER
RICHARD D. GOLDSTEIN
BERNARD H. GREENE
JAY GREENFIELD
PETER R. HAJE
ALBERT P. HAND
SEYMOUR HERTZ
JOSEPH S. ISEMAN
ARTHUR KALISH
LEWIS A. KAPLAN
ANTHONY B. KUKLIN
JEROME KURTZ
STEVEN E. LANDERS
ROBERT L. LAUFER
WALTER F. LEINHARDT

ARTHUR L. LIMAN
MARTIN LONDON
BAYLESS MANNING
JOHN E. MASSENGALE
JOHN P. MCENROE
COLLEEN MCMAHON
ROBERT E. MONTGOMERY, JR.
ROBERT H. MONTGOMERY, JR.
DONALD F. MOORE
TOBY S. MYERSON
PAUL J. NEWLON
MATTHEW NIMETZ
KEVIN J. O'BRIEN
JOHN J. O'NEIL
STUART I. ORAN
JAMES L. PURCELL
LEONARD V. QUIGLEY
SIMON H. RIFKIND
STUART ROBINOWITZ
SIDNEY S. ROSDEITCHER
STEVEN B. ROSENFELD
PETER J. ROTHENBERG
ERNEST RUBENSTEIN
MOSES SILVERMAN
EILEEN S. SILVERS
STEVEN SIMKIN
ROBERT S. SMITH
THEODORE C. SORENSON
GERALD D. STERN
ALLEN L. THOMAS
JUDITH R. THOYER
JAY TOPKIS
JOSE E. TRIAS
DAVID T. WASHBURN
ALFRED D. YOUNGWOOD
NORMAN ZELENKO

June 26, 1985

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Alex:

After the letter dated yesterday was dictated, but before it was transcribed, I read with disgust the abuse of my name by David Saperstein as reported in the New York Times of June 26, 1985 (p. A23) -- my name along with Mayor Koch's and, I assume, Ken Bialkin's and Nate Perlmutter's by inference.

I find it truly must violate some kind of practical, if not moral, commandment for a Rabbi to be so sniveling as to denounce prominent Jews who hold conscientious opinions in the presence of, let us be blunt, Benjamin Hooks.

In 1984 I wrote several letters to Ben asking whether he had actually said of me and Professor Bunzel, former President of San Jose State University in California, in public: "I don't know how we could have any more incompetent people anywhere in this nation . . . unless they openly wore Ku Klux Klan robes."

oeWJS

Rabbi Alexander Schindler

-2-


June 26, 1985

Of course, Ben Hooks never replied, not to my letter of the 17th of February, nor to that of the 5th of May, nor to the registered letter of the 23rd of April. (Of course, Saperstein never challenged this conduct of Hooks.) On the other hand, it was at that same time that Dr. Martin Luther King, Sr. was writing a letter to the Senate Judiciary Committee (copy enclosed) and Bayard Rustin and other black leaders were writing in a similar vein. I retain the position of Chairman Emeritus of the United Negro College Fund and am a member of the Board of Trustees of Morehouse College. How dare this man of your staff do this, and to what end? Apparently, he makes amends for Jesse Jackson and attacks the Mayor, the ADL and me in the same speech. From a community relations viewpoint, the most damage of the Saperstein performance may have been his unnecessary denigration of white Anglo-Saxon Protestants. Thus: "He maintained that any differences between blacks and Jews 'pale in comparison to relationships between black and white Anglo-Saxon Protestants.'"

I would be very grateful if you would let me hear from you.

To you, my personal best.

Sincerely,


Morris B. Abram

pmf
Enclosure

Dear Alex -

*Before this was
mailed, we had
talked on your phone
call which I deeply appreciate*



RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER • UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
PRESIDENT 838 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100

June 27, 1985

To Whom It May Concern:

I am the president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the congregational body of Reform Judaism in the United States and Canada. We are comprised of some 800 synagogues and our major resources come from dues paid by these member congregations.

The director of our Maintenance of Union Membership Department, Joan Greenberg, has been called for jury duty. She is willing to serve and is fully prepared to devote the required two weeks to such service. A panel for a case which has the possibility of continuing beyond two weeks, indeed for a period of a month or more, would create a hardship for her and for our organization. In addition to overseeing a number of staff members in the MUM office, Ms. Greenberg travels to meet with congregations and discuss their financial situation, not only for the purpose of working out a proper dues arrangement but also to provide guidance and counsel in regard to the congregation's budgeting and fund-raising programs. She has a number of congregational meetings planned for the summer months and were it necessary for her to change her plans it would be extremely difficult to reset her travel schedule.

This is the year of a UAHC General Assembly when representatives of our member-congregations, some 3000 to 4000 delegates, meet to determine the future program and policies of the UAHC. Congregational representation and dues payments are intertwined and this makes Ms. Greenberg's availability essential during the coming months. Our convention takes place in Los Angeles, October 31-November 5, and there is a great deal of pre-convention administrative work which impinges directly upon the work of Ms. Greenberg and her staff.

I write to urge that Ms. Greenberg be excused from any case which has the possibility of a long trial period and permit her to be available for a panel selected for a case which would be tried in a briefer period of time. Your serious consideration of this request will be much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

MEMORANDUM

*I thought this
might interest
you.*

Barney Frank

BARNEY FRANK
FOURTH DISTRICT
MASSACHUSETTS

OK-13

June 25, 1985

Barney Frank, M.C.
Representative of the State of Massachusetts
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Frank:

Many thanks for sharing with me the June 17, 1985 Congressional Record which records your comments on the statements made by the NAACP and the UAHF in regard to comments made by Linda Chavez. I am grateful to you for bringing this matter to the attention of your colleagues, even as I thank you for letting us know that you have inserted our comments as well as your own letter to Ms. Chavez into the Congressional Record.

With thanks for your continued leadership and with every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc. Joe Paul
RC

tion. Excise taxes, estate and gift taxes and other miscellaneous taxes constitute a very small portion, about 9 percent, of the revenue base, and raising taxes in these areas, even if it could be done, would not produce much in new revenue. That leaves new taxes as the only real option for additional revenues. However, there are powerful political forces aligned against any alternative in this area, and they will be strengthened by the reluctance of the country to go through another fight on taxes after tax reform has been adopted. Tax reform will leave few palatable options for increases in revenue to reduce the deficit. Furthermore, substantial political capital will be used in the tax reform effort, and there is a real question whether any will be left to invest in the even more difficult task of increasing taxes, especially next year with the midterm House and Senate races on the horizon.

□ 1310

Mr. MADIGAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. PANETTA. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MADIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding.

This is a very courageous speech that the gentleman from California is making, and I want to acknowledge that.

As I read the budget agreed to by the Senate and the President, five items represent 75 percent of that total budget. Defense, as the gentleman has suggested, adjusted for inflation only, social security with increase capped at 2 percent, Medicare and Medicaid with actual reductions contemplated in funding, and interest on the debt represented 75 percent of the total of that agreement. So as the gentleman in the well said, we could literally eliminate all other functions of government, the Department of Transportation, the FBI, the Department of Agriculture, and those kinds of things and still not be able to balance the budget.

I have shared this thought process the gentleman is expressing now with various constituent groups with whom I have spoken about the problem we are facing. The question they ask me is, how could they be guaranteed that if the Congress does raise their taxes, those taxes will actually be used to address the deficit problem and not be just used to fund more Government spending?

Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the gentleman has an answer to that question?

Mr. PANETTA. Mr. Speaker, one of my suggestions is that we not bring a tax reform bill to the floor that adds to the deficit, but the second step is that additional revenues be adopted and set aside for deficit reduction, and that any new revenues be conditioned on the enactment of \$56 billion in savings, hopefully through the reconciliation process.

I believe we can ensure that the reductions are adopted first by the House before any tax increases take effect so that we avoid the risk of enacting tax increases that are not accompanied by substantial spending reductions. I think the two have to go together.

Mr. MADIGAN. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. PANETTA. I am pleased to yield to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. MADIGAN. Mr. Speaker, I wonder if the gentleman, because of his acknowledged expertise in the area of budgets, has taken a look at where we would be on the deficit this year if we were operating on the pre-1981 Internal Revenue Code?

Mr. PANETTA. I believe the revenue loss from the 1981 tax bill was originally projected to be in the vicinity of \$750 billion over 5 years.

□ 1320

So, where would the deficit now be without the tax cut? I would assume the answer is that it would be much lower. I cannot give the gentleman an exact figure, but it clearly would be substantially lower.

Mr. MADIGAN. Well, if the gentleman would yield to me for just one further comment.

Mr. PANETTA. I would be pleased to.

Mr. MADIGAN. I absolutely share his concern that this exercise that we are about to engage in on tax reform may result in exacerbating the problem that the gentleman is describing.

I think it is unfortunate that we are doing this at this time, because I think we ought to address this deficit as the No. 1 problem facing the Government. I admire the gentleman's remarks and his courage.

Mr. PANETTA. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman.

We are, it seems to me, at an historic crossroads on the deficit issue. We can make the tough choices this summer and do what everyone recognizes must be done to deal with the deficit crisis, or we can keep pretending that spending cuts alone are enough to balance the budget.

Tax reform represents both an opportunity and a threat. It can be used as a vehicle for addressing the need for new revenue, or it may result in less revenues and deeper deficits.

At the very least, it seems to me essential that the House make the following commitments with regard to tax reform:

One, that no tax reform bill will be brought to the floor if it adds to the deficit.

Second, that in bringing a tax proposal to the floor, it should also be used as a vehicle to include increased revenues that are specifically targeted at deficit reduction and conditioned on the enactment of \$56 billion in savings for 1986.

The realities of the budget are that 85 percent of spending now goes for

defense, for entitlements, and for interest payments on the national debt. There is no way that we can reduce that deficit unless we are prepared to deal with controlling the growth in defense spending, controlling the growth in entitlement spending, and raising sufficient revenue to pay the bills.

What is missing today is strong leadership on the deficit problem. The President and both parties have painted themselves into a corner on the revenue issue, and it will take a great act of will to cut through the rhetoric and the political posturing and get to work on cleaning up the deficit mess once and for all. This vacuum of leadership must end, or the Nation will remember 1985 as the year it lost the battle against the deficit.

ORDER OF BUSINESS

Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 5 minutes at this time.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

NAACP AND REFORM JEWISH GROUP CRITICIZE LINDA CHAVEZ FOR TRYING "TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN BLACKS AND JEWS"

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. FRANK] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FRANK. Mr. Speaker, the question of relations between various ethnic groups in this country is a sensitive one. In the 1984 campaign, as will sometimes happen in the heat of a very tough political campaign, some tensions flared up; one in particular which I regretted was the degree of friction between some people in the black community and some in the Jewish community.

Many Americans, including many of us here in the House, including I think the overwhelming majority of both black and Jewish Members, felt that those tensions were unnecessary and did not in fact reflect reality; that is, we felt that there was and continues to be a strong community of interest between the black and Jewish Members of this body and among black and Jewish people in the country at large on a whole range of issues in opposing the agenda of the radical right.

We have seen this kind of cooperation between the two groups; for instance, in trying to impose the imposition of religious practices in schools by the coercive mechanism of the States. We have seen it also in efforts to oppose apartheid in South Africa.

I was particularly distressed, therefore, to read a couple weeks ago a statement by Miss Linda Chavez, who is Deputy Assistant to the President for Public Liaison, formerly the Exec-

utive Director of the Civil Rights Commission, which was clearly an effort, it seems to me, for political expediency purposes to recreate tensions between the black and Jewish communities. I found that an extraordinarily regrettable event.

There have been under this administration's control of the Civil Rights Commission changes in the composition of State advisory commissions on civil rights and the number of commissions that are headed by either members of minority groups or women has substantially diminished. White men are chairs of most of these now. In and of itself, that is a fact to be considered. Clearly, there are people of all sexes and races who are capable of doing this job; but a consistent shift away from women and minority group members in the area of civil rights raises certain concerns, since it is women and minority group members who have been generating many of the complaints about civil rights. Prejudice on racial and sex oriented bases have been admitted by the President and others to be serious problems.

Some people raise the issue about whether or not there was some trend away from the civil rights commitment. Miss Chavez, instead of meeting that on the merits, instead of arguing, as she had a right to argue of the facts supported her, that nothing like that was involved, instead told the newspapers, it was quoted in the New York Times of May 26, that she thought the objections to the shifts in chairs of the civil rights commission at the State level reflected "unspoken anti-Semitism."

Now, Mr. Speaker, I have to be honest with you to say that perhaps I am a little dim-witted. I am not sure how to figure out what unspoken anti-Semitism is. Maybe it consists of gestures. I am not sure. I would like to see perhaps a demonstration by Miss Chavez of how she figures out that something is unspoken anti-Semitism.

I wrote to her 2 weeks ago. One, I thought that she might have felt misquoted. People in this administration when they see their remarks in print, it has been my experience, often do not like them and claim they have been misquoted, and sometimes they are. I wrote and asked her for evidence that she had for that statement. I asked her to document for me the unspoken anti-Semitism.

As a Jewish-American, I am glad when people speak out against anti-Semitism. I am even glad when people speak out against unspoken anti-Semitism. I suppose I would not want to have an unspoken answer to antisemitism, because that would not be good enough, but I think an oral answer to implicit anti-Semitism is useful; but I would like to know how the Deputy Assistant to the President figured it out. I mean, was it the gestures that people used? Was it the clothes they were wearing? Was it the tone of their voices?

Now, I wrote to her and I asked for evidence. That was 2 weeks ago. I told her I thought that if she had no evidence, for her to have made that statement seemed to me deplorable. For someone whose responsibility in the White House is to work on group relations as she has, for a former Assistant to the Executive Director of the Civil Rights Commission, as she has been, to deliberately for political purposes respond to a criticism by stirring up black-Jewish tensions in an area where they did not exist seems to me to be deplorable.

I expect people in this administration to have views different than my own. I do not expect a high-ranking official of the President, for political purposes, to divert criticism, to stir up unfounded frictions between the black and Jewish communities.

I am forced to conclude by her failure to provide any evidence for her charge whatsoever that this reference to "unspoken antisemitism" was precisely that, an effort to fan political tensions.

I cannot think of a more irresponsible thing for someone in her position to do than to try and fan tensions between groups.

I was particularly pleased with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the NAACP to join together to criticize Miss Chavez' statement. In a joint statement by Rabbi Alexander Schindler and Benjamin Hooks, NAACP President, they said: "Mrs. Chavez' accusation is both false and inflammatory. For an administration spokesperson to attempt to distract criticism by interjecting the issue of antisemitism is a reprehensible form of political scapegoating and a blatant effort to drive a wedge between blacks and Jews."

Mr. Speaker, I ask that that statement and a copy of my letter to Miss Chavez be included with my remarks today.

THE SPEAKER pro tempore. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

The statement and letter are as follows:

NAACP AND REFORM JEWISH GROUP CRITICIZE LINDA CHAVEZ FOR TRYING 'TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN BLACKS AND JEWS'

WASHINGTON.—The presidents of the NAACP and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations joined today (Fri., May 31) in assailing a statement by Linda Chavez, Deputy Assistant for Public Liaison to President Reagan, that there may be "unspoken anti-Semitism" in criticism of Administration efforts to change the composition of state advisory committees on civil rights.

In a statement by Benjamin L. Hooks, NAACP president, the Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, UAHC president, the two organizations declared: "Mrs. Chavez's accusation is both false and inflammatory. For an Administration spokesperson to attempt to distract criticism by interjecting the issue of anti-Semitism is a reprehensible form of political scapegoating and a blatant effort to drive a wedge between blacks and Jews."

"We will not allow ourselves to be driven apart, nor to lose sight of our common values and goals."

Mrs. Chavez had noted that many of the white males now serving on state advisory committees were Jews, and said: "I wonder if there is not some unspoken anti-Semitism."

The NAACP-UAHC statement observed that of the 550 positions on the state committees there were now "a grand total of 40 more Jews than before," and remarked: "The critics of the Administration's plans include not only the members of our own organizations but the millions from both our communities who seek to eliminate racism and discrimination, whether aimed at blacks, women or Jews."

Mr. Hooks and Rabbi Schindler said Mrs. Chavez's remarks "demean the office of the President for whom she speaks. It is now incumbent upon the President to disavow such statements."

They said they were "dismayed" by the "racial, gender and ideological changes" reflected in the 313 new appointments to state civil rights advisory committees under the Civil Rights Commission reorganization plan. They pointed out that the number of women chairing the state committees had been reduced from 20 to four and the number of blacks from 21 to nine, and asserted that the general thrust of the Civil Rights Commission "includes opposition to the Civil Rights Act of 1984 and the Civil Rights Restoration Act of 1985." They added:

"The Commission favors elimination of hundreds of affirmative action hiring and education plans and has focussed its efforts on eliminating supposed 'reverse discrimination.'"

The joint statement charged that in the past several years the Civil Rights Commission "has abandoned its clear Congressional mandate to be an independent voice and watchdog for civil rights. If it succeeds in recreating the state advisory committees, in its own image, no watchdogs will be left."

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, DC, June 3, 1985.

MS. LINDA CHAVEZ,

Deputy Asst. To The President, Office Of Public Liaison, The White House, Washington, DC.

DEAR MS. CHAVEZ. I was disturbed to read in the Sunday, May 26th, New York Times a suggestion by you that there may be "unspoken" anti-Semitism in some of the criticisms that have been made in the changes in the composition of state civil rights advisory commissions. If, in fact there is such "unspoken anti-Semitism" it should be quite explicitly condemned and I would appreciate any evidence you have for the fact that this is involved in such criticism. I am always pleased when public officials choose to speak out against anti-Semitism—even when they are speaking out against unspoken anti-Semitism.

On the other hand, I confess to a certain skepticism that much evidence suggests that "unspoken anti-Semitism" is involved here. It certainly seems to me entirely legitimate for people to criticize so drastic a shift in the composition of civil rights advisory commissions of the sort that was documented by The Times. And if your comment about anti-Semitism was simply speculative and not based on any significant evidence it seems to me gravely mistaken. To make such a charge in the absence of evidence is in my judgment to stir up dangerous intergroup tensions for purely political reasons. It is because I would find such an accusation disturbing if it was not based on evidence

that I have asked you what evidence you have for it. Because I think this is a matter that ought to be fully aired publicly. I hope you'll be able to clarify for me the basis on which you made your anti-Semitism charge.

Finally, if you feel you were not accurately or fairly quoted by The New York Times I would appreciate your letting me know that so that I will not be commenting myself on a comment which does not fully represent your views.

BARNEY FRANK.

MY ADVICE TO THE PRIVILEGED ORDERS

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. ECKART of Ohio). Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Texas (Mr. GONZALEZ) is recognized for 60 minutes.

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, for some time now I have been addressing my colleagues and also for the record and beyond to what I call the privileged orders in America that today control America's destiny. The money barons, esconced in the powerful international banking empire and in complete control of the Federal Reserve Board, which in turn is the equivalent of what people call throughout the world the central bank, and while the American people, particularly the business community, have been sacrificed on the altar of the international scheming of these privileged elites that are not accountable to anybody; they transcend any national sovereignty in its ability to regulate, much less control, their activities, and that includes the United States. They transcend any kind of accountability in any manner, shape or form.

The ancient despots and potentates, from Croesus on had nothing by way of the power that these elites and privileged orders have today.

□ 1330

For many years, I would say 22 of the 24 I have been here, I have directly and indirectly been addressing the matter. It is a source of no satisfaction to say, "Well, I said so," or "I predicted."

I never have risen, and especially for the record, with that in mind. The fundamental purpose is the fundamental reason why I was chosen from the 20th Congressional District to represent that particular area in particular in the national legislative body; that is, to legislate. The record speaks for itself.

There is no Member of this House from the Speaker on down that can count upon the number of amendments, resolutions, bills, and any form of legislative activity in the last 24 years in number and content, initiated by myself, in most instances authored by myself, of course, with the help of the legislative counsel and services of the Congress, enacted into law, than what I have. That is the record.

In international finance, the international journals in French and German and in English and England will refer occasionally to the Gonzalez

amendment. What was this? This was an amendment that I appended soon after I became chairman of the Subcommittee on International Finance, chairman of which I was for 10 years, and it had reference to the fact that it is the only congressional policy ever developed to take care of those situations in which through expropriation foreign sovereignties have expropriated national properties. It is the only one.

There was a so-called and still is a so-called Hickenlooper amendment, but this never was policy. The Hickenlooper amendment was overcharged and never has been invoked.

The Gonzalez amendment on four different occasions soon after its enactment—it did not even have to be invoked, all the Secretary of the Treasury through the American delegate in the various international institutional financial organizations that we belong to had to do with just to signify to our member there that we were thinking of invoking the Gonzalez amendment and those national sovereignties that had for political reasons expropriated American property came to the bargaining table and found an adjustment basis.

Now, it did not mean anything to the great, vast interests such as Anaconda Copper because, why, Anaconda Copper does not need the U.S. Government, it can take care of itself. But it did mean something to those 25 businessmen in Minnesota who had invested \$25 million in a fishmeal plant in Peru and found themselves expropriated with no recourse. They were just going to lose their investment, even though they had been invited. Through the Gonzalez amendment they saved their life savings and their interests.

So when I speak to the RECORD that is exactly what I am doing.

We live in a day and time of television and televised coverings of these proceedings, which I applaud. I have always believed that everything we do should be reported so that since I was in the State senate and had to fight to try to convince the English-language TV stations to take a report by way of a reportorial type concerning the activities during the session of the senate, and had been steadfastly refused by the only two then English-language TV stations, until the third, the competitor was put in place, which always has proved to me the value of competition, and then, after my election to the Congress the other reluctant two did, and I am very grateful and very proud to say that everyone, with the exception of one now, for the past 6 years or so, does report now a 5-minute report. The Spanish-language TV station, which did not come into being in San Antonio—and, incidentally, was the only full-time Spanish-language TV station in the United States until comparatively recently—now, they always were accessible because the owner of that station was also the

owner of the only Spanish-language radio station for many years, and they asked to obtain a report ever since I was on the city council, so that if you understood Spanish in San Antonio you probably, by listening in, could have a little bit of knowledge of what was going on in the inner sanctums of the city council.

Let me say to my colleagues that that experience of 3 years was the toughest, the meanest, the most arduous in my whole career. It was mean because local politics can get mean and, in fact, I am here today because when I stood up to speak like I continue to do there were elements that thought that was dangerous talk, that I should be eliminated. So an attempt was made after I had been harassed and intimidated by having some individuals come by in a fast car and fire a .38 into the garage door when I was parking the car. Naturally if they had wanted to hit me, I do not see how they could have missed. So I interpreted that as an attempt to intimidate. And then subsequent to that, an attempt to try to frame me up.

I was a lone voice on the city council. I had no powerful social position or wealth of any kind. In fact, I want to say for the RECORD that today, 33 years in public elective office later, I am just as poor or just as rich as I was when I started out. So that I am proud of that record and that achievement, and I am proud of the fact that I have always attempted to account.

So when I first came to the Congress, the reports were 15 minutes' duration because this was before the advent of the networks, powerful network system which today controls information in our country; 95 percent of the viewing time of the American people, that is their source, and is controlled by these vast concentrations that today are interlocking. They are interlocking because now they have been merged to the point where I would say about less than nine financial institutions control the greatest part of the aggregate of our financial resources in this country, and through interlocking directorships everything else, including these powerful media sources.

As a matter of fact, the reason I said awhile ago that all three but one of the English-language, full-time television stations, noncable, the reason two of the three only is that the third knocked me out when in one of my reports I made allusion to a powerful absentee Australian, or Aussie alien, who owned the local newspaper, and has continued his ownership of one of the first he acquired in the United States, and who at that time I reported had interests in almost every little leaf that fell off of the local political tree as well as the national tree. And in making allusions of this kind I was immediately called to task by the TV manager. At that time the television

A

✓

±

June 28, 1985

Morris B. Abram, Esq.
345 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10154

Dear Morris:

Thank you for your thoughtful response to my East-West talk. I, too, hope that we will have a chance to talk concerning this and kindred subjects.

On the other issue, raised in your second letter, I spoke to David Saperstein and you should be hearing from him. He will also send a correction to the New York Times.

Be well.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

PAUL, WEISS, RIFKIND, WHARTON & GARRISON

345 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10154

TELEPHONE (212) 644-8000
TELECOPIER (212) 644-8202
RAPIFAX (212) 355-0118
TELEX WU 12-7831; WUI 666-843

RANDOLPH E. PAUL (1946-1956)
LOUIS S. WEISS (1927-1950)
JOHN F. WHARTON (1927-1977)

ADRIAN W. DEWIND
LLOYD K. GARRISON
JAMES B. LEWIS
MORDECAI ROCHLIN
HOWARD A. SEITZ
SAMUEL J. SILVERMAN
JOHN C. TAYLOR, 3RD.
COUNSEL

SAMUEL MYERS
EUROPEAN COUNSEL

WRITERS DIRECT DIAL NUMBER

1714 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
TELEPHONE (202) 822-1800
TELECOPIER (202) 822-1845
TELEX 248237

B. PLACE VENDÔME
75001 PARIS, FRANCE
TELEPHONE 296.10.15
TELECOPIER 260.63.59
TELEX 213649F

EDINBURGH TOWER (34TH FLOOR)
15 QUEEN'S ROAD, CENTRAL
HONG KONG
TELEPHONE 5-220041
TELECOPIER 852-123-4286
TELEX HX66208

MORRIS B. ABRAM
NEALE M. ALBERT
MARK H. ALCOTT
DANIEL J. BELLER
MARK A. BELNICK
ALLAN BLUMSTEIN
RICHARD S. BORISOFF
JOHN F. BREGGIO
DAVID C. BRODHEAD
RICHARD J. BRONSTEIN
JOSEPH E. BROWDY
CAMERON CLARK
JEROME ALAN COHEN
EDWARD N. COSTIKYAN
JAMES M. DUBIN
RICHARD A. ENGELMAN
LESLIE GORDON FAGEN
PETER L. FELCHER
GEORGE P. FELLEMAN
BERNARD FINKELSTEIN
MITCHELL S. FISHMAN
MARTIN FLUMENBAUM
MAX GITTER
RICHARD D. GOLDSTEIN
BERNARD H. GREENE
JAY GREENFIELD
PETER R. HAJE
ALBERT P. HAND
SEYMOUR HERTZ
JOSEPH S. ISEMAN
ARTHUR KALISH
LEWIS A. KAPLAN
ANTHONY B. KUKLIN
JEROME KURTZ
STEVEN E. LANDERS
ROBERT L. LAUFER
WALTER F. LEINHARDT

ARTHUR L. LIMAN
MARTIN LONDON
BAYLESS MANNING
JOHN E. MASSENGALE
JOHN P. MCENROE
COLLEEN MCMAHON
ROBERT E. MONTGOMERY, JR.
ROBERT H. MONTGOMERY, JR.
DONALD F. MOORE
TOBY S. MYERSON
PAUL J. NEWLON
MATTHEW NIMETZ
KEVIN J. OBRIEN
JOHN J. ONEIL
STUART I. ORAN
JAMES L. PURCELL
LEONARD V. QUIGLEY
SIMON H. RIFKIND
STUART ROBINOWITZ
SIDNEY S. ROSDEITCHER
STEVEN B. ROSENFELD
PETER J. ROTHENBERG
ERNEST RUBENSTEIN
MOSES SILVERMAN
EILEEN S. SILVERS
STEVEN SIMKIN
ROBERT S. SMITH
THEODORE C. SORESEN
GERALD D. STERN
ALLEN L. THOMAS
JUDITH R. THOYER
JAY TOPKIS
JOSE E. TRIAS
DAVID T. WASHBURN
ALFRED D. YOUNGWOOD
NORMAN ZELENKO

(212) 644-8654

June 25, 1985

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
Union of American Hebrew
Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear ~~Rabbi Schindler~~: *Alex* -

I thank you for sending me "East-West Relations: A Jewish Perspective." It is beautifully composed and I favor its ends.

Some questions:

(1) "... and they point to the insanity and immorality of defending anything -- be it ideology or creed or nationhood -- by threatening the destruction of everything there is." Since one does not know if the defense of anything will destroy everything, but the non-defense of something may destroy everything worth living for, where does this philosophy lead us? Doesn't the Nazi experience tell us that we must try to defend something and against other things? Would you have objected to the war against the Nazis if (as might have been the case) they could have threatened the West with an atomic bomb?

(2) On authoritarian/totalitarian governments, as an old student of Aristotle and Plato, I see a difference. The totalitarian government is the living incarnation of the organic state, that which legitimately controls every aspect of life: The government is the brain of the organism; the armies and navies its arms; the legs its transportation system; and the ruler is its heart and conscience. Authoritarian states generally cannot enforce, if they believe, such pagan nonsense. Moreover, authoritarian states change;

Rabbi Alexander Schindler

-2-

June 25, 1985

witness Spain and Portugal in recent times. Finally, authoritarian states may expel Jews but they almost inevitably leave totalitarian states. Does that not tell us something?

(3) I applaud every stricture you pronounce on the Soviet Union vis-a-vis the Jews, but how do you square this with the belief that other leaders in other areas cannot make similar observations about the nature of the Soviet society? Must the protest of the nature of the Soviet system come only from Jewish voices and strike Jewish themes and lamentations?

(4) Some inferences: We are a super power only in the technical means of death delivery. I do not like the symbolism usually engaged in (certainly not by you) of two super powers facing each other implying that there should be a plague on both houses.

I say Dobrynin last week and sometime soon perhaps we can talk about that and so many other issues.

All my best, and with respect I am

Sincerely,



Morris B. Abram

pmf

✓

6/9

May 30, 1985

Rabbi Peter S/ Knobel
Beth Emeth The Free Synagogue
1224 Dempster Street
Evanston, IL 60202

Dear Peter:

It was thoughtful of you to write about the UAHC-NAACP demonstration at the steps of the Justice Department. I appreciate your words of appreciation and encouragement.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

בית אמת



Beth Emet The Free Synagogue

1224 Dempster Street
Evanston, Illinois 60202
312 869-4230

Peter S. Knobel, Rabbi
David Polish, Founding Rabbi

May 28, 1985
8 Sivan 5745

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10021

Dear Alex:

Today I was watching television and saw you watching with some leaders of the NAACP in support of affirmative action. It makes me very proud to see our leadership continue to stand up for justice and human rights at a time when much of the country is turning away from it.

Congratulations on continuing to fight the good fight.

Shalom,

Rabbi Peter S. Knobel
psk:ag

B/L
May 31, 1985

Mr. Sam Brown
4086 Newport South
Deerfield Beach, FL 33442

Dear Sam:

It was good hearing from you. I'm glad that all is well with you and I thank you for sharing with me your dream of black/Jewish tours of each others social and religious institutions.

As our programs with the black community, including the recent Kivie Kaplan Institute with the NAACP, about which you read, fall within the direct purview of our Religious Action Center in Washington, I am taking the liberty of sharing your letter and clippings with the director of the Center, Rabbi David Saperstein. If he requires additional information he or a member of his staff will contact you directly.

All good wishes and warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Rabbi David Saperstein

Black Juvon

April 25, 1984

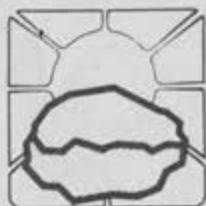
Count Leopold Franciszek Wojtanowski Chudzikiewicz
Florida Sunny-Rock Farms
338 West 22nd Street, Suite 22
New York, New York 10011

Dear Count Wojtanowski Chudzikiewicz:

Thank you for sharing your thoughts with me once again.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



FLORIDA Sunny Rock Farms

April 22, 1984

338 West 22nd Street • Suite 22 • New York, N.Y. 10011 USA
Telephone (212) 908-5549 Telex 661245 ROBFLE Attn: FSF
675-5228

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York City, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you for your letter of March 12, 1984. I have not acknowledged it because I had thought the anti-Semitic statements out of the mouth of Rev. Jesse Jackson would stop. They haven't. Only in recent days he is quoted in an interview as repeating the Russian and Arab lies about Zionism and Judaism. Yet once again no one responds.

Of course I was active in the Civil Rights Movement and the Marches on both Washington, and Trenton, and in other activities. I venture to say that The Union of American Hebrew Congregations has issued fewer statements about Jesse Jackson's anti-Semitic utterances than statements in favour of the Civil Rights Movement in the calendar years 1963, 1964, and 1965. Rabbi Schindler, do you think this is right?

I am vvery familiar with the various positions taken within German Jewry during the period first of the Nazi campaign, then of their Government, and if there is one thing Jewish spokesmen should have learned is that a silent statement is a worthless position. My local Reform Temple and my parents' and my brothers' are not qualified to handle this issue, this is a national issue that the President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations should address. What is the point of having a "Union" if it doesn't handle the major political anti-Semitic situation today?

If the Union has in fact issued statements, I would appreciate copies.

I remain,

Very truly yours,

Wojtanowski Chudzi Kewicz

Chunt Leopold Franciszek Wojtanowski Chudzikiewicz

WC/lfc

leader's edition

keeping posted

דבר בעתו

VOLUME XXV NUMBER 1



**JEW
AND
BLACKS**

contents

Blacks and Jews: Friends or Foes? — by <i>Albert Vorspan</i>	p 3
What's Wrong with Jewish Liberals — a <i>KP Interview with Tony Brown</i>	p 8
Talking It Out in Santa Cruz — by <i>Dan Pulcrano with Larry Glass</i>	p 18
Israel—Good for Soul — <i>Comments by Prominent Blacks</i>	p 20
Opinion Poll Shows Widening Rift	p 23

keeping posted (USPS 291-880) appears monthly from October through April. Address: 838 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10021. Phone: (212) 249-0100.

staff: Aron Hirt-Manheimer, Editor; Alan D. Bennett, Teaching Material; Robert Sugar, Art Director; Josette Knight, Annette Abramson, and Esther Fried Africk, Copy Editing; Margot B. Wilson, Circulation Manager; Ruth Walcott, L/E Typesetting; Maureen Gleason, L/E Design.

editorial board: Ralph Davis, Rabbi Steven M. Reuben, Rabbi Leonard A. Schoolman, and Rabbi Daniel B. Syme.

no part of any issue may be reproduced or photocopied without written permission of the Editor.

kp subscriptions: In US & Canada, 200 & more to one address, \$3.00 ea.; 11 to 199 subs. to one address, \$3.75 ea.; 1 to 10 subs. to one address, \$4.25 ea. Foreign, \$5.25 ea.; \$10.00 by airmail. Leader's Edition: US & Canada, \$5.50 per subs.; foreign, \$8.75, by air \$12.00.

single numbers of kp: 85¢ each; in bulk (10 or over), 75¢ per copy. KP Leader's Edition, single numbers, \$1.25 each.

keeping posted-leader's edition includes up to 8 pages of teaching material for the issue.

keeping posted is copyright © 1979 by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 838 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10021. Opinions of authors whose works appear in KP are their own and do not necessarily reflect the views of the UAHC or KP.

Second-class postage rates paid at New York, N.Y.

Vol. XXV, No. 1, October 1979.

dear reader

Just as this issue was going to press, a new dispute erupted between blacks and Jews that demonstrates the extent to which relations between these two groups have deteriorated in the last decade. An incident that should have remained a matter of foreign policy and personal conduct was blown up into a black-Jewish confrontation by several influential black leaders.

The controversy arose when Andrew Young, a highly respected black leader, was forced to resign his post as US delegate to the United Nations after the Israeli government disclosed that he had met with a PLO official. The meeting which was in direct violation of US policy embarrassed the Carter Administration at a particularly sensitive moment in its Middle Eastern negotiations. The Israeli disclosure was an attempt to counter what they regarded as a shift in US policy in favor of that terrorist organization. Young, an outspoken champion of black causes at home and abroad, was caught in the middle.

Ironically, Young, former chief aide of the late Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., has always been a steadfast supporter of Jewish causes, defending Israel and Soviet Jewry. In fact, one of his foremost concerns after resigning his UN post was that the incident not be turned into a black-Jewish confrontation.

Nevertheless, some influential black leaders saw the Young affair as another in a series of conflicts polarizing blacks and Jews. The Reverend Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference said, "If we have to maintain your friendship [referring to Jews] by refraining from speaking with Arabs, then that friendship must be reassessed." Civil rights leader Jesse Jackson called for a White House meeting of blacks and Jews to work out relations between the two groups which he said were "more tense this night than they've been in twenty-five years." In assessing the impact of the Young resignation on black-Jewish relations, Jackson compared it to the DeFunis and Bakke cases and to Israel's ties with South Africa.

These remarks and others contained in the pages of this *Keeping Posted* reveal that the tension between blacks and Jews in this country is nearing the breaking point. We can only hope that the leaders on both sides take immediate steps to reunite our communities as allies in the struggle against our real enemies—racism and social injustice.

about our cover



Front: Two of the students in an encounter on black-Jewish relations at the University of California, Santa Cruz (photos by Frank Commanday).

Back: Photo taken at NAACP Annual Fellowship Dinner, 1968. Pictured (left to right) are: Roy Wilkins, executive director, NAACP; Sammy Davis, Jr., chairman, NAACP Life Membership Committee; Charles Evers, field

director, Mississippi NAACP; and Father James E. Groppi, advisor, Milwaukee Youth Council.



blacks and jews: friends or foes?

BY ALBERT VORSPAN

American Jews responded powerfully to the fight against racial segregation and discrimination in the search for racial equality. In the heat of the climactic struggle of the 50s and 60s, the black-Jewish alliance was at the heart of the civil rights movement.

When the Mississippi Summer (1964) was organized to break the back of legal segregation in the then most savagely resistant state of the Union, more than 50 per cent of the young people who volunteered from all parts of the US were Jewish youngsters. Two of the three martyrs of that struggle, killed by mobs in Mississippi, were Jewish; the

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Albert Vorspan is the national director of the Department of Social Action of the UAHG. He has been deeply involved in civil rights and intergroup efforts. This article is drawn from his forthcoming UAHG book, Jewish Dilemmas of the Eighties.

third was black. Most of the funds raised by such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) were secured from Jews. Rabbis marched with Martin Luther King throughout the south; many were jailed; some were beaten. Jewish political leverage—often in a three-faith setting—helped to produce the landmark civil rights laws of the 60s.

moral issues clear cut

The moral issues were clear cut then. Could Judaism fail to distinguish between non-violent blacks seeking the elementary right to vote, to be treated without discrimination in a hotel, store, or a restaurant, and the bloody-minded mobs which attacked them with police dogs, cattle prods, high-pressure hoses, and even rifles? Not all Jews were willing to stand up and be counted, but

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., flanked by the late Jewish scholar and philosopher, Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel (with beret), and other clergymen at a memorial service.

there was no question where Judaism—and most Jews—stood.

Today, the issues of right and wrong in the continuing quest for racial decency are confused, ambiguous, and controversial. Good men and women stand on both sides of such thorny issues as affirmative action and busing. For, it is now clear, desegregating a small southern town in the 60s was easy compared to the mammoth effort to desegregate a vast industrial city like New York or Philadelphia with all the attendant problems of crime and violence, declining and decaying schools, and white flight to the suburbs.

affirmative action

One issue in the realm of race relations has risen to the level of great debate: affirmative action. As civil rights laws



Family and schoolmates of Andrew Goodman, a Jewish civil rights worker killed in Mississippi, 1964, at the dedication of a tree to his memory.

of major dimension were passed in the 60s, it became clear that it was not enough merely to pass laws prohibiting further discrimination against blacks. Society had to do something positive to make amends for 300 years of past injury to racial minorities. Thus Congress mandated "affirmative action," requiring colleges, employers, and government agencies to reach out in positive steps to bring the long-deprived minorities into the mainstream of American life.

Thus, affirmative action programs mushroomed in all phases of life. And, inevitably, conflicts about the limits of affirmative action simmered and exploded, dividing former allies, embittering millions of white Americans who felt that special treatment for minorities meant "reverse discrimination" against themselves and their children. As protest and anger swelled into legal challenges and public opinion tilted sharply against racial preferences in affirmative action, blacks felt betrayed and cheated of the opportunity finally

to make something of themselves in an America which seemed to be turning its back on the goal of full equality. That unemployment had reached Depression levels within the black community, particularly among young blacks (40 per cent of whom were jobless in some cities), added fuel to the gathering fire of anger and resentment.

the bakke case

The Bakke case became the lightning rod and the symbol of the mounting controversy about affirmative action. Bakke is a white Protestant male who had applied for admission to the medical school of the University of California at Davis. He was already 34 years of age, and this caused his rejection at twelve other medical schools to which he had applied, despite his good grades and strong motivation to be a doctor. At Davis he was also rejected and he blamed the affirmative action program which had been instituted by the school. In order to diversify their student body by inclusion of blacks, Asians, women, and American Indians, the university had developed a two-track admission system. In one track, sixteen places were reserved for qualified members of minority groups. While qualified to be medical students, these admittees had grade averages considerably lower than those admitted into the general admissions program. Indeed, Mr. Bakke—who was rejected—had higher grades than some of those accepted in the special track.

Bakke went to court, charging "reverse discrimination," contending that he had been excluded from the Davis Medical School because he was white and that this was a violation of his constitutional rights. The university, with the support of civil rights groups, fought back, arguing that it had the legal right to develop the system it did in order to overcome historic inequities and to bring persons of deprived background into the student body.

jews oppose quotas

The Bakke case snaked its way to the Supreme Court and it sundered the old civil rights coalition. Particularly, it sharply divided the organized Jewish

community and the black civil rights organizations.

Major Jewish groups submitted amicus briefs to the US Supreme Court in support of Bakke, arguing that what the Davis Medical School had created was nothing less than a quota system—a rigid, inflexible, numerical system which preferred one group to another. They pointed out that, historically, Jews had had much bitter experience with quota systems in Czarist Russia, even in early periods of American life, and elsewhere in their tormented history. Quotas, they argued, were obnoxious, unfair, and unconstitutional. They treated persons solely as representatives of groups (blacks, women, Asians, etc.) rather than as individuals entitled to individual rights. The Constitution does not protect group rights, only individual rights. Indeed, when people are judged as members of groups, it would follow inevitably that Jews would be accused of being overrepresented in colleges and graduate schools, and that would mean open discrimination against Jewish applicants.

need black doctors

Civil rights activists rejected the arguments made in behalf of Bakke. They pointed out that, prior to the creation of a special program by Davis, the medical school was virtually all white and all male. Without special efforts to reach out and recruit and provide remedial help, there would be no hope of diversity in the student body. They pointed out that America's black inner cities and rural ghettos needed black doctors if decent medical services were ever to be delivered to the black poor. They argued that affirmative action on the college and professional school level was succeeding, as evidenced by a growing percentage of minority doctors, lawyers, and engineers. Basically, they emphasized that it is not equality to bring everyone to the starting gate to compete in a race in which the minority youngsters are already crippled by a history of inferior schooling, bad housing, demoralizing treatment, and low motivation. Nor, they claim, is it a matter of individual rights. Blacks as a race were enslaved, brutalized, mistreated, and cheated by the society; blacks as a

group suffered deprivation; and the total society must redress these past grievances by genuine affirmative action. The total society has a transcendent public interest in overcoming the ugly heritage of the past by bringing the disadvantaged into the mainstream of American life so that America's future generations will not have to live in the dangerous volcano of an apartheid society.

supreme court decides

The Supreme Court came down right in the middle! It ruled in favor of Bakke, ordering the university to admit him on the ground that his constitutional rights had been violated. It held the university's two-track system was illegal because the minority students only had to compete against each other and were not made to compete against all other applicants in the pool. They characterized the system of reserving places as a "quota" which was not permissible under law.

In a closely divided vote (5 to 4), they also affirmed the validity of affirmative action programs (such as Harvard's) which avoided the flaws of those at UC Davis. And they went so far as to affirm that race could properly be taken into consideration in affirmative action programs along with a host of other factors, such as geography, grades, personality, motivation, and economic background. The Supreme Court compromised the issues, seeking to strike down the excesses without weakening the heart of affirmative action.

The Supreme Court has recently strengthened affirmative action in the Weber case, by upholding the right of a company and a labor union to enter into voluntary affirmative action programs to bring non-whites into a training program to qualify for crafts in which blacks and others had been badly underrepresented.

jews flee cities

Jewish behavior on race is full of dilemmas and ambivalences. Judaism, as a religious tradition, flatly rejects racism; but Jews as individuals are prone to racial bigotry as reflected in the widespread use of the Yiddish epithet "shvartze." Jews have been made sensitive to the impact of discrimination by their own history, yet Jews are heavily represented among slum landlords and exploitative merchants in many minority areas. Jews rarely resort to violence or overt meanness when blacks or hispanics move into the neighborhood; but Jews have fled the cities in a massive post-World War II exodus, moving to suburbs which are usually virtually all-white, thus helping to turn our cities into black ghettos choked by white suburban nooses.

From left to right: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Reverend Ralph Abernathy, and the late Rabbi Maurice N. Eisendrath, past president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.



blacks now seen as competitors

Jews once derived great self-esteem from the sense of benevolence extended to "them." Now, many Jews see blacks as competitors for scarce jobs as teachers or social workers, as well as scarce positions in graduate schools. It is probably correct to say that black-Jewish relations were never as good, even in the old days, as we retrospectively romanticize them as having been. They were inherently unequal, not peer to peer. We Jews provided much of the expertise, the legal resources, the leadership. We did it all for "them." This kind of subordinate role was long ago rejected by a black community which grew weary of being patronized and which, in the spirit of black autonomy, set out to take control of its own destiny. That clearly displaced many Jews, some of whom felt betrayed. It was a healthy and overdue revolt by blacks against a kind of white condescension, although it led too often to the excesses of black separatism and the overblown rhetoric of black power, thus further estranging blacks and Jews.

each group goes its own way

As Jews abandoned or were pushed out of the civil rights movement, they tended, like blacks, to become preoccupied with their own ethnic identity. The battle-scarred Jewish veteran of the civil rights struggle often plunged into the campaign for Soviet Jewry, the demanding fight for Israel's survival, the particular agenda of the Jewish people. Resurgent ethnic identity became the new American way, replacing the old, broad civil rights coalitions in which Jews and blacks had for so long joined hands at the head of the march.

Ethnic assertiveness was heard in the land, and the sense of overarching community began to fade away. There was, after civil rights and Vietnam and Watergate, no transcendent issue that brought all groups together in urgent alliance. Each group went its own way, fighting its own battle, and sometimes fighting each other in a fractured and tribal America. Civil rights, whatever it still is and requires, is no longer a coherent and definable movement.

In this new mood of group separatism, Jews and blacks have drifted apart. They have little human contact and their relationships feed on mutual stereotypes. Blacks see Jews as rich, privileged, powerful, prejudiced; Jews see blacks as poor, violent, living on welfare, burning with anti-Jewish bigotry.

stereotype blacks as pro-arab

Aside from the tensions which are intrinsic in our respective economic positions, there are other irritants. Some blacks have identified with the Arab cause against Israel, seeing the Palestinians as fellow victims of white oppression. Some blacks condemn Israel as an ally, covert or overt, of the hated regime of South Africa. These anti-Israel statements arouse deep distress and anger among American Jews. Some of us stereotype all blacks as anti-Israel and pro-Arab. The reality is that some black leaders are stalwart supporters of Israel, many blacks still have a positive image of Israel, and—at bottom—Israel is really no more important to the vital concerns of the overwhelming number of ordinary American blacks than Nigeria is to most American Jews. We Jews are understandably preoccupied with Israel. Blacks are preoccupied with *themselves*, with an economic disaster in which 40 per cent of their youth in some American cities are out of work, out of school, and out of hope! The patience to understand where the other person is coming from has worn thin in America, and black-Jewish relations are casualties of an attitude of "Me First," tinged with paranoia about the intentions of other groups.

grounds for hope

So, are black-Jewish relations beyond salvaging? There are some small grounds for hope. Blacks and Jews, despite everything, seem to share a common vision of a just, generous, and open society. Despite our drastic economic differences, we vote more alike than any other racial or religious groups. We both recoil against any smell of bigotry; we both wish to see government help to solve social inequity; we both support compassionate

Jewish ideals of social justice demonstrated at civil rights gathering.





Mitzvah Corps volunteers with neighborhood kids in New Brunswick, N.J. (Photos by Aron Hirt-Manheimer)

social welfare programs; we both wish to see America play a constructive and positive role in foreign aid and the building of structures of world peace. This continuing commonality should be at least one basis for improved black-Jewish relations.

Yet any improvement of relations will require changed perceptions of each other by both groups. This generation of blacks—especially young people—has little awareness of past Jewish contributions to human equality. And even those who are aware want to know: "what have you done for me lately?"

This attitude infuriates Jews who want to feel some appreciation for substantial sacrifices—often in blood—which they, beyond all other white groups, poured out for black rights.

we both need allies

And blacks, while nourishing their pride and self-worth and black power, must recognize that they cannot change America without allies, just as we Jews have to know we cannot protect Israel or help Soviet Jews without allies in American life. We have grown edgy and testy with each other. Bleak si-

lences stretch between us. New bridges must be erected. The demagogues in both groups murmur, why bother? And the enemies of freedom are elated as Jews and blacks square off against each other instead of their true common foes—poverty, ignorance, bigotry, disease, regressive social policies, joblessness, demeaning welfare systems, inhuman priorities in our national life which place infinite premium on missiles and nukes and less and less on the value of human life. Whether we like it or not, blacks and Jews are bound together in a common destiny. It is time to join hands once again. ■

kp interview

TONY BROWN

what's wrong with jewish liberals



Tony Brown produces and hosts the nationally syndicated television program—"Tony Brown's Journal."

The outspoken former dean of Howard University's School of Communications and former city editor of the *Detroit Courier* currently writes a nationally syndicated newspaper column. Mr. Brown is interviewed by KP editor Aron Hirt-Manheimer. Photos are by Steven Schnur.

It has been said that this is the low point in black-Jewish relations. Do you agree?

I think that what has happened is very refreshing and was historically inevitable. Blacks and Jews have had to renegotiate their relationship. Liberal Jews were awfully paternalistic towards blacks in the 50s and 60s. Essentially, what I think the black community is telling and has told the Jewish community is that we will work together in coalitions, we will support one another, but we will do it based on our needs and not on needs that you project to us.

I think nothing demonstrates this paternalistic relationship more clearly than the litigation that was started in 1969 by the director of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and its attorney, both of whom are Jews. They filed a class action suit in which they sued HEW, arguing that ten states were running dual systems in higher education, one for whites and a second for blacks. As a result, black colleges are being eliminated in the name of helping black people graduate from college.

Now this is the kind of thing that cuts us, this is the kind of thing that irritates us to the bone, meddling whites who frequently are liberal Jews. Just imagine what would happen if Yeshiva University faced being closed unless by 1981 it got at least forty per cent black and gentile enrollment—that it could not be in existence for Jewry and Jewish culture!



Do you think any malice towards blacks is intended?

I think that these liberal Jews are well meaning but don't know their place. Anybody who is going to proceed on the basis of paternalism is not going to

have a place in any meaningful relationship with blacks.

Jewish leaders need to find some new black establishment friends because the old ones are giving them some very poor advice that is based on a social policy popular and accepted at the time of the 1954 Brown decision. That social policy is no longer accepted by blacks. In poll after poll, blacks are overwhelmingly rejecting desegregation. Blacks are not interested in going to school with white people. Black parents want their children to get a good education, and if it's with green children, they don't care.

Do you feel that there is a lot of anti-Semitism among blacks?

I think there is a lot of anti-Semitism in the black community, among poor blacks who have been exploited economically by Jews and among members of the black establishment who are frustrated with friends who really never knew how to help. Although it should be said that not all Jews are paternalistic.

keeping
דבר בעתו
posted

JEW & BLACKS

AN INTRODUCTION

This issue of Keeping Posted explores relationships between blacks and Jews from several perspectives:

1. *What is Judaism's stance on participation in social issues such as civil rights, including school desegregation, educational opportunity, employment patterns?*
2. *What was the early relationship between Jews and blacks in the civil rights movement, and why?*
3. *What led to a change in that relationship?*
4. *How did Jews respond to the change? How did blacks?*
5. *What is the current relationship between the two groups?*
6. *Why is it important to define the relationship and to be concerned with it today?*
7. *What can you do to help restore the previous relationship? How can you participate in the civil rights struggle which is still going on?*

The articles include historical analyses, opinion poll data, and vignettes of personal self-discovery as well as experiences in the field. In going through the material, keep in mind that your students were not yet born at the time of the great coalition and, since that was twenty-five and thirty years ago, many of you were infants then. Historical perspective is important, not just for the sake of history,

but in order to understand why black-Jewish relationships are what they are today.

This guide follows a four-session lesson plan. If you can devote more time to the topic, it will be easy for you to add enrichment material, stage more debates, receive more mini-reports from students. Whether in four sessions or more—or fewer—call on community resources such as local community relations councils, ADL or American Jewish Congress chapters, other communal leaders, your own rabbi. You will find many nearby who were and are participants in the very issues you will discuss. Invite spokespersons for the black community to provide first-hand attitudes. Invite leaders from the Christian community for their perspectives on racial tension and cooperation. Find out which specific issues are uppermost on the agenda of your community in the realm of black civil rights and invite those who are active to share their insights. If speakers cannot come to your class, arrange for students to interview leaders at their convenience and bring reports back to the class. Let the class decide, after careful study, what kinds of questions should be put to the guests either in the class or in an interview outside class hours. Finally, consider what you can do personally to aid in the continuing struggle for civil rights.

In February, 1955, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations at its biennial adopted this resolution:

In commemoration of the International Year of the Child our next issue focuses on the Jewish child during the Holocaust. It includes diaries, memoirs, art, and literature by and about the children.

The teaching material in the Keeping Posted Leader's Edition is prepared by Alan D. Bennett, Executive Vice President, Cleveland Bureau of Jewish Education, Cleveland, Ohio.

Having consistently opposed every form of discrimination because of our fundamental belief in the equality of all men under God, we rejoice in the unanimous decision of the US Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. . . .

As proponents of Judaism, which first enunciated the concept of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, we pledge ourselves to do all within our power to make this decision of the highest court in the land meaningful in our respective communities.

We therefore urge our congregants and congregations in all sections of the country to join with forward-looking racial, religious, and civic groups to secure acceptance and implementation of the desegregation decisions in every community in our land.

It's a bittersweet memory for those who participated in the struggle that

led to the landmark 1954 Court decision; twenty-five years later, almost every northern city is still running de facto segregated schools while local courts hear arguments about whether busing or not busing is the solution. The solid sentiment of the biennial resolution seems a bit naive—a bit out of joint—alongside the new realities of complex social, economic, and political forces. Yet, what motivated that resolution is still valid. The words still express an unchanging Jewish essence, expressed in various ways:

1. Have we not one father; has not One God created us?—Micah 2:10.

2. Justice, justice you shall pursue—Deut. 16:20.

3. Hate evil and love good and establish justice in the gates of the land—Amos 5:15.

4. Do justice and love mercy and walk humbly with your God—Micah 6:8.

5. Seek justice, relieve the oppressed—Isaiah 1:17.

6. Are you not, to Me, as the children of the Ethiopians, O children of Israel?—Amos 9:7.

7. You shall not stand idly by the blood of your fellow—Levit. 19:16. (There are variant readings of this verse and several interpretations. Generally, however, it has been taken to mean that silence in the presence of injustice or suffering is sinful.)

8. You shall be holy because I, the Lord your God, am holy—Levit. 19:1. (The Jewish idea of holiness is neither esoteric nor related to some other existence. It demands participation in the affairs of this world in order to perfect

CONTINUED ON PAGE 16

EDITOR'S NOTE

In preparing this issue, which explores the deep chasm that has developed between blacks and Jews, we anticipated that a full-blown confrontation would ensue if immediate preventative steps were not taken. We did not expect a crisis to erupt before we could go on press.

If there is one lesson that can be drawn from the contents of this KP, it is that the Andrew Young affair is not an aberration but the outcome of a festering problem that was swept under the carpet.

The following statements made in the wake of the Young resignation may be useful in your group discussions. Meeting in New York, the nation's top black leaders issued a statement on airing their grievances against Jews. The two major points were: (1) In the past Jews supported black causes because "it was in their best interest to do so" and (2) "Jews must show more sensitivity and be prepared for more consultation before taking positions contrary to the best interests of the black community." [They referred in particular to the opposition of some Jewish organizations to affirmative action programs and to Israel's economic ties to South Africa.]

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, responded with the

following statement which reflects the distress and anger felt in the Jewish community:

"We are deeply disappointed and distressed by the content and the tone of the statement made yesterday by black leaders. The participants in that conference have escalated the Andrew Young affair into a needless and hurtful confrontation between blacks and Jews. The public litany of grievances against Jews and Israel may be good therapy and good press; it is a deplorable and counterproductive method of communication and dialogue.

"Black leaders have allowed themselves to be distracted from the stark reality that the Administration which let Andrew Young go has also failed blacks and Jews and all who believe in economic justice and compassion for the poor. Instead, the black and Jewish communities have been entrapped into squaring off against each other—a result that can only delight our common enemies. It is time to stop the rhetoric and to resume talking."

Whether this sobering confrontation will lead to renewed cooperation or to a hardening of hearts between black and Jewish leaders remains to be seen. Much will depend on what steps we take to bridge this needless gap.



Distribute on a mimeographed sheet the eight biblical quotations in the Introduction, above. Compile a list of contemporary issues for which each of the verses might be appropriate. How many on the list relate to civil rights issues? If very few, what does that reveal about knowledge of key social issues? Which of the civil rights topics listed relate to blacks in American society? Have students repeat the exercise with their parents. Compare student with parent replies at the next class meeting. Account for the differences.

Turn to the Vorspan article, having previously assigned it for home reading. Consider these issues:

1. In what sense were the moral issues clear in the early sixties? Note the joint letter from the rabbis and Mr. Vorspan, arrested in St. Augustine in June, 1964:

We came because we could not stand silently by our brother's blood. . . . We have been vocal in our exhortation of others but the idleness of our hands too often revealed an inner silence; silence at a time when silence has become the unpardonable sin of our time. We came in the hope that the God of us all would accept our small involvement as partial atonement for the many things we wish we had done before and often.

We came as Jews who remember the millions of faceless people who stood quietly, watching the smoke rise from Hitler's crematoria. We came because we know that, second only to silence, the greatest danger to man is loss of faith in man's capacity to act. . . .

We believe. . . that our presence and actions here have been of practical effect. They have reminded the embattled Negroes here that they are not isolated and alone. The conscience of the wicked has been troubled, while that of the righteous has gained new strength. . . . We pray that what we have done may lead us on to further actions and persuade others who still stand hesitantly to take the stand they know is just. . . .

We do not underestimate what yet remains to be done, in the north as well as in the south. In the battle against racism, we have participated here in only a skirmish. But the total effect of all such demonstrations has created a revolution. . . .

Identify motives, in addition to "the battle against racism," that prompted these Jews to be involved. Do you feel strongly enough about any issue today to become personally involved to the same degree? Why? Why not?

2. If "there was no question" where Judaism stood on civil rights, what went wrong, and when? Why did the

coalition begin to fall apart? A search through the files is instructive and, although mine are by no means complete, the following chronological sampling of journal articles may help to recapture the flavor of what became a falling-out between Jews and blacks.

a. Spring, 1963, *American Judaism*. "Jewish-Negro Relations: An Evaluation." Roy Wilkins rehearses the role of Jews from 1909, notes, "All this is not to say that Jews have been unanimous in aiding the Negro's cause. If they had been, they would be, indeed, superhuman. They have been human." Similarly, he notes, "In their great hurt and in their blinding frustrations, Negroes—humanly—are receptive to scapegoatism. They listen to and repeat the pat phrases of the anti-Semites among them and among some non-Jews with whom they come in contact." He concludes that "These two great

minorities of similar experiences with proscriptions and oppressions cannot do other than come closer together in their common campaign for humanity." In short, a reasoned effort to explain away the first glimmerings of friction.

b. December, 1964, *Commentary*. "Negroes and Jews: The New Challenge to Pluralism." Nathan Glazer deals with the marketplace dimensions of the new confrontation:

. . . The Negroes press these new demands because they see that the abstract color-blind policies do not lead rapidly enough to the entry of large numbers of Negroes into good jobs, good neighborhoods, good schools. It is, in other words, a group interest they wish to further. Paradoxically, however, the ultimate basis of the resistance to their demands. . . is that they pose a threat to the ability of other groups to maintain their communities.

. . . The Negro anger is based on the fact that the system of formal equality produces so little for them. The Jewish discomfort is based on the fact that Jews discover they can no longer support the newest Negro demands, which may be designed from the Negro point of view to produce equality for all, but which are also designed to break down the pattern of the communities.

c. December 10, 1965, *Reconstructionist*. Harold M. Schulweis, searching the cause of Negro anti-Semitism, highlights the point of economic contact between Jews and blacks, quotes Louis Lomax that growing black anti-

SESSIONS 1 and 2

Semitism is "due more to the presence of Jews as 'merchants and bill-collectors in the bedevilled Negro ghetto.'" Schulweis asserts that it's a Jewish problem because all Jews are responsible for the actions of fellow Jews.

d. *May 23, 1966, Congress bi-Weekly*. Charles E. Silberman, Arthur J. Lelyveld, and Bayard Rustin participate in a symposium, "Negro and Jewish Relationships." Schulweis asserts that, while there is black anti-Semitism, it is not relevant to Jewish responsibility which stems from Jews and not from Negroes; Jews are committed by their faith to work for racial justice, an extension of the principle embodied in Exodus 23:4-5 in which we are commanded to be concerned even for the animals which belong to an enemy. Lelyveld expresses dismay over the Jewish backlash to black anti-Semitism, calls for a rejection of the new isolationism appearing in Jewish life as the result of understandable black behaviors. Rustin defines Jewish responsibility outside of the question of whether Negroes are good or bad, describes the Negro's ambivalent feelings—love and hate—to the Jew who has made it, thereby showing the way, but in making it reminds the Negro of all there still is to do. He closes with a call to put aside academic discussions of whether Negroes hate Jews and come up instead with viable proposals for economic programs to help all minorities make it in America.

e. *Summer, 1966, American Judaism*. This abridged transcript of a WABC-TV panel discussion explores the dimensions of the new Negro anti-Semitism. Urban Leaguer Alexander Allen avers that it's not anti-Semitism but anti-whitism in which the Jewish landlord and shopkeeper just happens to be most visible and therefore most

vulnerable. UAHC President Maurice Eisendrath insists that there is a special anti-Semitic dimension which may be Christian at its roots. CORE Director Floyd McKissick emphasizes an economic base and suggests that if the store owners and landlords in Watts were Negro they, too, would have felt the wrath of the Negro rioters.

Rubenstein explains why he withdrew from the Negro struggle—on political grounds: SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) had gone Maoist, Arabs had embraced the Negro struggle as part of a worldwide struggle against America and the Jews. He concludes that "Negroes are faced with the choice of working slowly and

"... he advised that white people and black people should work separately toward Negro equality..."

f. *Fall, 1976, Conservative Judaism*. Judd L. Teller, in "Negroes and Jews: A Hard Look," suggests that Negroes overrate Jewish political power. The Negro revolution is a militant ethnicism; Jews must seek ways to achieve an accommodation with black power in order to avoid colliding with it, such as reducing the Jewish commercial presence in the Negro ghetto and being less intrusive in Jewish support of the Negro struggle. He concludes, "Our attitudes must be dictated by a combination of self-interest and the ethical imperative... Malcolm X may have reflected... a universal Negro attitude when he advised that white people and black people should work separately toward Negro equality."

g. *April, 1967, New York Times Magazine*. The titles of the twin articles summarize the polarizing attitudes in the Jewish and black communities: James Baldwin writes, "Negroes Are Anti-Semitic Because They're Anti-White," while Robert Gordis writes, "Negroes Are Anti-Semitic Because They Want a Scapegoat."

h. *November 17, 1967, Reconstructionist*. In "Jews, Negroes, and the New Politics," Richard L.

with much frustration for the eventual improvement of their community or of choosing the path of nihilistic revolution offered by SNCC and the black caucus."

i. *December 14, 1967, Irving J. Fain*, chairman, UAHC Commission on Social Action, writes in an open letter to the Reform movement: "Despite the urban disorders, despite black nationalism, let us remain true to our religious responsibilities; let us not be part of the 'white backlash'... as Jews we must try to understand and put in its proper perspective evidences of anti-Semitism among some black Americans." He suggests some causes of the phenomenon: it's part of American life and includes black Americans; blacks are susceptible to Christian teaching about Jews; blacks are influenced by the anti-Israel line of the Black Muslims; blacks use Jews as scapegoats; blacks expect more of Jews than of other Americans and strike out when they find not all Jews are their friends. "...Anti-Semitism has become racially integrated in America..."

j. *January, 1969, Commentary*. In "The Black Revolution and the Jewish

Question," Earl Raab notes that one can no longer find in the Jewish community "a prevailing public stance with respect to such current issues as police review board, neighborhood-controlled schools, black student unions." The black revolution has created a new understanding of pluralistic politics and has caused Jews to turn inwards and may cause the Jewish community to act more politically to protect its own interests in the new ethnic competition for power.

k. *January 31, 1969, Time Magazine.* The cover story, "The Black and the Jew: A Falling Out of Allies," documents the most recent evidences of black anti-Semitism and black-Jewish confrontation, analyzes causes, and speculates on future circumstance. It quotes many leaders, some of whom offer contradictory theories, as might be expected, ranging from "it's a boil on the Negro movement" and will soon subside to it's an inevitable outcome of clash of interests and will be a permanent feature of the black struggle. The economics dimension is explored, along with the tradi-

their neighborhoods and businesses.

l. *February, 1976, Midstream.* Carl Gershman argues, in "Blacks and Jews," that there are increasing signs of revived good will at the organizational levels and even in Congress where the black caucus condemned attempts to suspend Israel from the UN. A renewed alliance is important for both groups if they wish to protect their separate and common self-interests. "In a world where democracy is not doing very well, Jews will need all the friends they can possibly get."

The foregoing review of what happened between blacks and Jews on the way to black equality suggests a number of discussion questions. They can be considered by the entire class, or small groups can address one or several questions in workshop sessions and report their conclusions to the class.

a. Is it proper to expect gratitude from those we want to help? Why? Why not? Is it proper, similarly, to expect that they will overlook our shortcomings in some sort of a quid pro quo understanding? Explain your posi-

neglecting ghetto properties, are you to blame, also? What, if anything, should be the Jewish community reaction to this continuing condition?

d. Suppose you are able to understand all the reasons offered to explain black anti-Semitism. Does that mean that you should just take it? If so, why? If not, what's an appropriate response in this instance? What are other possible responses?

e. Many writers relate black anti-Semitism to the general problem of anti-Semitism in America and in the world. What do you know about anti-Semitism? Have you ever experienced it personally? Or has anyone you know? What causes anti-Semitism? Is it something that Jews can control? Is it something "out there" beyond anything that Jews can do about it?

f. Would the black struggle be helped or hindered if Jews left their ghetto shops? Would Jews be helped or harmed?

g. Jews and others who own stores in black ghettos say they must charge higher prices for items which sell for less in the suburbs because of higher insurance costs, need for expensive security services, greater loss through stealing, etc. Similarly, slum landlords claim they have to charge more for inferior living conditions to meet higher insurance costs, losses through vandalism and arson, and greater security costs. How would you propose to break this vicious circle and resolve the dilemma?

h. Some writers suggest that the Jews "get it" because they're more visible than other whites: They march in parades with blacks, allow blacks more readily to move into otherwise white neighborhoods, own ghetto stores and properties. Would it be bet-

"... anti-Semitism has become racially integrated in America . . ."

tional Christian roots of anti-Semitism, and the new element of Black Muslim influence. One black leader suggests that the situation is being overstated by Jewish leaders so as to "establish a rebirth of Jewish awareness, identity, and unity." Others deal with the psychological condition of the Negro striving to be where the Jew is and describe the vulnerability of the Jews because of more open acceptance of Negro intrusions into

tions.

b. If someone you are trying to help decides that your help is no longer needed, what are your possible reactions? Is the one you're helping justified in saying "thanks, but no thanks"? List situations, outside of the black struggle question, where such a thing might happen.

c. If some Jews do wrong things such as overcharging in ghetto stores or

ter for Jews if they just got out and stopped being so visible and, therefore, vulnerable? Why? Why not?

i. To what extent should American Jews be guided in their response to blacks by black positions on Israel? Why?

j. When Jewish self-interests conflict with what Jews think they should be doing (for all the reasons noted) for blacks, which goal should prevail? Why? How do you know which course to choose when faced with a moral dilemma?

k. Some writers suggest that both Jewish and black interests will be served by renewal of the coalition and that, in any event, Jews need allies in their struggle for full acceptance. What do you think of these reasons for encouraging Jews to continue their participation in the civil rights movement?

2. Organize a court session on the Bakke case. Include in the arguments traditional Jewish fears of quotas, e.g., as devices to keep Jewish students out of medical schools, etc. Consider also the argument that admitting students of lesser qualification lowers academic standards and seriously threatens the vitality of colleges and universities. Isn't it the job of colleges to produce the best-trained and most competent professionals possible? Therefore, why tamper with the system; why place on the schools the burden of solving a widespread social problem? On the other hand, how can students, deprived of solid elementary and high school education in de facto segregated and inferior schools, hope to compete for a share of the American dream whose doorway is the college? How can society make up, in our day, for three centuries of evident discrimination? Can you propose some system other than what's come to be called affirmative action? Invite an at-

torney to serve as judge, while the class sits as jury in hearing the pro and con arguments by students.

3. How do you account for Jewish behaviors, e.g., "shvartze," slumlording, flights from neighborhoods when blacks move in? Are these self-interest responses? Think of racist remarks or behaviors you have perceived at school or in your homes. What prompts them? What can you do about them?

4. Do your family and friends see blacks as competitors? In what ways?

Note the results of the new Harris poll partly summarized in *Newsweek*, February 26, 1979. (The findings about Jews and blacks are summarized in an article in this *Keeping Posted* and will be taken up later.)

Do you feel blacks in this country have tried to move too fast, too slow, or at about the right pace? (Asked of whites only.) Too fast: 37%; Too slow: 15%; About right: 42%; Not sure: 6%. (Compare with 1966: 71%, 4%, 14%, 12% respectively.)


Ask the question of your family and friends. Compare your survey results with the national figures. Explain any wide differences you may find. Develop your own poll on things you think are important to a full understanding of black-Jewish relationships. For example, Harris asked these questions as well: "All in all, do you feel that anti-black feeling is on the rise in this country today, is diminishing, or is about the same as it has been?" Tell me whether you personally tend to agree or disagree with each statement: blacks tend to have less ambition than whites; blacks want to live off the handout; blacks are more violent than whites; blacks breed crime; blacks have less native intelligence than whites; blacks care less for family than whites; blacks are inferior to white people." Harris con-

cludes that whites are far more tolerant of integration than they were in 1963, less given to racial stereotyping and ready to accept wide-ranging affirmative-action programs. Compare with your research findings.

5. Vorspan asserts that Jews and blacks have little human contact. The Harris poll, according to *Newsweek* (see above), concludes:

There is much greater contact between blacks and whites. Nearly half of all whites now come in regular contact with a black co-worker, and 25 per cent have black employers or supervisors—an increase from only 6 per cent in 1970. In addition, 40 per cent said they had a black personal friend, double the number in 1970. More than 90 per cent of the whites reported these increased contacts to be "pleasant and easy" in both on-the-job and social situations. (P. 48)

Which position, Vorspan's or Harris's, does your experience support? Don't leave out school and athletics as significant meeting grounds. If both men are correct, that would suggest that Jews, as a group, differ from whites as a group on this question. Do you think that's so? Support your answer.

6. Not only do Jews and blacks share a common destiny, the political reality is that the two groups, working together, wield tremendous influence. The Senate recently rejected Sen. Birch Bayh's constitutional amendment to abolish the electoral college. In commenting on his defeat, Sen. Bayh noted that the Senate vote was heavily influenced by pressure from the Urban League and the American Jewish Congress, both of which testified against the amendment. In this case, common self-interests overrode real or presumed separateness. What other issues meet this test and might, therefore, be a basis for renewed coalition? 

The interview with Tony Brown and the section of the Harris poll on black attitudes towards Jews suggest ways to reinforce the ideas exploited in the first two sessions and raise additional items to consider. In assigning these two articles for home reading, ask students to think about the following (which may be mimeographed and distributed at the time the assignment is made.) You might want to arrange for an interview of your own with a leader in the local black community, using the same questions phrased by the KP Editor. Compare the answers you get with Tony Brown's replies.

1. Both Brown and Harris conclude that blacks and Jews must pay attention to and renegotiate their relationship. What happened to the relationship that it should require renegotiation? In whose interest is it to undertake such an effort? Is it worth bothering to do, or should we simply let things stand as they are? Why?

2. How do you respond to Brown's accusation that Jews are meddling liberals who don't know their places? What do you think of his Yeshiva University illustration? Should the courts apply to private schools the same racial standards that are now being applied to public schools? Why? Why not?

3. Brown contends that blacks are no longer interested in desegregated schools. If this is so, why is city after city, all across the country, involved in one way or another with efforts to desegregate? Why does the NAACP fight for busing in the courts specifically to

It is very likely that this session will be required to tackle all the unfinished business from the previous three, and to summarize.

The statements of blacks who visited Israel may help to summarize at least one important point: Despite the falling-out, the rise of ingroup feeling and group interest, the divisions over specific social problems and how to solve them, there still is an element in the black community that understands the Jewish perspective and understands that both Jews and blacks, while agreeing to disagree on some matters, have more in common than that which may divide them.

The theme is sounded also in the article, "Students Talk It Out." There is ambivalence, there are reasons for Jews to be angry with blacks and vice versa. Can a new coalition nevertheless be built on what comes out of dialogue? Is


achieve racially balanced schools? Ask local black leaders to help you resolve the dilemma, or at least to understand the issues.

4. Brown believes that there is much black anti-Semitism. Find the data in the Harris poll which support his contention. What can be done about it?

5. Brown mentions the love-hate ambivalence between blacks and Jews. Find evidence for this assertion in the Harris data. Do you see any evidence in your daily contacts with blacks?

6. What does Brown say about group self-interest that reinforces previous class discussions? Do you agree with what he says? Why? Why not?

7. What do you think of Brown's educational suggestions? Could they work? Do you think the Jewish community could support such an idea? Explain your answers. A *Newsweek* report of part of the Harris poll says, "the biggest problem facing black people is jobs. A 43 per cent plurality of blacks listed unemployment as their most pressing concern." In view of this, why do you suppose Brown emphasizes an educational program as paramount?


8. What do you think of Brown's attribution of anti-Semitism to jealousy? Is it a satisfactory explanation? Does it describe Jewish reality as you know it from your own experiences? Compare Brown's response to Jewish successes to what Harris says about those very same successes. 

SESSION 3

SESSION 4

there enough common interest and mutuality to restore what was once the most effective political and social alignment in the history of this country?

What can you do in your community to find out?

Except for the single reference to Katz, no references have been provided for resources to this topic. The titles listed in "*Library Shelf*" come for the most part from "Black-Jewish Relations in the US: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets, and Articles," American Jewish Committee Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56 Street, New York, NY 10022. Single copy, \$.75. In addition to the titles listed below, be sure to check general news magazines and the Jewish journals in your library for new developments. 

God's universe.)

It's the centrality of Jewish teaching on social ethics that keeps alive the question: What shall Jews do about continuing racial injustice in various guises, such as persistently segregated schools, growing high joblessness amongst black youth, unequal opportunities for higher education and access to high-paying jobs, civic neglect of black slum areas, etc.? While the question is always Judaically pertinent, it is far more difficult to find the answers now than it was a quarter-century ago. Three factors complicate the picture:

1. Legitimate black interests and legitimate Jewish interests often clash, as in the matter of affirmative action programs in colleges and industry.

2. Many blacks, especially following the 1967 Yom Kippur War, espoused the cause of the Arabs and Third World anti-Israel powers, and many black Muslim groups and leaders became American voices for anti-Israel/anti-Zionist/anti-Jewish sentiments.

3. The resurgence of cultural pluralism in America saw blacks wanting to go it alone and ignoring or breaking ties that previously bound blacks and Jews in a powerful coalition.

It may help to understand how we arrived at the present need for reexamination and new discourse by noting the following from a volume contemporary with the turning point in Jewish-black interaction, 1967. Note Katz:

It is now widely accepted as an incontrovertible fact that (1) there exists a profound anti-Jewish sentiment among the Negro masses in this country, despite the active participation of many idealistic young Jews in the Negro struggle for equal rights and the moral support given to the civil rights movement by organized Jewish groups and that (2) that Jews are reacting to this sentiment with an emotional backlash. Thus, "Mr. Goldberg" has come to be regarded by many Negroes as a symbol of their oppression....

Many Jews, on their part, react with special resentment to anti-Semitic sen-

timents among Negroes. They point out that Jews have not been historically partners to the Negro enslavement.... They feel particularly bitter because Jews have been the victims of the greatest racist crime in human history.... Many Jews become defensive and tend to blame Negroes for part of their woes. After outbreaks such as the one in Watts, they tend to withdraw financial and other support they have previously given to the cause of Negro freedom and to call for self-isolation within the Jewish community. (Pp. vii-viii)

Katz's statement poses an important question for discussion later in the unit: If Jews are not appreciated for what they do to help others or, more to the point, meet with hostility and rejection despite their efforts, should they relinquish the effort to help? Consider a talmudic passage: Do not be like servants who minister to their master in anticipation of their receiving a reward, but be like servants who minister to their master without the condition of receiving a reward; and let the fear of Heaven be upon you.

—Avot 1:3



LIBRARY SHELF

Allport, Gordon.

The Nature of Prejudice. Addison-Wesley Publishing Co. 1954.

American Jewish Yearbook, 1969.

"Black Anti-Semitism," pp. 76-93.

Berson, Lenora E.

The Negroes and the Jews. Random House, Inc. 1971.

Cohen, Henry.

Justice, Justice: A Jewish View of the Black Revolution. Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Rev. ed., 1969.

Conference on Jewish Studies.

Negro-Jewish Relations in the United States: Papers and Proceedings of a Conference. Citadel Press. 1966.

Cruse, Harold.

The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual. "Jews and Negroes in the Communist Party," pp. 147-170; "Negroes and Jews: The Two

Nationalisms and the Bloc(ked) Plurality," pp. 476-497. Wm. Morrow & Co., Inc. 1967.

Diner, Hasia R.

In the Almost Promised Land: American Jews and Blacks, 1915-1935. Greenwood Press, Inc. 1977.

Feingold, S. Norman, and Silverman, William B., eds.

Kivie Kaplan: A Legend in His Own Time. Union of American Hebrew Congregations. 1976.

Geltman, Max.

The Confrontation: Black Power, Anti-Semitism, and the Myth of Integration. Prentice-Hall. 1970.

Ginsberg, Yona.

Jews in a Changing Neighborhood: The Study of Mattapan. The Free Press. 1975.

Glazer, Nathan, and Moynihan, Daniel P.

Beyond the Melting Pot. MIT

Press. Rev. ed., 1971.

Halpern, Ben.

Jews and Blacks: The Classic American Minorities. Herder and Herder. 1971.

Harris, Louis, and Swenson, Bert E.

Black-Jewish Relations in New York City. Praeger Publishers, Inc. 1970.

Hentoff, Nat, ed.

Black Anti-Semitism and Jewish Racism. Richard W. Baron Publishing Co., Inc. 1969. Schocken. Paperback. 1970.

Katz, Shlomo, ed.

Negro and Jew, an Encounter in America: A Symposium. The Macmillan Co. 1967.

Lomax, Louis E.

The Negro Revolt. Signet. 1963.

Vorspan, Albert.

Jewish Values and Social Crisis. "Racial Justice." Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Rev. ed., 1971.

Do you believe that the Zionism equals racism resolution that was passed in the UN has reinforced black anti-Semitism?



Certainly, if you equated going to the moon with racism and I as a black suffer most from racism, I'm not going to like people who go to the moon. That's simply called symbolic manipulation.

What I think is contributing most to anti-Jewish sentiment among blacks in terms of international relations is Israel's military support and economic relationship with South Africa. That hurts more than anything. And, to me, it smacks of less than sensitivity for human rights. Any country that trades with the Union of South Africa, to me, is indirectly supporting the brutal suppression of millions of black people.



But you are no doubt aware that some of the black African states also carry on trade with South Africa.

I didn't leave them out. I said any country. Now, we were talking about Israel. It's used against Jews in America. There's no Mozambique constituency in America to incur our anger. There are no Zambians here for us to get uptight about. But Jews are a very prominent part of the American landscape.



Do black leaders regard Jews as potential allies in the struggle against bigotry and racism?

I think the relationship between blacks and Jews is the most unique black and white relationship in the country. It's very ambivalent, you love and hate, and sometimes you don't know which you are doing. It's like a relationship with a brother in whom you are disappointed. The intensity is much greater than with an enemy that you just outright hate.

Do you have any ideas about what can be done on both sides in order to bridge the gap between "brothers"?



Well, I think one thing is very important and that is that both sides have to understand that our group self-interest is foremost. Blacks, for example, must realize that it is not in the group interest of Jews to support quotas. If blacks were four per cent of the population and were twenty to thirty per cent of the doctors, there is no way in the world I would settle for a four per cent quota. That's group self-interest. Now with us, it's different. We still haven't clearly defined issues based on our group's self-interest and haven't learned how to get what we want.

What would you say is the overriding concern of most blacks today?

Most blacks have convinced themselves that the basic problem in the black community is unemployment when in fact it is really education. If black people do not graduate from college, there will be no black middle class. Our growth in income is directly related to our increase in education.



I would like to ask the white liberals to withdraw from the emphasis on bus-ing and shift the same amount of energy to educating black children. Why not help us set up some academies in black neighborhoods? Why not help us train teachers, black and white, who will work with underprivileged children? Now that the competency test is a new game, let's set up centers to help black children learn how to take tests and how to pass them. I mean fundamental things. Nothing high falutin'. No trophies, no dinners. You know, just basic, practical things.

Why aren't blacks or organizations doing a better job of getting what they want from the government?



Unlike Jews, our history has been interrupted. Most of us can only trace our roots back to our grandparents. Jewish culture has not been interrupted and you cannot underplay the emphasis of knowing who you are and where you are from. If you watched "Roots," you saw the difference between Kunta

Kinte who knew where he had been and the blacks who were born in America. All they knew from birth was that white people were in charge and always had been. Kunta Kinte knew what his people had done and that's a very important thing in terms of the progress of a group.

Has this cultural amnesia resulted in a self-image problem for American blacks?

We haven't had the luxury of being concerned with imagery in the way that Jews have. The image of Jews is one of people who are the best lawyers, the best doctors, the best businessmen, the best entertainers, the best management people, you name it. And that's a stereotype. All Jews are not good at everything, but the Jewish community has been successful in projecting a pos-



itive image of itself which is why you still outperform other groups. The stereotype that you have is uplifting. The stereotype that blacks have is downgrading.

In the Jewish community, one is culturally trained to earn a living with his or her brain. In the black community, one is implicitly or explicitly trained to earn a living with either his or her feet

dancing, his or her voice singing, or kicking footballs, or stuffing basketballs, and the like. In America there are a total of 3,000 professional athletes in all individual and club sports. Only 300 players are black, yet you have 30 million black people training for 300 spots because the culture is emphasizing that.

Nobody can get away from the fact that anti-Semitism is basically a result of jealousy of every group in this country toward Jews. I don't know one group in this country that does not have a strong tinge of anti-Semitism, and it's because of jealousy. Let me go back to the ambivalence that blacks have about Jews which is manifest best this way: Jews own everything and they run everything—that's the negative part. And the good part, we blacks need to model our community after them so that we can have the same kind of unity they have. ■

talking it out in santa cruz

BY DAN PULCRANO
WITH LARRY GLASS

That something was happening between blacks and Jews first occurred to us in a Manhattan yellow cab. Four of us from *Leviathan*, the Jewish newspaper of the University of California, Santa Cruz, were on our way to a journalism conference. We were zipping along at 40 mph when, suddenly, the taxi in front of us came to a dead stop; our driver cursed and slammed on the brakes. "I betcha he's black," he said in a thick Jewish accent. He honked his horn and drove around slowly, checking out the driver of the other vehicle, cursing under his breath. "See! What did I tell you? A shvartze! A goddam shvartze!"

Feeling very uncomfortable, we couldn't wait to get out of the cab. He drove on and pointed to a neighbor-

hood on the left. "See this?" he asked us. "This used to be a nice neighborhood, mostly Jewish. Not any more. The shvartzes came in and took it over. They destroy everything they get their hands on. This used to be a great city; now it's just a jungle."

something's not kosher between blacks and jews

This and other conversations we had in New York convinced us that something was not completely kosher between blacks and Jews. Seeing these unhealthy attitudes toward blacks among some of the Jews we spoke with, we made up our minds to find out more. We wanted to know how blacks perceived Jews and whether it was true, as some claimed, that relations between the two groups had fallen to a new low.

jews own the stores

After returning to Santa Cruz we brought together five Jewish and four

black students, and we asked them how they felt about Jews. Helen, a black sophomore who had grown up in various parts of Los Angeles, including Watts, volunteered to start. "The Jews are the ones who own the grocery markets in our neighborhood," she told us, "they're the ones who raise the prices sky-high. And we go in there and buy the stuff. That's how I feel about Jews."

The Jewish students, products of suburban middle-class families, tried to listen as our black peers brought a piece of the ghetto with them into the halls of academia. The discussion went around the table. John, a black senior, began to describe his background. "I was raised in New York City, Harlem, where there were plenty of Jews. As Helen said, most of them were merchants." From New York, John moved to Marin County where he observed, "It's the same here: Jews have money . . . and you look at them as the people that are on top."

We asked him if he had any questions

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Dan Pulcrano and Larry Glass are associate editors of *Leviathan* and students of Oakes College, a multicultural college of 600 students at UC Santa Cruz. This article is excerpted from the Spring 1979 edition.

for us. "Oh, sure," he answered, "How do you deal with the fact that you have all these people running around saying that you were part of the people that crucified Jesus Christ? How do you deal with that stigma put on you about all the money and exploiting minorities in areas like Watts and Harlem? How do you deal with just knowing that you're part of that whole lineage?"

A few of us tried feebly to respond, but there were no easy answers. How did we come to inherit such an indictment? What must we do to defend ourselves? We were hurt, slightly embarrassed, most of all shocked.



The discussion turned to the question of assimilation, which has become something of an obsessive concern to Jews. For blacks, the issue has little relevance. One of us asked a 27-year-old black student named Paula whether blacks would fear losing their cultural traditions if they were to enter the economic and social mainstream. "Black people don't have that problem of being sucked into the majority culture," she told us. Jews in America have the choice of living as Jews or fading into the majority. Blacks have no such choice, their ethnicity is definite, visible, and immutable.

The Jewish students expressed discomfort in being lumped together with a white, Christian, "Anglo" majority with which they had little in common histor-

ically, culturally, or religiously. Alan, a sophomore, said that maintaining a Jewish identity in a Christian society was "a very tough, in many ways, brave thing to do." He said that he wore a yarmulka around campus for one day and felt very self-conscious. "People are always questioning you. You're an oddity. . . . It's a kind of oppression," Alan continued, "I'm personally looking into living in Israel." Lenny, a junior, a religious studies major, pulled out the Star of David which he wore around his neck, though always inside his shirt. Paula picked on the irony immediately: "You look like the majority culture, but you hide what sets you apart. Do you want it both ways?"

Statistically, both blacks and Jews are minorities. However, "minority" has various connotations including economic oppression, something that most Jews do not face in this country. For this reason, many blacks refuse to accept the minority status of Jews. As John explained, "My mother used to work for Jews—domestic work—because that was the type of work most black women could get. . . . Basically, for my mother, Jews are not viewed as being a minority because they have the money and were paying her salary. And then we come here to this college and we hear that Jews are minorities."

are jews third world people?

Lenny asked whether Jews should be considered a third world people because of their history of oppression. John answered that Jews would have to "earn their place, not just ask to be put there." Allison, a Jewish student, said she resented that attitude and asked, "How much more do we have to take before we're considered in that position?" She added, "The thing that is always forgotten is that maybe Jews are making it in America, but we've had to take an awful lot throughout the years, and it's still going on in other places, so we're in no way out of the woods."

"I'm white," Allison added, "but I don't consider myself as white as everyone else . . . partly it's because of a difference in religion and partly because I

know that all Jews aren't white." Don commented that he didn't mind being called "white," but that he hated being classified as "Anglo," because Anglo means "English," and "my" ancestors were not running around the world yelling "manifest destiny."

We realized that we couldn't arrive at a consensus about whether Jews could join the third world, so we began to discuss what messages we could bring back to our respective communities to help create an atmosphere of greater understanding between the two groups. The blacks bristled at the suggestion that harmful stereotypes existed in



their communities and that these prejudices stood in the way of better relations. Mohammed viewed as plain fact that Jews are "stingy and manipulative." John had some advice for us: "I think the first thing you should do is educate Jews in your communities about black people, that black people don't have much money and that you're exploiting them, making money off them."

With that, the discussion drifted off. It was a Sunday afternoon in the peaceful academic and introspective setting of UCSC, far removed from the day-to-day tensions of ghetto life. Perhaps the distance had allowed us to break some ground and begin the dialogue. More importantly, we realized how crucial it is for the dialogue to continue. ■

A number of prominent black figures have visited Israel in recent years. Some went on fact-finding missions and others to perform in concerts or in sports events. These contacts have promoted better black-Jewish understanding as is evident from the following statements.



Roberta Flack during her ten-day concert tour in Israel:

"My strongest impression is that Israel is very special. . . . It's a mind blower. In Israel I feel like a person; I don't feel black, I don't feel white. I can't think of any place in America that feels like this. Being here as a black person, whether Christian, Buddhist, Moslem, or Jew, really doesn't matter. . . .

"When I learned that Israel is surrounded by five Arab armies, I realized how great a danger the people face. They could get wiped out so easily. Just being there it dawned on me. I don't like to see so many soldiers, but you have to arm yourself and be ready to defend your right to life."

Alex Haley, author of Roots, remarked after visiting Masada:

"It stirs my soul to know this story. . . . The plight of the Jews in history is similar to that of black Americans who were driven into slavery. Both have proved that by courage and perseverance they can surmount whatever difficulties they encounter. . . .

"This has been a most moving and direct exposure to a whole people in search of their roots, commemorating and finding strength in their roots. . . .

"We were Methodists and every Sunday we went to Sunday school where we heard



sermons and stories from the Bible. I heard more about the Sea of Galilee than the Mississippi River which was nearby. The two major oral historical sources of my life were these stories from the Bible and the stories from my family." (Photo: Alex Haley and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin exchanging their books)



Bayard Rustin, civil rights activist and founder of Black Americans to Support Israel Committee (BASIC):

"Many people in the US have deep affection for Israel. Why? Because we believe as black people who have suffered, not so much as the Jewish people, but we have suffered grievously, that we ought to assist others who have been persecuted. Because Israel is the only democracy in the Middle East, and we have lived long enough to know that true freedom is only possible where democracy exists. Because we have had the experience of the Jewish people of America standing with us since the time of Thomas Jefferson in our struggle to rid ourselves of slavery and to find freedom. And so we selected the Jewish experience as the history and culture on which we depended for our own freedom. And for these reasons, we could not desert the Jews when they are under siege. I look upon my Israeli friends as brothers in the same struggle that I am in, to improve whatever is wrong in our countries, mutually supporting each other." (Photo: Bayard Rustin with former Israeli president, Ephraim Katzir)

Aulcie Perry describes his two greatest triumphs—on the basketball court and in religious court:

"When the team (Tel Aviv Maccabi) returned to Israel after defeating Russia [to win the European championship], 175,000 people greeted us at Ben-Gurion Airport. It was a high point in my life. I never felt more part of anything in my life than at that moment. . . .

"When I finally decided [to convert to Judaism], my teammates gave me a lot of encouragement—but the rabbis didn't. I understand their position. We Jews are very proud of our tradition and special place in the world and do not take being a Jew lightly. They knocked me down a thousand times before accepting me." (Photo: Basketball star Perry congratulated by Israeli Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan)



Dr. Bernard Gifford of the Russell Sage Foundation in New York at an Israeli symposium on "Labor, Democracy, and the Middle East":

"I think that blacks have a very special role—to go out of their way to make it very clear that the equation of Zionism with racism must be fought, not only because it is a threat to peace in the Middle East, a blatant attempt to undermine the legitimacy of Israel, but [because it] is also historically inaccurate and prostitutes the 400-year history of the struggle for blacks in this country. . . .

"Israel provides Western civilization with an opportunity to redeem itself, to say that the Nazi experience was an aberration and not a characteristic of the weakness of liberal societies. The existence of Israel is a barometer designed to measure the moral temperature of Western civilization. . . .

"So too are blacks in this country. When one wants to measure how far we've come from the original and marvelous documents that framed the United States of America, we can do so by the treatment of blacks. If we want to measure how far we have to go, we can measure it by the treatment of blacks."

opinion poll shows widening rift

In 1978, the National Conference of Christians and Jews commissioned a Harris poll on attitudes toward racial and religious minorities and women. Probably the most surprising, disturbing, and controversial findings in the survey concern the widening rift between blacks and Jews.

In his interpretation of the data, Harris observes: "Blacks hold attitudes toward Jews which are considerably less tolerant and sympathetic than is the case with the rest of the non-Jewish public. . . . Blacks tend to be more anti-Jewish than any other group." And the 53 national black leaders interviewed by Harris hold the most negative stereotypes of all.

negative stereotypes about jews

The following chart compares "negative stereotypes about Jews" of non-Jewish whites, blacks, and black leaders:

Percentage Agreeing with Statements

	Non-Jewish Whites		Blacks		Black Leaders
	1974	1978	1974	1978	1978
1. When it comes to choosing between people and money, Jews will choose money.	32	32	48	56	81
2. Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America.	33	28	34	37	50
3. Jews are irritating because they are too aggressive.	32	27	25	29	65
4. Most of the slumlords are Jewish.	20	17	37	41	67

mixed feelings about jews

In examining some "positive stereotypes about Jews" (see following chart), Harris explains that although many blacks tend to see Jews as money greedy exploiters they ironically "also sense that Jewish liberals have been and continue to be more supportive of civil rights for minorities than others in the white communities." At the same time, blacks appear to be the least aware and least sympathetic to the suffering and persecutions of Jews through the centuries (see chart). Harris believes that Jews have fewer supporters today, because they are perceived as successful and therefore do not need allies. "The most serious implication of this finding," concludes Harris, "is that, in the event of overt or subtle

forms of anti-Semitism, it is now far less likely that non-Jews would rally to the defense of Jews than was the case just a few years ago."

Percentage Agreeing with Statements

	Non-Jews		Whites	Blacks
	1974	1976	1978	1978
1. Jews have suffered from persecution through the centuries.	85	87	76	61
2. Jews have supported rights for minority groups more than other white people.	36	36	28	38

jews no longer in vanguard

"Jews are no longer today in the vanguard of non-black people pressing for integration and progress for blacks," observes Harris. In fact, Jews are lagging behind other Protestants and Catholics on integration. Of the three groups, the most resistance to integrated schooling comes from Jews as indicated below:

Would you like to see children in your family . . .

	All Whites	White Protestants	White Catholics	Jews
1. Go to school with blacks	32	30	35	21
2. Not go with blacks	14	16	11	21

The results show that Jews are *less* likely to say they want their children to go to school with blacks (21% of Jews, 32% of non-Jewish whites) and *more* likely to say that they don't want their children to go to school with blacks (21% of Jews, 14% of non-Jewish whites.)

Harris also reports that Jews would be more upset than non-Jewish whites if blacks were to move into their neighborhood: only 25% of Jews favor "full racial integration," compared with 35% of all whites.

National opinion polls of this kind have in the past consistently shown Jews to be the most liberal among whites in support of minorities. What accounts for this sudden turn-about that defies conventional wisdom? Critics of the study contend that it contains methodological problems and question the validity of the findings. Others regard it as a landmark study that must not be ignored. However, few can argue with Harris's conclusion: "Certainly, the entire area of black-Jewish relations is one that is still in sore need of attention by organizations which are promoting greater understanding between the races and religions."



Kivie Kaplan (center) during his lifetime was a bridge between blacks and Jews. In his memory, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have established an Institute on Human Relations to promote better understanding between the two groups. The institute is made possible by a gift from the Kivie Kaplan Family Foundation.

strains between Strauss and Brzezinski can't be quite as severe as some news reports indicate. Hunter came to the White House and NSC staff from the foreign affairs staff of Senator Edward Kennedy, a fact into which some people read sinister implications, specifically that Strauss is preparing to jump from Carter to Kennedy if that becomes sensible. Strauss says this is nonsense. He says he expects to stay with Carter all the way.

Anyhow, and to the immediate point, Bob Hunter was called to Brzezinski's office in the West Wing of the White House just before Hunter left to join Strauss for the Mideast trip. Hunter was handed a sealed envelope and told to give it to Strauss. It contained instructions signed "Jimmy Carter." Strauss was and is convinced that the instructions were drafted by Brzezinski. Instead of giving him the freedom to test ideas for some concession to Palestinian sentiment and adjust the US position as the reaction dictated, he was told that he *must* propose a set formula to Begin and Sadat and must not deviate from it. First Begin and then Sadat rejected the formula, for different reasons.

Strauss was outraged by the rigidity of the instructions and expressed his outrage to the two reporters with him on the trip, Bernard Gwertzman of the *New York Times* and William Dwordziak of *Time*. Don Oberdorfer of the *Washington Post*, who was not on the trip, picked up pieces of the story and reported in terms more lurid than Gwertzman later used that Carter's Mideast policy was in even worse "disarray" than the Andy Young flap had indicated. Carter, then on a cruise down the Mississippi River, said after talking to Vance and Brzezinski that the press had "grossly exaggerated" Strauss's complaints. The complaints had if anything been understated. Strauss acknowledged on CBS's "Face the Nation" that he'd made a mistake in sounding off so frankly and vociferously to Gwertzman and Dwordziak. Gwertzman, one of the best foreign affairs reporters in Washington, laid out the gist of Strauss's gripes in a series of reports that could not be questioned. Before Strauss and his party got back to Washington, the central policy issue had been settled. A formula rejected by both Begin and Sadat obviously could not be sustained. Strauss, after meeting with Vance, Brzezinski, and Vice President Mondale, was authorized by Carter to announce that a proposed American resolution at the UN, embodying the formula, was being abandoned.

As a reporter and friend who'd listened to Strauss bemoaning the lack of discipline in the Carter White House, I was appalled by Gwertzman's accounts—later confirmed by Strauss—of his resistance to the sort of discipline that the conduct of foreign policy generally requires. Carter's penchant for creating independent satrapies within the foreign policy establishment is one of his worst faults and may yet cost him his secretary of state. I must say, however, that a rationale that I heard at the White House—not from Strauss—for Carter's grant of autonomy to Strauss in this limited Mideast area makes a certain sense. It follows.

By necessity, but unfortunately, Carter during the Camp David sessions with Sadat and Begin and later on his Mideast trip got himself far more enmeshed in the detail of negotiation than any President should. Why should Begin, Sadat, the Saudis, anybody, fool around with Vance and Brzezinski and subordinates when they could go to the President? Hence Strauss, who was known to have Carter's total confidence and to have, in addition, a clout with Democratic congressmen and politicians that Carter didn't have. Hence, too, Strauss's otherwise puzzling and uncharacteristic bawling from the start of his Mideast assignment that he and not Vance and not Brzezinski was in charge of both policy and practice in this particular sector of the Mideast problem. It all was part of the Carter-Strauss game plan. Until, that is, Strauss got those instructions from Brzezinski's office. They violated, they denied, his understanding of what he was supposed to be doing and of how he was supposed to do it. Since then Strauss has had peace-pipe sessions with Vance (August 29) and a friendly go-round with Carter (September 4). At this writing he is off again to the Middle East. How he stands with Brzezinski is unknown to this reporter, but I have a bracing hunch that it no longer matters much.

John Osborne

It wasn't lying, it was telling the truth.

Andy Young's Undoing

Despite all the official denials, US intelligence officials did know about Andrew Young's "secret" meeting with a PLO representative at the United Nations shortly after it took place and not some two weeks later as the official line claims. The National Security Agency learned about the meeting from its regular telephone and cable "intercepts" of Arab missions at the UN, all of whose codes have long been broken. No one in the US government is supposed to talk about the NSA and what it does, but foreign diplomats in New York and Washington take it for granted that all of their conversations and diplomatic traffic are routinely monitored by the NSA. In addition to PLO representative Zehdi Labib Terzi, there were two other Arab diplomats present at the July 26 meeting: Kuwaiti ambassador Abdullah Yacoub Bishara and Syrian ambassador Hammoud el-Choufi. Their reports on the conversation that evening, quickly relayed to the Beirut headquarters of the PLO and to Damascus and Kuwait, were intercepted by the NSA.

Young infuriated senior US intelligence officials when he told the *New York Times* on August 19 that an official, almost verbatim transcript of his meeting with Terzi had been available in Washington by July 30, just four days after the session took place. The State

Department had insisted that it knew nothing about the meeting until August 11, when *Newsweek* magazine asked about it. Young, whose resignation was accepted by President Carter on August 15, had been indiscreet. He was not supposed to reveal such secrets. US intelligence officials say that widespread awareness of the NSA and its activities can compromise US intelligence gathering capabilities.

After the *New York Times* published Young's statement that the US government knew almost immediately about his meeting with Terzi, Under Secretary of State Warren Christopher spent most of Sunday, August 19 getting Young to agree to a "denial." Christopher urged Young to admit that no transcript of the meeting circulated in Washington. But Young stubbornly refused, agreeing only that he would no longer comment on the substance of the report. In the end, the best the State Department could say was that Young "would not contradict" the official statement. The statement said: "After a careful check of the records of the State Department and of the United States Mission to the United Nations, we have determined that prior to August 11 there was no account available in the State Department of Ambassador Young's meeting with Mr. Terzi on July 26. There was information available on July 30 that on July 26 a suggestion was made that Ambassador Young meet with Mr. Terzi but not that a meeting had been agreed upon." That may sound like a flat denial, but it was not. One insider familiar with the drafting of official "non-denials" said that the statement had enough holes "to drive a truck through." Young neither confirmed nor denied the statement; he simply kept quiet, as he had agreed.

Young's problems with the State Department began long before his meeting with Terzi. Staid US diplomats regarded Young as a "loose cannon," not always willing to play by their rules. According to reliable department sources, this was certainly the case following the initial leak of his meeting with Terzi. Young told Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, William Maynes, the truth about the exact nature of the meeting when first questioned about it on August 11. But the State Department decided to cover up, to inform the public that Young had said his meeting with Terzi was accidental, only a "social" encounter similar to many other previous contacts with the PLO in the corridors of the UN. Even President Carter shook hands with a PLO official during the 1977 General Assembly. That was the precedent necessary to justify subsequent "social encounters." The State Department said that these meetings could not be viewed as "recognition" of or "negotiation" with the PLO, both of which are prohibited by US policy.

The entire matter probably would have blown over if Young—having told his bosses the truth—had gone along with the State Department's lie. Instead, for whatever reason, Young confided to the Israeli

ambassador at the UN, Yehuda Blum, that the "official" version was not true, that he had indeed discussed substantive issues with Terzi. Young probably suspected that the Israelis knew the truth anyhow. Once Young officially informed Blum of the truth, Blum was forced to report it to his government. Israel was left with no choice but to lodge an official protest against a violation of earlier US commitments to Israel not to deal with the PLO. If Young had kept his mouth shut, an Israeli source told me, the Israelis would have remained silent. The controversy probably would have remained minor. But once Young told the truth and the Israelis filed their protest, an embarrassed State Department had to issue another "corrected" explanation, admitting that Young had had substantive talks with Terzi. This led to Young's resignation, on the false premise that he had lied when originally asked about the meeting.

This explanation of who knew what when leaves open the question that has arisen in the weeks since August 11: Was Young himself bugged by either the Israelis or his own government? ABC News reported on August 29 that Young's Waldorf Astoria apartment had been bugged by US intelligence and that this is how American officials first learned that Young was planning to meet with Terzi. President Carter personally denied the report, saying that he had checked with the heads of all the various US intelligence agencies, but ABC said it had two sources and refused to admit error.

What makes these charges plausible is that there has been widespread suspicion and hostility toward Young in the American intelligence community, and concern about his "reliability," ever since he was appointed. In private, some intelligence officials even have raised the possibility that the ambassador posed a potential national security threat to the US government. They were most unhappy about some of the company he is said to have kept, especially a few of his earlier associates in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference thought to be former members of the Communist party. Intelligence officers even suspected "lingering associations" with the Russians, according to reliable US and other sources. This is in no way to suggest that Young was a national security risk; it only means that some of the old "pros" in the US intelligence community would have felt more comfortable with another American ambassador at the UN. Some agents at the FBI were naturally suspicious of Young, given his earlier involvement in the civil rights movement and their hostility to it. Young's series of controversial statements fueled the flames of suspicion in the intelligence community, where he was considered "anti-American." That was especially the case following the flap over Young's comparison of American "political prisoners" with those in the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, ever since the Young-Terzi meeting surfaced, Israel's intelligence service, the Mossad, has

received a lot of unfavorable attention in the American news media. First there was the report in the *Atlanta Constitution* that Israel had bugged the Young-Terzi meeting. Then there was a report in *Time* magazine that Israel regularly bugs all Arab missions at the UN. Finally *Newsweek* which first learned of the meeting, reported that "the Israelis routinely spy on their U.S. allies." *Newsweek* hinted that an Israeli source had provided the first information on the Young-Terzi rendezvous.

Newsweek quoted "former CIA agents" and "intelligence experts" as saying that the Mossad has "penetrations all through the U.S. government." It said:

with the help of American Jews in and out of government, Mossad looks for any softening in U.S. support, and tries to get technical intelligence the Administration is unwilling to give Israel. 'Mossad can go to any distinguished American Jew and ask for his help,' says a former CIA agent. The appeal is a simple one: when the call went out and no one heeded it, the Holocaust resulted.

That grave accusation, built on blind quotations, naturally upset Israeli officials, who strongly denied it. Raising the specter of Jewish dual loyalty—to the US and Israel—has long been a staple of the extreme right wing fringe, the John Birchers, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Liberty Lobby. But *Newsweek*? Are Harold Brown, Henry Kissinger, Robert Strauss, and dozens of other former and present senior US officials who happen to be Jewish really potential Israeli spies? Ridiculous. Several strategically placed Jews with access to information that could be very useful to the Israelis insist that they never have been approached by Israeli intelligence. If, in fact, some American intelligence agency had been overzealous in its surveillance work at the UN, the spate of articles about Israeli "espionage" in the US may well be part of a deliberate campaign of disinformation designed to cover up official illegal acts. *Newsweek*, in that case, was an unwitting party in the campaign.

Newsweek did not stop there. "Israel is not likely to use its information against the US, but CIA officials still think Mossad's US operations threaten American security. One intelligence source says that what data the Soviets can't get in the US, 'they steal back from the Israelis.'" That accusation outraged intelligence officials of both Israel and the US. "Israel's intelligence services are probably as secure as—if not more than—our own," one US intelligence official told me. He said the Soviets are much more likely to get American information from the French and the West Germans. US and Israeli intelligence sources could not recall one incident in which important US information in Israeli hands—legitimately or not—was ever compromised.

The US-Israeli intelligence relationship is a paradox. On the one hand, there is extensive cooperation, with information exchanges flowing on both sides. CIA officials in Israel and Mossad agents in the US are "declared" to their host governments, according to an

agreement similar to the ones that exist between Washington and other NATO allies. "Almost everything we need from the Americans, we get above board," an Israeli source said. "The same is true on the other side. We would have to be crazy to risk that type of relationship by opening covert operations against each other's government."

At the same time, however, the relationship between the US and Israeli intelligence communities has gone through various stages. During the height of the 1975 US "reassessment" of policy toward Israel, for example, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger reportedly spread the word to "cool it" with Israel. There were discussions in the intelligence community about starting clandestine operations against Israel. After some serious consideration, that idea was dropped.

Today, according to sources on both sides, the relationship is not as good as it used to be. This appears to be the result of serious differences on the major political issues involved in the search for a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement. There are mutual suspicions that the other side may be moving too far, beyond the agreed limits of intelligence operations in each other's country. Both sides have done some foolish things in recent years. The suspicions today are manifested in several ways: when an Israeli diplomat turns on his radio to a rock 'n' roll station during a private meeting in his embassy office; or when a senior US official accompanying President Carter to Jerusalem's King David Hotel passes notes to a visitor, apparently afraid that his room is bugged. Such strange behavior must result from real fears.

Israel's intelligence services are good, but they are not as great as the popular mythology would have us believe. There have been some notable successes, but also some terrible failures—the most painful being the misreading of Egyptian and Syrian intentions on the eve of the 1973 war. "For Israel to be doing a tenth of what the press would have us believe," a US official said last week, "they would need the budget and manpower of the CIA and KGB combined. They just don't have those capabilities." The Israelis are partially to blame for their own bad publicity today because they sometimes glorified their intelligence successes, such as the capture of Adolph Eichmann.

President Carter said in Atlanta on August 30 that there was nothing "abnormal" about Israeli intelligence in the US. "All countries have some form of intelligent operations in other countries," he said. "And it consists of collections of data, interviews with private citizens, perusal of news media, and also some secret devices. But there are boundaries of legitimacy and I think the Israelis honor those boundaries, just as we do." On the next day, Carter dismissed reports that the Israelis had bugged Young's apartment in New York. "There is no way for me to certify to that kind of thing," he said, "I am in our key spots—like the Oval Office and the ambassador's residence—there is a routine sweep

the surreptitious listening devices and my guess is that if any nation should try to bug the telephone or the premises of the UN ambassador, it would be detected quite early and there have been no detections of any such devices."

Wolf Blitzer

Wolf Blitzer is Washington correspondent for the Jerusalem Post.

Drug traffic makes it the only country with a negative black market in dollars.

Colombian Gold

The illicit flow of marijuana and cocaine to the United States from Colombia, which is the principal supplier to the American market, is now at an all-time high and still rising. But the Congress in Washington stubbornly denies the Colombians serious help in combating this traffic, and the Carter administration seems too timid to insist on minimally adequate funds.

Illegal drugs from Colombia fetch around \$45 billion annually in street sales in the US. But Congress is haggling over whether a maximum of four million dollars or six million dollars, either way an absurdly niggardly sum, should be given to Colombia next year to help buy military and police equipment to try to hold back this avalanche of narcotics. Congress already has done away with a proposal by Representative Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Democrat of New York, for \$16 million on the grounds that it was too much. And the Carter administration, which originally requested only a modest \$2.2-million program for Colombia, is sitting on its hands.

Considering that the US spends close to one billion dollars annually on drug enforcement in this country, congressional reluctance to go to the roots of the problem—the massive smuggling from Colombia—is a stunning example of penny-wise, pound-foolish budgeting.

To be sure, the Colombian drug traffic to the US is so large and the resources of the narcotics entrepreneurs in both countries are so great, including political clout in Colombia and the ability to acquire tiny Caribbean islets for trans-shipment purposes, that this fantastic business cannot be wholly eradicated so long as the demand for marijuana and cocaine in this country remains at its present high level. But an important dent in the traffic could be made if the Colombian authorities, who only last year began a serious effort to curtail the illegal flow, were better equipped to carry out their operations. What Colombia needs are coast guard vessels, aircraft, helicopters, vehicles,

communications gear, and fuel. Clearly these needs cannot be met from the \$1.3 million provided by the US in fiscal 1978 and the two million dollars in fiscal 1979.

Colombian president Julio César Turbay Ayala and his defense minister, General Luis Carlos Camacho Leyva, made these complaints to me recently in Bogota. Camacho Leyva has assigned the second brigade of the Colombian army to the anti-drug campaign in northern Colombia although he desperately needs troops to handle leftist guerrilla forces elsewhere in the nation. Both Turbay and Camacho Leyva were also at a loss to understand why the US, with its air and naval might, appears unable to prevent hundreds of smugglers' boats and aircraft from entering American territory with narcotics cargoes.

US Drug Enforcement Administration agents in Colombia (there are only 12 plus one pilot in the whole country) agree with Colombian complaints about insufficient US aid. At the same time, they have no illusions about breaking the back of the overall problem unless the Turbay government manages to smash the politically powerful drug-smuggling networks in Colombia and the Carter administration finds a way of dealing meaningfully with drug-related organized crime groups in the US.

The Colombian government, the DEA, and other law enforcement agencies in the US intercept no more than 10 percent of marijuana and cocaine smuggled—most by sea, but also by air—from Colombia to the US. Marijuana, the "Colombian Gold" (said to be inferior in quality only to the Hawaiian "Koni"), is grown all over Colombia's northern region. Lately new marijuana plantations have sprung up in the south and on the Pacific coast to evade military interdiction campaigns. Cocaine, originating from coca leaf grown in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, is shipped to the US through Colombia, where laboratories transform it into paste and powder. The latest addition to Colombian drug exports are fake Quaalude pills, a frequently abused sedative, produced in the country from raw materials brought illegally from Western Europe.

The DEA calculated that 75 percent of US marijuana consumption is currently supplied by Colombia. Mexico has lost its former primacy because of the use of the paraquat herbicide on its fields, something the Colombians will not allow on the grounds that marijuana grows mixed with food crops. This means that close to 20,000 tons of Colombian "grass" is smuggled into America each year. Its street resale price here stands around \$24 billion. Over 60,000 pounds of cocaine a year from Colombia, worth more than \$22 billion, is also smuggled into the US.

Late in August, the police in Florida seized a 206-pound shipment of uncut cocaine (valued by the DEA at \$50 million) in what was described as the biggest bust in US history. It had been flown aboard a twin-engine aircraft from northern Colombia to Florida's Okeechobee county. General Camacho Leyva told me that between last October, when the army campaign

The Uses of Suffering

By Julius Lester

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 statement 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.

I don't recall angry pronouncements from black leadership when 18 Jews were killed at Qiryat Shemona by Palestinian terrorists. I don't remember black hands held out in sympathy when 20 Jewish children were murdered at Ma'alot, where Palestinians held a school of children hostage. When 31 Jews were killed in a Palestinian attack on a bus, black leadership did not gather before the television cameras and microphones to say, "No! No! No! Not another Jew can be murdered on this earth."

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. Arrogance is, however, a common fault of oppressed people when they believe that their status as victims gives them the advantage of moral superiority. But morality is not found in lecturing others on morality. Morality is painfully earned by constant awareness of one's own limitations, mistakes, and fragile humanity. Morality comes by constantly adjuring oneself and not others, to "show more sensitivity."

It is the absence of sensitivity to point the finger at Israel's relations with South Africa when black leadership has failed to

exemplify the least concern about the oppression of Soviet Jewry. How dare black leadership thrust itself into foreign affairs on the issue of Palestinian rights after failing to take an interest when Jews were fighting against the expiration of the statute of limitations on Nazi war crimes in West Germany! The lack of black sensitivity on matters of deep and abiding concern to Jews has wounded Jews as much as Jewish opposition to affirmative action has wounded us.

However, black leadership not only wraps itself in a cloak of moral excellence, it goes further and chooses sides in the Mideast conflict. I shouldn't have been surprised by this, because, as Reverend

Morality is not found in lecturing others. Morality is painfully earned.

Wyatt Tee Walker expressed it, "The Palestinians are the niggers of the Middle East." Such a statement is sickeningly obscene. Any pro-Palestinian sympathies I might have had died in Munich when 11 members of the Israeli Olympic team were murdered. But maybe blacks have become so Western that we don't think it is "to the best interests of the black community" to care that there are still people in the world who want to kill Jews because they are Jews. But who in the course of Western civilization has ever cared when Jews were killed? Why, then, should blacks be different?

Not being different, black leadership takes its stand for "human rights and self-determination for Palestinians." This sounds reasonable, but something deep within me says that it is wrong to talk about Palestinian human rights as long as Israeli children live with the prospect of death at Palestinian hands. How can black leadership even think about self-determination for people who attack chil-

dren? To do so implicitly condones the murder of children.

Black leadership should know about the murder of children, or have we forgotten the four children murdered in that Birmingham church in 1963? And surely we've forgotten that at the memorial services and rallies after the bombing, it was Jews, more so than other Americans, who stood beside us and shared our pain. Black leadership insults this very real part of black history, not to mention insulting Jews, when it says that Jewish support for the black struggle was given when it was "in their [Jews] best interest to do so." No, that is not true, because those Jews who supported, worked, and died in the civil rights movement remembered in their souls the pogroms in Russia, the Holocaust, the dying that is so constant in Israel, and because they remembered, they made our struggle a part of their lives.

That Jews have not supported affirmative action does nothing to negate this. But this does not seem good enough for black leadership, which takes the position that the support Jews gave in the past is to be denigrated now. I cannot understand why black leadership lacks the simple humanity to express gratitude for past support, as well as the anger we feel now in the face of Jewish conservatism. Instead, black leadership has acted as if Jews were responsible for Andy Young's resignation. I thought Andy was responsible for that, and, with great dignity, he explained that he needed to be free to speak as he wished. But, as Western history amply demonstrates, whenever something goes wrong it is easy to blame the Jews.

By so doing, black leadership has shown itself to be morally barren. By its support of the Palestinians, it exemplifies a callousness of spirit to the meaning of the Holocaust, because when six million Jews are killed while the world is indifferent, the right of Israel to exist is unassailable. That is the only reasonable position I think one can have on the Middle East. Is black leadership unable to perceive that the world is still indifferent

to the lives of Jews? We shouldn't be, because that same world is indifferent to black lives. Are we unable to see that the position of Jews in the world has not changed significantly since World War II? And what I hear in the self-righteousness of black leaders is, very simply, we don't give a damn.

The irony is that this new expression of anti-Semitism was spearheaded by the organization founded by Martin Luther King, Jr.—the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Dr. King has been dead only 11 years, but when I listen to his SCLC successors, it is hard to believe that Dr. King ever lived.

I have missed him these past weeks, because, for all my political disagreements with him, he helped me understand, that though I suffer by virtue of my race, I cannot indulge that suffering. Neither can I use suffering to crown myself with a tiara of moral superiority. I must learn to carry that suffering as if it were a long-stemmed rose I offer to humanity. I do that by living with my suffering so intimately as to never forget that, having suffered evil, I must be careful not to do something that will, as Dr. King put it, "intensify the existence of evil in the universe." Because I have suffered as a black person, I do not succumb to the thrill of making others suffer. I look at my own suffering and say, let this inhuman suffering end here.

How quickly, how effortlessly those who knew and worked with Dr. King have forgotten that he taught that "all life is interrelated," that "all humanity is involved in a single process, and to the degree that I harm my brother, to that extent am I harming myself," and that "creation is so designed that my personality can only be fulfilled in the context of community."

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. ■

AmS

...independent identity. They
...at the center of strife in Iraq and
...as well as in Iran. It once served this
...country's — and the shah's — interest to en-
courage Iraqi Kurds in their guerrilla war.
But great power calculations changed, and
the Kurds were the losers.

Most Americans know little of the intricacies of this ancient quarrel. What they see is a repressive Iranian regime in a civil war against a stubbornly independent people. If the Bazargan government has made generous

the
wise
agine the
tap. And st
country by sell
their oil elsewhere, the
world market would soon meet the shortfall
by shifting allocations. The oil weapon has
two edges in Iran today and that is a cold-
blooded reality that even Carter seems to
have forgotten.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Who Did Andrew Young In?

Twelve days ago, Rep. Parren Mitchell, D-Md., a former chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, observed that "out on the streets, the perception, the feeling is that the Israeli government went out of its way to embarrass and humiliate a black man . . . The feeling is that somebody did Andy Young in. And when you ask who did him in, the people say the Israelis."

* * *

The same feeling boiled up in different words last week among the leaders of black organizations at a meeting to examine how "the successful demand for the resignation of Ambassador Andrew Young has in fact further damaged an already unhappy relationship between the American Jewish organizational spokesmen and the rank and file and the leadership of American blacks."

Who did Andrew Young in?

The answer is Jimmy Carter. The next question is why — but the president has not answered it. And in his failure to do so he has let stand, and even grow, the impression among blacks that Young had to be removed from office to appease American Jewish supporters of Israel.

It was not hard for that impression to take root. Long before the Young affair, deep differences opened between black groups and some Jewish organizations over affirmative action and quotas. That these same groups had marched side by side in the civil rights movement has made the division that much more dramatic and painful.

Then, when Young came under fire early this month, a Zionist leader demanded his resignation in heated, condescending language. Israel protested the violation of U.S. Middle East policy he told its own ambassador about. And blacks found it hard to understand why a black ambassador who meets with the PLO in New York is removed while a Jewish ambassador who meets with the PLO in Vienna isn't even scolded.

From what is known about the Young affair, it appears that the reason for Young's departure was not that he violated U.S. policy by meeting with the PLO, nor that Israel protested this violation, as it had every right to do. The resignation, quite evidently, was spurred by the way Young tried to cover himself inside his own government and by his unwillingness to accept either his country's Middle East tactics or the discipline that goes with carrying out a foreign policy.

But the public needs a more authoritative answer than "it appears" and "quite evidently" — and there is someone who can supply it. It might be thought that the president, as a Democrat presumably running for re-election, would have a strong interest in offering that explanation and trying to ease relations between two groups vital to the Democratic coalition. It might be thought that, as president, he would have a strong interest in preventing poisonous racial and religious discord. But the days go by, the passions spread and President Carter keeps his silence.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

International Opinion

Autos in East

Communist planners
automobiles low pri-
...priority of mass
...ater

Young: Backfires on Carter?

President Carter's sacrifice of Andrew Young has had precisely the opposite effect from that presumably intended. It strengthened the PLO by giving it
...lv important lob

The Jer

LOS ANGELES — Back East hardly anyone takes Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown Jr. seriously as a presidential candidate. He is too odd, people say — too flaky, in the current phrase. His attacks on deficit spending and opposition to nuclear power will offend labor and other mainstream Democratic voters. Political troubles at home in California will hobble him.

Large debts should not be placed on those assumptions. Gov. Brown is a shrewd and determined political man. By all signs he is wholly committed to the presidential challenge. He has talented people working on what is called his "exploratory committee" but is in fact gearing up for the long haul to the convention.

Contradictory

Most important, he has a pack age of ideas for the campaign. Talking with him here in his Los Angeles office, I found him more intent than in previous encounters on constructing an understanding platform. He still threw out ideas a minute, but this time was a real attempt to put together a coherent framework — one that will work in national politics.

"We're going to have to down the ship in order to do it," Brown said at one point. A sentence caught the way he connected two seemingly contradictory themes: that government is doing too much, and that it needs heavy new investments of it from the government.

For 20 years after Gov. Brown said, government was financing economic growth. Now virtually stopped monetary policy changed to keep spending pumping private public with qu



Union of American Hebrew Congregations

838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

NEWS RELEASE

Contact: **Richard Cohen** For Immediate Release
(212) 758-6969

RABBI SCHINDLER DEPLORES BLACK LEADERS DECLARATION
AS 'NEEDLESS AND COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE' TO A DIALOGUE;
END THE DEMAGOGUERY, LET'S START TALKING, HE URGES

Commenting on the statement issued by Black leaders in New York Wednesday, Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, composed of 750 Reform Jewish synagogues in the United States and Canada, said today (Thursday, Aug. 23):

"We are deeply disappointed and distressed by the content and the tone of the statement made yesterday by Black leaders. The participants in that conference have escalated the Andrew Young affair into a needless and hurtful confrontation between Blacks and Jews. The public litany of grievances against Jews and Israel may be good therapy and good press; it is a deplorable and counter-productive method of communication and dialogue.

"Black leaders have allowed themselves to be distracted from the stark reality that the Administration which let Andrew Young go has also failed Blacks and Jews and all who believe in economic justice and compassion for the poor. Instead, the Black and Jewish communities have been entrapped into squaring off against each other -- a result that can only delight our common enemies.

"It is time to stop the rhetoric and to resume talking. Our two communities share many deep common values in the quest for social justice. Let us end the demagoguery and get back to work."

X X X

TEN QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS ABOUT THE
ANDY YOUNG AFFAIR AND THE BLACK-JEWISH FALLOUT

1.

1. WHY DID ANDY YOUNG DO WHAT HE DID.....MEET WITH THE PLO, LIE TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT ABOUT IT AND THEN RESIGN? WAS HE SET UP BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT?

It's possible, but not likely, that Young was set up. It is true that the United States government - not just Young - was girding for a shift in policy toward the PLO; and a superior might have signalled him to go ahead and meet with Terzi. But it is not likely that he was set up deliberately. More likely, his many enemies in the State Department, appalled at his innumerable gaffes over the years, saw an unexpected opportunity to unload a chronic embarrassment.

Andy Young has become notorious as a soloist - saying and doing his own thing. He has long felt that refusing to have any contacts with the PLO is ridiculous, that the Palestinian question is at the heart of the dispute, that one cannot deal with the Palestinians without dealing with the PLO. His obsession with involving the Popular Front in Rhodesia in the negotiations there, in the belief that peace without the guerillas is illusory, is directly analagous to his views on the Middle East crisis. Some commentators have suggested that the Administration agrees and wanted Young to do the heavy lifting as a private citizen.

2. DID THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ORCHESTRATE THE BLACK-JEWISH CONFRONTATION?

Perhaps. When Young resigned, the White House painted a picture of weeping and mourning at the White House, together with a gratuitous warning about its negative impact on black-Jewish relations. It was a self-fulfilling prophecy. What had black-Jewish relations to do with a United States ambassador being let go for rank insubordination and for deceiving his own government? To make it

worse, the television network news reported that an unidentified White House official had said, "Those Jews will never be satisfied until President Carter himself jumps off a cliff to prove his devotion to Israel." If this was not an incitement to bigotry, it was at least pouring fuel on an artificial ethnic issue which, once it started to blaze, obscured the central fact that President Carter had sacked the top black in his administration. Indeed, it is more than interesting that Young never expressed anger at Carter; that the black community lashed out at the Jews, not at the President; and that - to this moment - the White House has watched with cool and detached neutrality as a dangerous and inflammable clash escalated between blacks and Jews, two vital elements in the President's support system. It is a puzzlement.

3. DID AMERICAN JEWS ACTUALLY DEMAND YOUNG'S HEAD?

The answer is NO. There were dozens of Jewish statements issued the day the media revealed that Young had met with the PLO. They were uniformly angry and heated, but - with only one exception - they did not deal with Young personally, but with what they regarded as a symptom of a blatant shift in American policy toward the PLO, in clear violation of treaty commitments the United States made to Israel. The UAHC statement, for example, noted Young's long record of "steadfast support for Jewish causes" and suggested he was a "fall guy" for Administration machinations. A prominent Zionist leader made a bitter and condescending demand for Young's firing. The Jewish umbrella groups, on the other hand, carefully avoided such a demand, in part, precisely to avoid any exacerbation of black-Jewish conflict.

4. WHY DID ISRAEL BLOW THE WHISTLE AND PROTEST? DIDN'T THEY KNOW IT WOULD UNHORSE ANDY YOUNG?

It would be interesting - but impossible - to know whether Israeli leaders paused to consider the repercussions of their protest in terms of a black-Jewish explosion and especially in terms of Young's pointed warning to Israeli Ambassador Blum that an Israeli formal protest would lead to the creation of a Palestinian lobby in the United States. The likelihood is that the Begin government was so determined to nip in the bud the subterranean tilt toward the PLO that it did not give serious thought to the consequences of its protest. Begin's government is to public relations what Young is to diplomatic protocol. In any case, Young's warning proved accurate; in the firestorm, Israel's position has eroded further and the PLO has gained the bonanza of a new respectability and a constituency within the United States itself! In retrospect, Israel could have found a less costly way to expose U. S. flirtations with the PLO, such as the series of contacts by Ambassador Wolf, our ambassador to Austria, with the PLO in collusion with Austrian President Kriesky.

5. IS ANDY YOUNG LIKELY TO BECOME THE PIED PIPER OF THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE?

Yes. Young seems determined to justify the initiative which cost him his position. No single individual in the world now has his authority and clout on the Palestinian issue. It is not animus toward Israel which moves him. He sincerely believes that Israel's frozen stance prevents peace and immobilizes the United States. In his messianic and prophetic self-image, Young may be shooting for the PLO-Israeli breakthrough which, he may believe, could earn him the Nobel Peace Prize. Overnight, he mobilized the black leadership in this struggle. He has extraordinary credibility in the Christian world (he is a minister) and in the Third World. Young will not be the old soldier who simply fades away. He is a political force. Freed from even the marginal restraints his official post imposed upon him, he will become a solo unguided missile of potentially great

power. Whether the Carter Administration calculated it this way or not - its chronic ineptitude suggests otherwise - it will undoubtedly use Young now as its point man with the PLO.

6. WILL THE BLACK COMMUNITY PROVE A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL FORCE FOR THE PALESTINIANS?

Yes and no. Nothing could be more remote from the profound issues of daily life - unemployment, inflation, slums, crime, welfare reform - which bedevil ordinary blacks in America (led by an administration which has largely turned its back on black suffering). For poor blacks, the condition of the United States today is nothing less than a major depression. The suggestion that ordinary blacks will sustain the concern and the stamina to press the Palestinian cause, as American Jews do the Israeli cause, stretches belief. The argument that blacks are first to suffer from an Arab boycott is really an argument for challenging the stranglehold of OPEC, not for sanctifying PLO terrorism. (An official in Kenya said the other day that the Arabs once sold blacks into slavery; today they are strangling black Africa with the noose of OPEC's cartel.) Some cynical black leaders may smell the scent of Arab oil money; others may be intoxicated by the sudden attention of the media. (The SCLC, for example, was virtually bankrupt and dead in the water when it seized upon the PLO lifeline.) Others, no doubt genuinely, see the Palestinians as another oppressed minority. But the leap from the Palestinian people to the bloody-minded PLO is a leap from, for example, the NAACP to the Black Panthers. If even the leaders of the black community betrayed an understandable ignorance of the complex dynamics of the Middle East, it is not surprising. How would Jewish or Italian or Polish leaders do as overnight experts on the murderous complexities of Northern Ireland or

Namibia? And if the leaders are bewildered, ordinary blacks are certain to be mystified, if indeed they pay the Middle East any mind at all.

7. WHAT HAS BEEN THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA?

Mixed, with an inclination toward incendiary over-simplifications. The day Young was caught with his hand in the cookie jar, *The New York Post* hit the streets with a shrieking, two-word headline: "FIRE HIM!" The *Post* tried to back up its inflammatory headline with the statements of Jewish leaders, but the headline spoke for publisher Murdoch, not Jewish leaders, most of whom demanded no such thing. Indeed, when *Post* eager-beaver reporters called around to rustle up supporting statements, they had the chutzpah to tell at least one spokesman to make his statement stronger. One demagogic black leader, citing the *Post* journalistic mugging, told Jewish leaders that "the *Post*, of course, is Jewish." Murdoch is a WASP from Australia.

8. WHAT HAS ALL THIS DONE TO BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS?

It has brought an already irritated and tense relationship to the breaking point. Attached is the statement issued by black leaders, together with the responding statement of the NJCRAC and a separate statement by the UAHC. Blacks managed to turn their agony over Young's fall into a needless public confrontation between blacks and Jews. The tone of the actual conference was much uglier than the final statement. A bitter litany of anti-Jewish grievances swept aside the voices of moderation and reconciliation. It might have been good therapy; it was hardly conducive to dialogue and the spirit of consultation black leaders called for. Public dumping on Jews (even for Israel's policy on South Africa, over which American Jews have about as much say as American blacks do about the closet reality that most black African nations trade with hated South Africa -

under the table) only embitters the Jewish community. Clearly the PLO was merely a symbolic excuse for an attack on Jews. The only winners from this artificial clash in America are the hard-liners in both communities where the events are seen as confirmation by the elements of both communities who would like to withdraw from the long-standing relationship between blacks and Jews. The Jewish Defense League has already made its predictable noises about turning the hand of friendship into a Jewish fist.

9. THEN WHY DID THE BLACKS FOLLOW THIS COURSE? WAS THERE NO VALIDITY TO THEIR GRIEVANCES AGAINST JEWS?

Once all black leaders were assembled in the frenzied atmosphere of the fracas, it could only be a field day for the demagogues. Don't be deceived by the self-serving statements of black leaders congratulating themselves on the unity and coherence of the conference, the new declaration of independence, the watershed of maturity, etc. Privately, some of these same self-congratulators were appalled and alarmed by the anti-Jewish thrust and its implications for the future.

Of course, the bill of particulars against the Jewish community was not a total misfire. American Jews do tend to become over-emotional on Israel, sometimes equating dissent with anti-Semitism. The issue of affirmative action, of course, was the tenderest nerve for blacks - and for some Jews, too. Black leaders were right - in my judgment - in blaming Jewish organizations for high-profile public and excessively hyperbolic campaigns against affirmative action programs which blacks see as indispensable to racial justice. A few Jewish defense agencies have whipped up a lather of passion against certain types of affirmative action (quotas). There was not sufficient consultation between blacks and Jews on the DeFunis, Bakke and Weber cases.

But it is also the case that some Jewish groups supported the black community on the DeFunis case (UAHC and NCJW). Many stayed out of Bakke so as not to exacerbate black-Jewish tensions. All but one (ADL) decided NOT to oppose civil rights forces on the voluntary program challenged by Weber. The UAHC, at its last biennial assembly (which was addressed by NAACP's Ben Hooks), voted overwhelmingly to endorse goals and time-tables in the advancement of affirmative action. Moreover, fixed quotas are rejected not only by all Jewish groups; they are also opposed by an overwhelming majority of Americans, including (according to all polls) a high proportion of blacks and other minorities.

10. ARE BLACKS AND JEWS NOW DESTINED TO BE FOES? IS THE OLD COALITION DEAD?

No. Despite monumental abrasions, healing conversations will inevitably resume after a period of reassessment. Political events will push blacks and Jews together because - despite everything - the two communities have more common interests than any other two communities in America. They recently joined in beating back electoral reform. They share a commitment to economic progress, full employment, governmental initiative to aid the poor, civil rights and opposition to the emergent right-wing and Proposition 13 conservatives. They vote alike, as evidence in their Carter support in 1976, and they will coalesce despite all the posturing and demagoguery of their leaders. Will the black caucus in Congress boycott its Jewish allies? Why did not black leaders blast the Italians, the Poles, other ethnic groups? Are they notably sympathetic to affirmative action, government programs for job development, universal health insurance, integration? No. Singling out Jews for excoriation may look like anti-Semitism (and in some cases it is); it is even more an expression of the ambivalent love/hate relationships one knows in one's own family. And the deeply injured reaction of Jews is not anti-black (though in some cases it is), but the pain of a loved one, an ally, a disappointed friend who has been publicly rebuked in a fit of pique.

This, too, shall pass. Black-Jewish relations may never be as good as we romantically pretend they once were. But they will resume after a needed cooling off period -- differently, to be sure. More measured, less instinctive, more grounded in self-interest, frank, tough. But in a deep historic and ethical sense, our two communities are joined at the hip. We can - and do - flail at each other in moments of crisis, but we have to live with each other, like it or not.



איחוד
ליהדות
מתקדמת
באמריקה

Union of American Hebrew Congregations

838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

NEWS RELEASE

Contact: Richard Cohen For Immediate Release
(212) 758-6969

STATEMENT BY RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER, PRESIDENT, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

It is important to set the record straight regarding Andrew Young.

1/ The Jewish community did not call for his resignation. I know of only a single Jewish leader who did so; that was his right. But the major umbrella group which speaks for the Jewish community on these matters -- the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations -- did not do so.

2/ Andrew Young's color had nothing to do with his appointment as U.N. Ambassador, his service at the United Nations, or his resignation. Consequently, there is no reason for any so called "tension" between the Jewish and Black communities arising out of this issue. Indeed, Andrew Young has been a steadfast friend of Jewish causes from his earliest days in the Civil Rights Movement. Those who speak of such tensions do a disservice to harmonious Black-Jewish relations.

3/ The concern for Black-Jewish relations should not be allowed to obscure the central issue: the State Department's policy that seeks to cosmetize the PLO and transform this terrorist gang into a fit negotiating partner in the Middle-East peace talks. Four years ago Secretary of State Henry Kissinger made a solemn commitment that the United States would not recognize or negotiate with the PLO as long as the PLO refuses to recognize Israel's right to exist and refuses to accept U.N. Resolution #242. President Carter has on numerous occasions reiterated that commitment. The State Department, however, has violated that solemn pledge by overtly or covertly encouraging

(more)

Ambassador Young to traffic with the PLO -- a policy confirmed by the fact that the U.S. Ambassador to Austria, Milton Wolf, also conferred at length with the PLO.

4/ Those forces within the State Department that are urging our country to consort with cut-throats are doing a grave disservice to the cause of peace and to the security of America. It is time for President Carter to establish his authority over the Arabists in the State Department and make crystal clear that we are a country that honors its commitments to its friends, its allies and its principles.

81679



Union of American Hebrew Congregations

838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

NEWS RELEASE

Contact: **Richard Cohen**
(212) 758-6969

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER, PRESIDENT,
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS
on
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE AND THE P.L.O.

It is both disturbing and depressing that a civil rights organization founded on the non-violent principles of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. should have squandered its good name by embracing and thereby lending respectability to the murderous band that calls itself the P.L.O.

Dr. Lowery's endorsement of the P.L.O. represents a disquieting failure to understand the criminal nature of the world's leading terrorist organization, a group that boasts of the slaughter not only of Jewish women and children, but of Arab leaders who support the peace process in the Middle-East. The most recent example of anti-Arab terror by the P.L.O. was the stabbing to death in June of an Islamic leader in the Gaza Strip who had the temerity to support Egypt's peace treaty with Israel.

The suggestion by Dr. Lowery that Israel sit down with the P.L.O., whose charter vows the destruction of the Jewish State, is as grotesque as if American Jewish leaders had, during the civil rights struggle of the 1960's, embraced "Bull" Connor, the infamous Police Chief of Birmingham, Alabama, and publicly endorsed his way of dealing with Blacks in the South.

Israel has extended an open invitation to Palestinians to join the Middle-East peace process. That invitation has been rejected, primarily because of the understandable fear that any Palestinian who met with Israel would be murdered by the P.L.O. It is thus the P.L.O. which stands as the chief obstacle to further progress in the Middle-East peace process.

The sooner this essential fact is understood by the U.S. State Department -- and by those who would seek to influence American policy -- the sooner the dream of peace in the Middle-East, a dream which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. shared, can be achieved.

January 22, 1980

Mr. Bertram W. Korn, Jr.
c/o Keneseth Israel
York Road and Township Line
Elkins Park, PA. 19117

Dear Buddy:

Thank you for your lovely note. I hope things are going well for you and the family. I also want to thank you for sharing your thoughts and concerns regarding the black community with me.

I do not really think that the blacks have become pro-Arab. Jesse Jackson's motives were clearly financial. In speaking to a group of Chicago businessmen, he said "unless the oil-rich Arabs come up with some dollars for American civil rights use three letters will drop out of the black alphabet - PLO." So much for his ties to Arab causes. Much the same has to be said about the Rev. Mr. Lowery, money and publicity were his essential interest, in my judgment.

The black leadership as a whole responded only viscerally, turning pro-Arab because of Andy Young, assured that the Jewish community was responsible for letting him go. They would have been pro-Peking had the Taiwanese been responsible or blame placed upon them.

Again, my thanks for sharing your thoughts with me. I was pleased to hear from you.

With kindest greetings and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

18 January, 1980
Wyncote, Pa.

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

Hearing from you personally over Dad encouraged me to respond to your views which I had the pleasure to read as quoted in the 15 October U.S. News and World Report.

No^d doubt many black leaders in this country are searching for issues. Doubtless, also, is the fact that many of the irrational positions of black nationalists, here and elsewhere, ignore traditional antagonisms to create a feeling of "solidarity". But please tell me: surely you do not think some conspiracy operates behind the "curious" black attachment to the Arab cause?

It seems to me much of the failure here to fully comprehend the feelings of our neighbors, across the block and across the oceans, results from ignorance of the colonial experience. That blacks seem to relate their experience here to that of the non-European ex-colonies may be analytically imperfect, but the near parallels transcend the study of history, surfacing in feelings of closeness among non-whites. Most Americans are aware that Israel is basically European on a continent of Asians. Thus, its oppressive role touches blacks more directly than does its commitment to liberal and democratic values.

I am not suggesting blacks support the destruction of the Israeli state. I am trying to understand why blacks feel close to other non-whites, even those who sold them into slavery.

Yours in dialogue,

Buddy Korn

November 7, 1979

Mr. Benjamin P. Feldman, President
Congregation Beth Elohim
Eighth Avenue And Garfield Place
Brooklyn, New York 11215

Dear Mr. Feldman:

It was thoughtful of you to share with me Rabbi Sack's
Rosh Hashanah sermon on the subject of Blacks and Jews
in the United States. I am grateful to you for having
done so.

I am certain that Rabbi Sack's analysis will be
fascinating and of great interest. With repeated
thanks and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

CONGREGATION BETH ELOHIM

EIGHTH AVENUE AND GARFIELD PLACE

BROOKLYN, NEW YORK 11215

(212) 768-3814

BENJAMIN P. FELDMAN, PRESIDENT
PAUL FINKELSTEIN, M.D., VICE PRESIDENT
EVERETT M. GOWA, VICE PRESIDENT
MRS. ABE L. MARKS, VICE PRESIDENT
MRS. BERNARD WASSERMAN, SECRETARY
JULES M. HIRSH, TREASURER

EUGENE J. SACK, RABBI EMERITUS
GERALD I. WEIDER, RABBI
DAVID GRAF, MUSICAL DIRECTOR
ALANE SIMONS, STUDENT CANTOR
DONNA M. KLEINER, PRINCIPAL, RELIGIOUS SCHOOL

November 1, 1979

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:


This year our Congregation felt that the Rosh Hashanah sermon of Rabbi Eugene J. Sack was the most penetrating analysis of the problems faced by blacks and Jews in the United States.

I am enclosing a copy of his sermon and urge that you take the time to read it.

Most particularly, we believe that his distinction between black revolution and black enfranchisement is the key to an understanding of what the Jews in America will support and what they will oppose.

We think that Rabbi Sack's analysis can be a useful principle on which American blacks and Jews can build a program that will be greatly helpful to both groups.

Sincerely,



Benjamin P. Feldman
President

BPF/eu

Enc.



November 8, 1979

Mr. George Marcus
Apartment 6C
220 West Jersey Street
Elizabeth, New Jersey 07202

Dear Mr. Marcus:

Your letter is insolent and does not deserve an answer.

Just for the record, however, let me state that I did not tie Black-Jewish Relations to National Health Insurance. I don't know where you gleaned this mis-information.

I did say that Blacks and Jews have much in common, sharing an identical vision of what America should be like. Among our common goals is the alleviation of societies ills, poverty, unemployment, inadequate and overly costly health care, etc.

Society would be better served if some people would only take the trouble to determine the facts before they shout.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Apartment 6C
220 West Jersey Street
Elizabeth, New Jersey 07202

Rabbi Alexander Schindler
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Rabbi:

I was amazed to read in the newspaper the other day your statement linking Vernon Jordan's attempt to improve black-Jewish relations with national health insurance. I cannot understand the connection between the two issues or how national health insurance directly applies to Jewish interests. Also, I cannot imagine what expertise you possess which qualifies you to speak on national health insurance.

As far as I am concerned, the rabbinate is an anachronistic institution. Rabbis have abandoned their traditional pastoral concerns so that they might be free to elect themselves "Jewish leaders" and make sweeping pronouncements concerning issues about which they know nothing. Society would be better served if most rabbis were retrained to perform a useful function, such as collecting garbage or cleaning the streets.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'George Marcus', written in a cursive style.

George Marcus

November 8, 1979

Dr. David A. Worth
900 Stuyvesant Avenue
Union, New Jersey 07083

Dear Dr. Worth:

Thank you for your letter of November 1st in regard to my response to the comments of Mr. Vernon Jordon.

You ought to know, that I said nothing in regard to National Health Insurance, I spoke of National Health Care.

As you know, press reports can often be misleading and such was obviously the case in the New York Times Report. It is my firm belief that many common goals are shared by the Black and Jewish Community to alleviate societies ills, poverty, unemployment, inadequate and overly costly health care, etc. that is why in my remarks I discussed care, rather than insurance.

Thank you for sharing your comments with me. With every good wish, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Alexander M. Schindler

SIDNEY E. FRIEDMAN, M. D., P. A.

DAVID A. WORTH, M. D.

900 STUYVESANT AVENUE

UNION, N. J. 07083

TELEPHONE: 688-6034

SIDNEY E. FRIEDMAN, M.D., F.C.C.P.

DIPLOMATE, AMERICAN BOARD OF INTERNAL MEDICINE
CHEST DISEASES

DAVID A. WORTH, M.D.

DIPLOMATE, AMERICAN BOARD OF INTERNAL MEDICINE
RHEUMATIC DISEASES

November 1, 1979.

Rabbi Alexander Schindler, President
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

I was pleased to hear Mr. Vernon Jordan's comments on Black-Jewish relationships and your warm response as reported in the New York Times. It disturbs me, however, that you included in your enunciation of common goals, the concept of national health insurance. It appears that equal justice in housing, in the courts and equal opportunity are ethical matters but that national health insurance (as opposed to catastrophic health insurance) is a political goal advanced by labor unions and the national Democratic Party. Why are we as a religious unit advancing national health insurance? I would appreciate your comments.

Respectfully yours
David A. Worth, M.D.

October 26, 1979

Mr. Max Frankel
Editor, Editorial Page
The New York Times
229 West 43 Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

Dear Max:

I am writing because reading the Times, one would think that Blacks and Jews were really at each other's throats. I did not attend the meeting of Black leaders reported in today's (Friday's) Times, but I do know about the UAHC meeting last Sunday evening in Washington at which Ben Hooks spoke. Although the story emphasized the confrontational aspects of what Hooks and Vorspan said, in fact it was a reconciliation.

We are writing separately to David Jones about that story, which was both misleading and, apparently, the victim of sloppy editing. This letter is to express the hope you will not be misled by the Times' reporting of the issue.

Should you be writing again soon on Black/Jewish relations, I hope you'll make use of the attached press release which more accurately reflects the spirit of the Hooks-Vorspan exchange and, indeed, of the efforts by both Black and Jewish groups and their responsible leaders to deal with the differences that separate them -- rather than sweep them under the rug -- and go on from there to "closer consultation" (Vorspan) and "calm reasonableness... a spirit of sharing and cooperation" (Hooks).

With warmest wishes, I am,

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

October 31, 1979

James A. Cooper, Esq.
409 North 21st Street
Suite 201
Birmingham, ALA. 35203

Dear Mr. Cooper:

I am sorry that it took me so long to respond to your letter of October 4th. It was not until today that I was able to obtain a copy of Henry Rosovsky's speech.

I have just read the speech and must tell you that I reacted positively toward it, particularly when it comes to the special obligation which he imposes on the threatened Jewish community of that august body. I certainly am in favor of incorporating Judaism's literary heritage into the student life at Harvard. His strong stance against the quota system is also acceptable to me, especially as he modifies it on page 13 and 14. Above all do I agree with him when he says that we Jews must not be a single issue community; Soviet Jewry and Israel do not exhaust the corpus of our concerns. We are and must always be widely interested in all of the great issues which confront our society and for these reasons: *in primis*, an enlightened self-interest dictates that we be strong and history teaches that we can be strong only in a community which is truly free and which offers the fullest measure of opportunity to people of all races and creeds. Secondly, we must be concerned with the community because our faith mandates that we do so.

I hope that these comments will be of help to you. With warm good wishes,
I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

October 31, 1979

Mr. Alexander I. Ross
Al Paul Lefton Company, Inc.
71 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10017

Dear Alex:

Thank you for sending me the copy of your
brother's address at the opening of the new
Hillel Building at Harvard.

I am grateful for your thoughtfulness.

With warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

ALEXANDER I. ROSS

10/16

Alec :

Adelweid

Here you are. With
thanks.

Ah.

COOPER, MITCH & CRAWFORD
ATTORNEYS AT LAW

JEROME A. COOPER
WILLIAM E. MITCH
THOMAS N. CRAWFORD, JR.
GEORGE C. LONGSHORE
JOHN C. FALKENBERRY
ROBERT H. STROPP, JR.
EARL V. BROWN, JR.

SUITE 201 - 409 NORTH 21ST STREET
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35203
TELEPHONE (205) 328-9576

*Alex Ross is getting me
speeches.
Will respond to him
when I get it.*

October 4, 1979

*Tell him
I haven't seen
it...*

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregation
838 5th Avenue
New York, New York 10201

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank you very much for your prompt and explanatory
reply.

I am grateful that it leaves much less difference
between us than I had assumed.

Incidentally, although I do not wish to intrude
further on your time, I am wondering whether you have seen
and have a reaction to the speech of Dean Henry Rosovsky
at the opening ceremony at the new Hillel Building at
The College. It is reported in the Harvard Gazette of
September 21, 1979.

Sincerely yours,

Jerome A. Cooper

Jerome A. Cooper

JAC:jb

FROM PERIPHERY TO CENTER:

The Changing Jewish Presence at Harvard.*

This is an occasion of great joy for the Jewish community and for individual Jews at Harvard. Today, Hillel is moving from the edge of campus to its very center, from rather shabby quarters to the beautiful renovated Riesman Building. This reborn edifice was for a long time the home of the Iroquois Club, and I note with special pleasure that the Iroquois was one of the very few final clubs that admitted some Jewish members before World War I. I hope, therefore, that members of this club--many now in the Happy Hunting Ground--will look down on these proceedings with a certain degree of approval.

One could ask: why are we making such a fuss about a relocation from Bryant Street to Mount Auburn Street? After all, do we not live in the most mobile of societies in which a change of address is a routine phenomenon? The answer, of course, is our shared feeling concerning the symbolic significance of what is happening today. Hillel came to Harvard in 1941 and is--at long last--moving from periphery to center.

* Remarks by Dean Henry Rosovsky at the Opening Ceremony of the Riesman Center for Harvard-Radcliffe. September 16, 1979.

ACV
This is fresh -
I saw nothing in here
I think this is the speed you need in mind

Hillel's history is relatively short, but it tells a story of continual growth, increasing influence, and mutually beneficial interaction with this university. In important ways, these themes parallel the much longer history of Jews at Harvard. We are not newcomers in Cambridge; we have given much to Harvard; Harvard has given a great deal to us.

If the records are accurate, Harvard granted its first degree to a lonely Jew in 1720. That was 259 years ago. Today we are a multitude, represented in all constitutencies of the university. No one can label us as marginal to any aspect of life in this institution. We represent perhaps a quarter of the student body and a significant proportion of the faculty. On high holy days over 3,000 Jews gather at prayers on campus. All this represents a tremendous achievement for us, for Harvard, and even for the United States since what has happened here has--we are happy to say--also occurred in nearly all other great seats of learning in America. As I will suggest later, I believe that the present situation imposes special responsibilities on us. A small minority can care primarily about itself without affecting the host in a positive or negative manner. A sizable community has to face the future with a much more careful sense of obligation.

But let us go back in time for a moment, to examine some of the highlights of Jewish history at Harvard. I think that we can speak of three long periods: from ^{our} beginnings here until the inauguration of President Eliot in 1869; then the years

of Eliot, Lowell, and Conant; and finally, the time of World War II and its aftermath.

I have already mentioned the first Jew to graduate from Harvard. He was Judah Monis, a Sephardi, who occupied the post of instructor in Hebrew Language from 1722 to 1760. In order to get the job, the Statutes of the University required him to convert to Protestant Christianity. We are told that he did so with "perfect disinterestedness" and joined the First Parish Church. It is rumored, however, that he continued to observe shabat.

My impression is that, in spite of its length, this early period is relatively less important from our point of view. Much is often made of the fact that Hebrew was a required language in the eighteenth century, that the third oldest Chair at Harvard is the Hancock Professorship of Hebrew and Other Oriental Languages, and that the founding fathers of the College had a strong attachment to the Old Testament and to the history of ancient Judaism. No doubt this last point--the interest in ancient Hebrews--was helpful much later when our presence here was both more numerous and more controversial, but we also know that a love of Latin has little to do with one's attitude toward Italian immigrants. Until the last third of the nineteenth century, it seems to me that there was no problem and no real issue concerning Jews--either positively or negatively. The numbers were so small that no one needed to worry: active discrimination

was not worth the effort.

As with so much else, our meaningful history at Harvard begins with the presidency of Charles William Eliot, that great man who began the transformation of a provincial college into a university. His reign--one can really call it that--coincided with the enormous wave of economic progress in the wake of the Civil War and the beginnings of mass immigration from central, southern, and eastern Europe. There came to the United States large numbers of ambitious non-WASPs, particularly Catholics and Jews. Not many of the new immigrants achieved higher education in their early generations of residence, and still fewer made it to places like Harvard. Nevertheless, by 1900 it has been estimated that 7 per cent of the college was Jewish and by 1918 that figure had risen to 10 per cent--way in excess of the Jewish share in the population.

Eliot must have understood that his ambition for academic excellence required an emphasis on merit and a de-emphasis of all else. Early in his term he told the Overseers "...that a man's religion should not be considered in judging his fitness to teach," and in 1888 he personally appointed Charles Gross to teach medieval history. Gross, a Jew with a doctorate from Göttingen, had been turned down by a number of colleges, and was about to go to work in his father's clothing business. Eliot also argued that the university must be open to all, regardless of "class, caste, race, sect...or political party." Therefore, he fought to eliminate admission requirements--like

Greek--which served to keep out the graduates of public schools. He abolished compulsory chapel in 1885. And in 1901 Eliot said: "It is doubtless true that Jews are better off at Harvard than any other American college and they are, therefore, likely to resort to it." I believe this statement to be accurate then and now. Of course, there were very few Jewish faculty members, but the pool (to use modern language) must have been small and Eliot obviously did what he could.

The Lowell era (1909-1933) is rather more difficult to interpret. From the Jewish point of view, these years are usually remembered because of the so-called "quota controversy" of the 1920's.

In 1922 Lowell made a public statement saying that the proportion of Jews in the College was under consideration. His intent was clear: "The anti-Semitic feeling among students is increasing, and it grows in proportion to the increase in the number of Jews. If their number should become forty per cent of the student body, the race feeling would become intense. When, on the other hand, the number of Jews was small, the race antagonism was small also..." These words were especially ominous at a time when America was experiencing an attack of "nativism" after World War I. All forms of prejudice were on the rise: the Ku Klux Klan was growing and Henry Ford's anti-semitism was at its peak.

There are two important factors that have to be understood concerning this episode. The first is the historical context

in which it took place--for Harvard and for the country.

The second factor relates to the resolution of the issues.

Let us begin with context. Lowell had watched the proportion of Jews in the College rise rapidly: it had reached 21.5 per cent in 1921. He saw Jews as difficult to assimilate and anxious to preserve "peculiar practices." But it is quite certain that to him Jews were a unique part of a much larger local and national issue. Lowell had also watched America change through successive waves of immigration, and he realized that an admissions system based exclusively on academic merit would, in a short time, change the character of the institution. That was the real issue: the ancient character of the College versus the claims of newcomers; the rights and privileges of Old Boston--founders and supporters of Harvard--versus new ethnic groups; the goal of a national university versus the continuance of a school in which gentlemen from New England had a reserved seat. Jews were the special cutting edge of a confrontation that is still with us today: the reaction to Italians or Irish might have been similar. (None of this is meant to minimize the existence of anti-semitism then or now in certain quarters--but that was not the only element in this story.)

How this conflict was settled is of great importance to us all--even at present. In the very short run, Lowell lost. As a good bureaucrat he managed to accomplish some of his aims by indirect means and those who supported him might have claimed a medium-term victory. However, in the long run--much to

Harvard's credit-- the forces of righteousness triumphed. A casual look at Harvard in the 1970's will convince anyone that this is a national university open to all segments of society.

Lowell's views were tested by the "Committee of 13" appointed by the Overseers in 1922. It had three Jewish members: Paul Sacks and Harry Wolfson of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences and Milton Rosenau from the Medical School. The committee repudiated the notion of quotas and the faculty adopted the report with the following statement: "That in the administration of the rules for admission Harvard College maintains its traditional policy of freedom from discrimination on the grounds of race or religion." So far, so good. At the same time, however, a new admissions plan was being developed: "Candidates should bear in mind that in all admissions to the University regard is given to character, personality and promise, as well as to scholarly attainments. Satisfactory showing in one of these qualifications alone is not in itself sufficient to guarantee admission." In 1926 these may have been code words that signaled an intention to discriminate. But we know that the final outcome was different. The application of broad admission criteria was eventually used to bring in new groups especially after World War II and culminated in the practice--in being for over 20 years--of admitting students without regard to their economic circumstances. Furthermore, although the proportion of Jewish

students at Harvard declined during Lowell's presidency, it started rising again during and after World War II, and has never been higher than at present. And, of course, many other ethnic and social groups have become more numerous. The door was half open 50 years ago. Today it is fully open.

A word or two next about the 1930's and the early years of Conant. At that time, the cleavage between undergraduates was not so much, I believe, Jew versus non-Jew, as well-to-do versus poor. It was a class phenomenon. The well-to-do lived in the Houses and generally tolerated one another. (One might note, however, the continued presence of social antisemitism: Masters were still advised in 1934 to take "care [that] the total of Jews accepted does not exceed what 'the traffic will bear.'"") The poorer students were largely local commuters, and 30 per cent of that group was Jewish. Many men whose names became famous were part of that company. It was a hard-working and upwardly mobile group, but--eating their bag lunches in the basement of Phillips Brooks House or on the steps of Widener Library--they must have felt somewhat outside of the institutional mainstream. I have quite a few friends and colleagues who were commuters, and what slightly surprises me is that their feelings towards Harvard are quite positive. It was a different age in which there was more gratitude for equality of opportunity and less concern with equality of status.

In fact, Jewish undergraduates were doing much better than those Jews who hoped to pursue careers of scholarship--

i.e., graduate students and faculty members. Being of a slightly younger generation, I still find it astonishing to read certain passages from the report of the Committee of Eight published in 1939. (Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. and Felix Frankfurter were among the authors.) In a section entitled "Sectional, Racial and Religious Discrimination," here is some of what the Report had to say:

It is a common opinion that Jews, regardless of their qualifications, have found it increasingly difficult to obtain academic posts in America.

...anti-Semitic feeling has operated within the universities themselves, in the form of a prejudice which is difficult to prove and never officially proclaimed.

No graver reflection can be cast on the academic profession than that any of its members should be willing to compromise time-honored educational and scholarly standards by racial or religious discrimination.

...discrimination may exist in some [Harvard] departments. ...Those who raised the issue seem in agreement, to use the words of one of them, that "racial prejudice is so thoroughly ingrained and taken for granted that no one takes much notice of it except in particularly flagrant cases."

The Committee is informed...that certain members of the faculty object to the appointment of Jews to the tutorial staff in the belief that they are unacceptable to undergraduates.

...it is the Committee's view that the University should regard as a part of its educational function the liberation of its students from racial or religious prejudice.

One does not have to be very skillful at reading between the lines in order to visualize the realities described by the

Committee of Eight. Everyone had a hard time in obtaining employment in the 1930's but it was especially difficult for Jewish academics. It was difficult at Harvard and probably worse in many other places. Jewish scholars who managed to become professors frequently became "closet Jews," anxious to disassociate themselves from their background. Jewish graduate students were often told by their teachers to abandon ambitions for an academic career. Not infrequently it was suggested that they change their names, for example, from Goldstein to Gordon, or from Levine to Lewis.

The last historical episode that I wish to say a few words about occurred in the years following World War II. Without any doubt this was the period of most rapid progress for Jews and other ethnic groups at Harvard and elsewhere, and at this point I can also begin to speak as an eye-witness.

The consequences of World War II were enormous. Hitlerism violated every canon of human decency; it made religious and racial bigotry unrespectable. At the same time, our country entered on a period of great secular expansion that created shortages of talent and skills--always a good situation for those on the outside seeking a chance to enter.

This was a period of very special significance for Jews. We had seen--some of us first-hand--the destruction of European Jewry. We had been full participants in the war against Hitler. The creation of the state of Israel gave us a new sense of self-confidence: we joined the other immigrants

who had a national home. And gradually there emerged the postwar Jew in America and at Harvard: identified and assertive, and quite frequently more observant. Let it be said that Harvard welcomed us with open arms, as students and teachers in all its varied faculties. What is perhaps more remarkable, is that we have succeeded in transforming ourselves from a group of individuals into a community--that is really what is being celebrated today--and for which Hillel and Rabbi Gold deserve a lot of credit. We should also thank the University at this point, because it accommodated itself generously to our needs as a group. I realize that the process of group acceptance has not always been entirely smooth. I also know that within the Jewish community right here there are divisions of opinion about the concessions that ought to be made to Jews as a group; no such differences exist about our rights as individuals. Nevertheless, Harvard has helped in many ways: in providing places for us to worship, in facilitating the observance of Kashrut by some of us, and in aiding with the acquisition of the new building. Most of all, Harvard has made us feel entirely at home: at this university we are neither hyphe-nated nor second-class citizens.

So much for history: over 250 years squeezed into a few minutes. What of our future? Where will we be when Harvard celebrates its 400th anniversary in 2036 only 57 years from now? What will we do to shape the character of alma mater tomorrow? It seems to me that the nature of our

obligation has necessarily changed over time. Before World War II we were still underrepresented on the faculty and perhaps marginal in other senses as well. There is a certain luxury in being at the edge: one can be less responsible and one can play on the guilt feelings of the establishment. At this time, however, we are part of the Harvard establishment--whether we like it or not--and thus the future is to a significant extent in our own hands. Therefore, now is the time to add to the role of critic that of builder.

As individuals, I do not believe that we have any special obligations beyond those that pertain to all Jews everywhere: to lead decent and productive lives; to maintain and preserve our beliefs and traditions as each one of us understands them; to remember our own past and therefore to extend an especially strong helping hand to all those who are struggling for opportunity today.

In contrast, as the Harvard Jewish community I do believe that we have some special obligations stemming directly from our history and values.

First, let me mention an important and very pleasant task: the full incorporation of our intellectual heritage into the mainstream of scholarly life at Harvard. To accomplish this, the University has created a Center for Jewish Studies and it deserves strong support. We are here in great numbers, but Jewish history, literature, and philosophy--all indispensable for an understanding of Western

* Civilization--are still insufficiently studied, especially by non-specialists. There is more to Judaism and the Jewish experience than the Old Testament and medieval studies.

At present our faculty can claim only two senior scholars who are expert in Jewish studies. That is not enough. To redress this imbalance is an assignment for our generation that is entirely within our grasp. That was not true of our predecessors.

A second obligation is, I hope, equally congenial.

We have to be leaders in keeping Harvard's gates open to all those who merit entry. We owe this to those who preceeded us and to those of all faiths and ethnic origins who will follow us. Most of all, we should stand for the values of individual achievement because it is morally right. Anything else will lead to decline in our quality and our capacity for service. For exactly the same reasons, I believe that we have the obligation to fight quotas, not because they are disadvantageous to Jews but principally because they are disadvantageous to our country and all its citizens.

But I would not want my words to be misinterpreted.

To be the gatekeeper at Harvard is not a simple task, and merit--yes, even academic merit--comes in many forms. Frequently these are not easy to compare. To know Greek presumably gives an individual an additional portion of merit, but public schools did not teach the subject when President Eliot abolished it as an entrance requirement about one hundred years ago. He gave a slight shove to a half-opened door;

it was the right thing to do. What am I trying to say? I am saying that I approve of Harvard's current admissions policies. I am also saying that we--Harvard's Jewish population--have a special duty to practice and preach tolerance and sympathy, in other words to support diversity and the most recent arrivals, and to recognize that unduly rigid standards frequently are instruments of intolerance. (Please note that I speak against excessive rigidity and not against high quality.) I understand that Harvard's present policies may cost Jews a few places in every class, just as our attempts to bring about genuine coeducation will require men to cede a few seats to women. However, this is not Lowell's time revisited. On the contrary, it is a praiseworthy attempt to create a better society.

The last obligation that I would like to urge on you is more subtle and complex. As a group, I think that we should be a force for national and institutional unity at a time when there is too much that is pulling us apart. What is happening is painfully familiar: single-issue politics, give me mine and the hell with the rest. Jews have certainly not been immune from these tendencies. We make ourselves heard very loudly on issues like Israel and Soviet Jewry, and that is vital and appropriate. But it seems to me that today--as opposed to the past--our voices are much fainter concerning many issues of more general American concern: for example, the quality of education in

this country, the problem of crime, social justice at home, and many others. I understand what has happened. We are living in an age of ethnicity and that has its positive aspects. At the same time we cannot survive as a collection of competing ethnic groups. The real potential of America lies in special groups thinking and acting for a larger purpose. This is not easy. We have seen how difficult it was for Harvard during its long history--but it was, after all, done over and over again. I would like us to have a similar ambition--not just as political rhetoric, but in our hearts.

To fulfill these tasks requires a strong, vibrant Jewish community at Harvard. It is an especially important community because of its youth and its intellectual distinction. We all realize that what happens in Cambridge--for good or evil--has a large national multiplier.¹ And this raises a final question: Will our community remain strong or will it disappear? This is not a fanciful question.

We are living in a unique country: no feudal heritage, no real aristocratic tradition, and no history of Jewish emancipation. We came here as full citizens de jure, and gradually we have achieved this status de facto. Today we are residing in the most open of societies: every career and every office can be ours. For this one pays an inevitable price. Jewish neighborhoods and schools contain only tiny minorities. Few of us have had strong religious training. Inter-marriage is extremely common. The young student and even a faculty member who comes to this university could

all too readily lose all touch with Jewishness: it is very easy. (Remember that the Russian Tsar might have been much more clever if he had abolished the Pale of Settlement. Its preservation was a guarantee of continued Jewish life.) However, as I have already noted, the postwar generation has given hopeful signs: some may have disappeared, but most of us are fully identified, proud and aware of our heritage and duties. Hillel has played a very special role in this process. It is the center of Jewish life at Harvard; it is an assurance of its continuance; it is the reason why this is a truly happy day.

October 29, 1979

Mr. Norman I. Saunders
191 Westwood Avenue
Staten Island, N.Y. 10314

Dear Norman:

Thank you for sharing with me your remarks at the recent meeting of the Metropolitan Branch of the NAACP. It is a fine statement and in no way did you sound like an apologist, you were frank and open and candid.

I took the liberty of sharing your remarks with Al Vorspan and told him of Hoenlein's comments. I simply don't know where Malcolm is coming from. I will be appearing with Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP in Philadelphia at a public forum. Al and Hooks shared the platform just last week at the Washington Hebrew Congregation, the program was part of the Union's Consultation on Conscience. I firmly believe that it is positive action for Blacks and Jews to dialogue and I have no problem whatsoever in appearing with representatives of the NAACP or the Urban League.

With repeated thanks and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler

October 29, 1979

Al Vorspan

Enclosed are the remarks made by Norman Saunders, our Board member from Staten Island, at a meeting sponsored by the Metropolitan Brnach of the NAACP. He was in touch with me last week, quite distressed. Malcolm Hoenlein told him Jews would not meet with such groups and that he was a traitor to do so!!

MAILGRAM SERVICE CENTER
MIDDLETOWN, VA, 22645

western union

Mailgram®



4-0758998288002 10/15/79 ICS IPMMTZZ CSP NYBB
1 2129888042 MGM TDMT NEW YORK NY 10-15 1033P EST

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGERGATIONS A SCHINDLER
838 5 AVE
NEW YORK NY 10021

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONFIRMATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

2129888042 MGM TDMT NEW YORK NY 166 10-15 1033P EST

ZIP

VERNON JORDAN PRESIDENT CARE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

500 EAST 62 ST

NEW YORK NY 10021

DEAR VERNON I WAS DEEPLY GRATIFIED TO LEARN OF THE ADDRESS YOU
DELIVERED TO THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES TODAY,

IT IS A HEARTENING STATEMENT OF THE NEED TO REBUILD THE BLACK JEWISH
COALITION THAT IS SO URGENTLY NEEDED IF OUR COUNTRY IS TO FULFILL THE
PROMISE OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL.

YOU HAVE WISELY RECOGNIZED THAT THE VISION OF AMERICA WHICH OUR 2
COMMUNITIES SHARE DOES NOT PERMIT US TO BE DISTRACTED FROM THE URGENT
ISSUES THAT CONFRONT THE AMERICAN PEOPLE--AMONG THEM, FULL
EMPLOYMENT, NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE, DECENT HOUSING, AND END TO
POVERTY.

THE BUILDING OF A FREE AMERICA THAT OFFERS FULL AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY
TO MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL RACES, RELIGIONS AND ETHNIC ORIGIN WILL
FOREVER BIND OUR 2 COMMUNITIES. I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH YOU IN
THE PURSUIT OF THIS SACRED TASK, SINCERELY

(SIGNED)

RABBI ALEXANDER M SCHINDLER PRESIDENT UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW
CONGREGATIONS

UNSIGNED

22:34 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

September 4, 1979

Mr. Jerry Steinman
1 Cherry Hill
West Nyack, N.Y. 10994

Dear Mr. Steinman:

Thank you for your recent letter and for sharing with me your thoughts regarding the current situation involving the Black and Jewish communities.

I have made a number of statements during recent days, to the press, on radio and television. I assure you members of the Jewish community are speaking out and seeking to set the record straight.

With kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Mr. Jerry Steinman
1 Cherry Hill
West Nyack, N. Y. 10994

August 27, 1979

Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
838 Fifth Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

The recent attitudes of the black leaders, particularly Jesse Jackson, are appalling.

Their failure to show any compassion for Israel, and their bias toward so-called other blacks, the Arabs who enslaved the blacks for years, is absolutely amazing.

I as a concerned Jew prefer strongly that we come out and say how appalled we are at the failure of the black leadership to show any compassion for the most oppressed people in the history of the world, the Israeli Jews. Instead, we hear anti-Semitic statements from the likes of Jesse Jackson, who maintains that he is a Christian.

This gross anti-Semitism must be met head-on. And I think and believe strongly that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations must take the leadership in pointing out that this is exactly what it is. We must not stand there and try to mend fences with our erstwhile allies. These people are not our allies now. These people are now our enemies. And they are the enemies of Israel, lacking totally in compassion for those people who have suffered so much.

Sincerely,


Jerry Steinman

JS:mg

September 4, 1979

Mr. A. H. Sakier
930 Park Avenue
c/o H.A. Cohn
New York, N.Y. 10028

Dear Mr. Sakier:

Many thanks for sharing with me your thoughts on the recent U.N. situation. I am grateful for your thoughtfulness.

The point you make is important and it is one which has been stated by members of the Jewish community. As you can appreciate, when statements are sent to the press we have no control over which portion will be included in the report. And during radio and tv interviews time does not always permit saying all of the things one would wish to point out to the audience. I assure you, I will continue to try to bring the proper message to the non-Jewish community.

With appreciation and kindest greetings, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

930, Park Avenue, NY NY 10024
To H.A. Cohn

Aug 24, 1979

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

As an 85-year-old American-born Zionist, veteran of WWI, whose life has been devoted to fund-raising and investment-selling for Zionism and Israel - and who recently spent three years in Israel - may I say:

When, or when, will American Jews say to the world "we reject the concept that the PLO is competent to recognize - or not to recognize - the right of Israel to exist"? So far as USA is concerned, that right was first enunciated, in 1818, by the second president of our country, John Adams, in writing, and confirmed, not only by subsequent presidents, but also by recognition in 1948, by Government^s, and by membership in the UN.

Furthermore, only governments have competence to grant or withhold the

2

the "right to recognize." or "to exist."
Rabbi Schindler, I respectfully
urge you to make such a state-
* ment loud and clear. This
phrase "recognition by PLO, etc." is
so offensive that until it is wiped
out of the entire discussion, there
will never be peace in the Mid-East.*

Then, there must be more monitoring
of the media. For over 30 years I have
made a sport of talking and ar-
guing with radio, TV and news-
paper executives. For example, I
had a row ^{LAST WEEK} with the directorate at
Station WOR over the use on a broad-
cast of "The Tel Aviv Government"
and they admitted I was right.

Respectfully

A. H. Sakier

* Such a statement will bring
new respect for us.
RESPECT

August 27, 1979

Rabbi Joseph Levine
806 A. Wood Street
Texarkana, Texas 75501

Dear Joe:

Thank you very much for your note following my appearance on the TODAY Show. It was thoughtful of you to write and convey your appreciation of my comments.

May the coming New Year bring you and your dear ones much sweetness, joy and blessing.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

August 31, 1979

Mrs. Irving Levin
2132 La Vaca Road
Jacksonville, Fla. 32217

Dear Mrs. Levin:

Many thanks for your recent letter. I am grateful to you for sharing your thoughts with me.

The point you make is quite valid and has oft been repeated by members of the Jewish community. When press releases and statements are sent out we have no control over what portion of the text will be used by the media. And, of course, on interviews, such as mine on the "Today" Show, it's not always possible to make all the points one would wish to make. We do the best we can but cannot always say all that should be said. Time limitations and commercial interruptions have to be contended with.

For your interest, I enclose herewith some sample press releases issued by the UAHC in recent days.

With gratitude and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

Encl.

2132 La Vaca Rd.
Jacksonville, Fla. 32217
August 23, 1979

Dr. Alexander Shindler, Pres.
Union of American Hebrew Congregations
New York, N. Y.

The interview on the "Today" show in which you and Benjamin Hooks appeared, in addition to the fact that I am a life long member of Temple Ahavath Chesed of Jacksonville, Florida, prompt this letter.

I cannot understand why I have never heard any Jewish spokesmen remind listeners of a fact which is ignored or conveniently forgotten: the 1947 proposal of the United Nations to create two separate states, Arab and Jewish, in what was then still Palestine. The Jews accepted the provision for the political independence of the Palestinian Arabs. The Arab nations rejected the UN plan, vowing to resist partition by force and assaulting the Jewish community in Palestine.

Why is this fact never mentioned? While it will not settle the question by any means, it is an important point which I believe should be referred to again and again.

I would appreciate enlightenment on the subject.

Sincerely,

Mary L. Levin

Mrs. Irving Levin

August 31, 1979

Mrs. Ben Blum
4302 Firestone
Houston, Texas 77035

Dear Florence:

Thank you for your recent letter. It was thoughtful of you to share the press clippings with me.

I also want to thank you for your warm comments regarding my statements. The situation is not a pleasant or good one but I am hopeful that with dialogue between people of good will and understanding we will be able to overcome any backlash and achieve a harmonious relationship.

With warmest regards from house to house, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

MRS. BEN BLUM

4302 FIRESTONE, HOUSTON, TEXAS 77035

Sunday
August 26, 1979

Dear Alex,

I thought you might be interested in our two local papers reports quoting you -

It looks like the old theory of "divide and conquer" reigns supreme -

I would find it difficult at this time to express my feelings because, frankly, they are not very nice. I would not like to create more backlash - I applaud you for being able to do this so beautifully -

Sincerely,

Flavence

Close to two months have elapsed since Andrew Young resigned as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, sparking a series of developments that have led to a crisis in the relations between the black and Jewish communities. A vast outpouring of statements, mostly on the part of black leaders, followed immediately upon Mr. Young's resignation and covers a wide array of complaints and criticisms of the actions and attitudes of American Jews and of Israel.

There followed two widely publicized trips to the Middle East by two black groups: those of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by the Rev. Joseph Lowery, and one led by Rev. Jesse Jackson. With the exception of a response to a statement of August 22 of the United Black Leadership, Jewish organizations have withheld detailed comments or responses to a virtual daily diet of black activities and comments relating to the Middle Eastern problem.

The time has come for Jews to take stock, and to make a response that is both candid and constructive.

* * *

1. It is now clear beyond any doubt, from the statements of Ambassador Young and of President Carter and Secretary of State Vance, that Mr. Young resigned because he violated American policy and was not candid in reporting what he had done to the Secretary of State. The issue involved in his resignation was one of policy and diplomatic conduct.

2. In spite of this, the reaction of the United Black leadership and of a large number of individual black leaders attributed Mr. Young's resignation to anti-

black prejudice and, more specifically, to Jewish pressure. The statement by the black leadership linked Mr. Young's resignation over a violation of foreign policy to (1) a series of complaints about the attitudes of Jews and Jewish organizations in support of the security of Israel, terming such Jewish attitudes "arrogant"; and (2) to the positions taken by some Jewish groups on affirmative action here at home.

3. The black leadership statement began with the theme, reiterated since on many occasions by individual black spokesman, that it is an "accepted fact of American mentality that for any black person to attempt to speak for this country on international matters invites the wrath of those who have assigned unto themselves the role of world leaders." The black leaders went on to assert their right to speak on foreign affairs by voicing sympathy with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

4. Several black groups, most prominently the SCLC and Rev. Jackson's organization, gave practical expression to their support for the PLO by traveling to the Middle East and cementing their new relationship with the PLO in personal encounters with Yasir Arafat.

5. Black leaders, including Mr. Young, repeatedly warned that Israel and the supporters of Israel's security would be well advised to make concessions to Israel's Arab adversaries, because the Arab countries might otherwise employ the oil weapon and American blacks would suffer most if this were to happen.

* * *

Beyond these general themes of black reaction to Mr. Young's resignation, there were a series of statements and actions that deeply injured the feelings of

American Jews.

-- the SCLC delegation locked arms with Yasir Arafat, attired in his military uniform and equipped with his revolver, to sing the theme song of the non-violent civil rights movement, "We Shall Overcome."

-- The Rev. Lowery said that "a lot of money is being spent to support the Israeli defense fund. So we can't spend more on housing and unemployment."

-- The Rev. Jackson, in a telegram to the leaders of national Jewish organizations on August 23, 1979 said: "The U.S. will protect its interest first. Israel must never back white America into a corner and allow its latent anti-semitism and racism and economic excuse (sic) to surface."

-- When he emerged from Yad Vashem, the memorial in Jerusalem to the six million Jewish victims of the Nazi Holocaust, the Rev. Jackson said: "Such genocide should not be allowed to happen to anyone, including the Palestinians."

* * *

A careful review of this and other evidence, too extensive to be listed in this statement, calls for two kinds of response from American Jews:

- . a reasoned discussion of substantive issues, and
- . the unqualified and emphatic identification and branding of those actions and statements that are demonstrably offensive to Jews.

A. Substantive Issues

1. As noted earlier, the resignation of Mr. Young came over a breach of policy and of discipline as a high official of the United States government. It was not related to his color. Protests by Israel and Jewish organizations in the United States over Mr. Young's negotiating meeting with the PLO representative were equally unrelated to Mr. Young's color and would have been made with equal promptness had the person involved been Anglo-Saxon, Oriental, Catholic or Jewish.

It was the President of the United States who asked for the resignation of Mr. Young, at the request of the Secretary of State. It is unfortunate, and cannot be condoned, that it took more than a month for President Carter to say so and to take responsibility for this decision. It is equally unfortunate that Mr. Young repeatedly laid the responsibility for his resignation at Israel's door for protesting his meeting with the PLO representative. In doing so, Mr. Young was in fact blackmailing Israel, saying that if she acted as she felt she had to act in her national interest, she would create problems between American blacks and Jews and "create a Palestinian constituency" in America. Against this background, Mr. Young's subsequent comments urging blacks not to make his resignation a cause of confrontation with Jews lacks credibility.

2. Jews are just as free to express themselves on matters of foreign policy as blacks and any other group of Americans. It is ironic that at the same time as these black groups proclaim their right to express themselves and exert their influence on foreign policy, they criticize Jews for doing so.

The differences that have developed between civil rights organizations and some Jewish agencies over certain kinds of affirmative action policies are a matter of record. They are also the subject of continuing and often intense and soul-searching debate within Jewish organizations. The fact remains that Jews have been in the forefront of white supporters of a wide range of policies in favor of equal opportunity. It is on the specific issue of numerical set-asides that some Jewish organizations, in the light of Jewish experience with exclusionary quotas, have moved into opposition.

There is room for discussion and a coming together on this issue, too, since several Jewish organizations already have accepted goals and timetables as a legitimate means to assure affirmative action on behalf of disadvantaged groups. If both sides lowered the emotional temperature and sat around a table instead of facing each other in courtrooms, they might reach a mutually acceptable approach. If they cannot reach full agreement on the quota problem, they should acknowledge that they have an honest difference on this issue, but should not permit this difference to dilute their respect for each other or to weaken their traditional unity of action on a wide range of policies in support of social justice.

3. The repeatedly voiced charge that white America has attempted to prevent blacks from expressing themselves on foreign policy is unfounded. No one has, and no one could prevent any American, or for that matter any foreigner, to express himself on any subject he or she chooses. If blacks have not done more to involve themselves in matters of foreign policy, it has been their choice and their sense of priorities. To the extent that they do, it can only serve to enrich the public dialogue and should be welcomed. As far as American Jews are concerned, there is much reason to hope that

blacks and Jews will find common ground on many foreign policy objectives such as the fostering of human rights, the strengthening of democratic societies, the support of economic and social development in Africa, Asia and Latin America and -- once the issues are calmly discussed and mutually understood -- a fair and just settlement in the Middle East.

4. We believe that those black leaders who have been championing the Palestinian Liberation Organization are grievously wrong. It is one thing to support the PLO, and another to work for a just settlement of the Palestinian problem. The majority of Israelis, including the current Israeli government and the opposition party, as well as Israel's American Jewish supporters, believe in the need for a just solution to this problem. The current autonomy talks between Egypt and Israel are a first step toward this goal. Yet they are a beginning -- more than has happened in the previous 12 years. Further progress lies in the direction of expanding these talks by making it clear that only in a context of gradual normalization of relations and mutual respect between the countries of the area can Palestinians find genuine and lasting satisfaction of their quest to govern themselves and to chart their destiny in a peaceful Middle East.

The United States can greatly contribute to the fostering of this trend. And Americans interested in peace in the Middle East can lend persuasiveness to such an American policy by encouraging the Administration to turn its back on rejectionist and violent elements in the region.

This is why the support of the SCLC and Jackson delegations of the PLO is so ill-advised and counterproductive. Support for the PLO from respectable quarters

and attempts to wean it from its terrorists ways have consistently emboldened the organization in the use of violence.

The roots of the PLO's violent methods and its commitment to the destruction of Israel are deep, and the organization draws on them for inspiration. This becomes clear when one reads the Palestinian National Covenant, which is the code of the PLO and which it has consistently followed. That Covenant states:

"The partition of Palestine in 1947 and the establishment of the State of Israel are entirely illegal ... (Art. 19)

"Palestine, with the boundaries it had during the British Mandate, is an indivisible territorial unit. (Art. 2)

"The liberation of Palestine ... is a national duty ... and aims at the elimination of Zionism from Palestine (Art. 15)

"Armed struggle is the only way to liberate Palestine. (Art. 9)

"The Jews who had normally resided in Palestine until the beginning of the Zionist invasion will be considered Palestinians."

In plain language, this says that it is the PLO's goal to destroy the state of Israel, to do so by violent means, and to expel from the area all Jews who came to live there after 1947.

The PLO has consistently refused, despite the urging of the United States and other powers, to change the Covenant. This is not surprising, for these articles are the heart of the PLO's purpose and represent its very reason for existence.

Furthermore, the PLO does not confine its activities to the Middle East or to anti-Israel activities. It trains and has close relations with other terrorist organizations,

including the Baader-Meinhof gang in West Germany, the Red Brigades in Italy, and the Japanese Red Army. In this sense, it constitutes a threat not merely to Israel and to peace in the Middle East, but to other democratic societies.

The PLO is supplied with arms and logistical support by the Soviet Union. PLO leader Arafat, after seeing the Rev. Jesse Jackson off in Beirut, traveled to East Berlin to join in celebrations of the 30th anniversary of the East German communist state presided over by Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev.

The PLO is not only what it terms anti-Zionist; it is also violently anti-semitic. It segregates Jews from non-Jews whenever it has the opportunity, as in the hijacking at Entebbe, and holds Jews hostage while giving better treatment to or releasing non-Jews.

The PLO avoids military and administrative objectives and targets its fire at innocent civilians and bystanders -- old men and women, school children, shoppers in food markets, strollers on the street, bus passengers, athletes and unsuspecting passengers in planes and at airports around the world. In this sense, it is separate and distinct from guerrilla or freedom fighting groups who, like the Maquis in World War II or the Vietcong, are military underground organizations fighting the military and administrative power of their adversaries. Thus, the PLO not only is unalterably committed to violence. It is committed to violence against the unarmed.

Finally, it is important to recall that the PLO lost far more men to combat against Arab armies than to retaliatory raids or bombing by the Israeli defense forces. In 1970, in what has become known as black September, the Jordanian army battled, defeated and expelled the PLO armed units in bloody encounters that cost many lives. And in Lebanon, where many of these units had fled from Jordan, Syrian forces fought

the PLO in the initial phase of the Lebanese civil war. In both cases these Arab governments felt they needed to subdue the PLO in the interest of their own countries' stability. Thus, on moral and pragmatic grounds, the PLO is not likely to become a useful partner in any effort aimed at a reasonable and fair settlement of the Palestinian question.

Fortunately, the PLO is not synonymous with the people who live on the West Bank and Gaza. The fact that none have come forward to join the peace process does not mean that they all support the PLO. To a large extent, their reluctance is due to fear instilled by PLO death threats to anyone who thinks of joining the peace negotiations. The real feelings of the people in the West Bank and Gaza can be tested only when this threat is removed, and when they have an opportunity to determine their goals and interests in an atmosphere of freedom and personal security, and with the full knowledge of the options that are likely to develop with the advent of peace.

5. The argument that the Palestinian problem must be settled because it poses the threat of an oil embargo is unacceptable on moral and political grounds. Since black leaders have posed the issue in terms of the need for U.S. pressure on Israel to bow to Arab demands, the argument morally amounts to a decision of "Oil, not Israel." Politically, and economically the argument does not hold up because oil prices, which have been and are now hurting America, and especially low-income Americans, have been raised to their present high levels by the OPEC cartel on purely economic grounds, in the absence of any Middle East political crisis. And while the threat of an embargo as a political weapon does exist, accommodation to the threat raises questions about United States submission to blackmail that goes far beyond the fate of Israel. They touch on the credibility and stature of this country in the world. It is hard to believe that black leaders who counsel a course of accommodation to Arab blackmail threats are not concerned with these broader issues of American credibility.

B. Offensive Activities

On all that has been said so far on a series of complex issues, there is room for honest difference and discussion. But much that has taken place in the past few weeks is on a different level. It can only be characterized as offensive to Jews. And it needs to be identified, recognized for what it is, and, it is to be hoped, condemned.

-- The joining of the SCLC leaders with Yasir Arafat in singing "We Shall Overcome" is a betrayal of the tradition symbolized by this hymn. Beyond this, Jews can only see it as a direct threat to Israel. For, unlike the SCLC under the late Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Yasir Arafat and the PLO are not interested in overcoming prejudice by non-violent means, but in "overcoming" the state of Israel and the majority of its inhabitants by death and destruction.

-- The threat of the Reverend Lowery to lobby for cutting aid to Israel because the money is needed for social programs here at home singles out this one country and budget category for reduced support. There is an argument for changing priorities so as to provide more funds for housing, unemployment relief and other social programs. But of all the categories in the budget where cuts could be made for such a purpose, the Reverend Lowery singled out this one small country, to whose security the United States is committed as a matter of national policy. Jews cannot help but wonder why.

-- The Reverend Jackson's statement that "the U.S. will protect its interest first," continues the theme that the American national interest may come into conflict with Israel's security needs. Reverend Jackson follows this statement up with the warning that Israel's insistence on defending its security would risk fanning anti-semitism in the United States. The Reverend Jackson seems to

dismiss as irrelevant a whole array of geopolitical, defense, intelligence and -- last but not least -- moral reasons why the United States views the security of Israel as an objective in the American national interest. This, along with the manner in which he phrased his warning, makes this statement by Mr. Jackson to America's Jewish leaders an egregious and demeaning gesture with clear anti-semitic overtones.

-- Finally, the only comment that Reverend Jackson could muster upon emerging from Yad Vashem was that "such genocide should not be allowed to happen to anyone, including the Palestinians." The fact that this unique atrocity in history did happen to Jews did not rate comment from this man of the cloth. And the implication that it could happen to the Palestinians is monstrous.

The Palestinian Arabs living in the administered territories enjoy a higher living standard than Arabs in all but a few of the richest oil producing countries; they enjoy political freedom, including the right to vote for officials opposed to the Israeli authorities and sympathizing with the P. L. O. They are free to come and go as they please, and there is no indication of significant emigration from the area. All this does not imply that the people of the West Bank and Gaza are content. Clearly, they want the occupation to be withdrawn, and a chance to shape their own future. Clearly, too, Palestinians living in other Arab lands feel a strong kinship with their former homes -- a feeling familiar to millions of Americans with roots in other countries. If those Palestinians living as refugees in Arab countries do not feel more at home in those nations, it is chiefly because the host countries have refused to give them citizenship or to take other steps to make them feel accepted. This Arab practice toward their Palestinian refugee brethren is in

sharp contrast to the policy and practice toward refugees of countries around the world who have provided not merely refuge but the opportunity for refugees to become fully integrated into their new national community . America, the Federal Republic, and Israel are just a few illustrations of this policy of acceptance.

In the face of these and many other facts too numerous to list here, the Reverend Jackson's concern that a holocaust could happen to Palestinian Arabs under Israeli administration represents more a self-indictment of bad judgment and bad taste than an insult to Israel.

* * *

The task now for responsible American leadership -- black and Jewish -- is to draw a line between the substantive issues and the offensively anti-Israel and anti-Jewish demonstrations by certain black leaders during the past six weeks.

Once this has been done and a modicum of civility restored to the public dialogue, responsible leaders in the black and Jewish communities need to sit down and develop an agenda for discussion and action. That agenda should include domestic and foreign issues of mutual concern. Both sides need to bring themselves and each other up to date on developments and perceptions that have changed within the last few years when communication between them has been lagging.

The next step is to find ways to rebuild the coalition on issues on which they have common interests; to understand each other's views on subjects where there currently are differences; and to probe the extent to which these differences can be reconciled in the interest of a broadened common agenda for the years ahead. The challenge to blacks and Jews in the eighties is very different from that of the sixties and early seventies. But there is a broad and important range of problems on which they can act together in their mutual interest -- including affirmative

action and key issues in foreign affairs. Where they disagree, they must learn to do so with mutual respect and with due regard for the importance of protecting the joint agenda that they want to pursue together.

But the first step is to recognize and identify manifestations of irresponsibility, racism and anti-semitism in our midst, and to bring together for constructive work those leaders who respect each other because their integrity of purpose and commitment to social justice and a just peace is beyond question.

THE ANDREW YOUNG AFFAIR

BY

ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER

Irving Katz, to whose memory this issue of the NATA Journal is dedicated, was something more than the founder of an organization. He helped to create a new and most worthy profession in Jewish life. He recognized that the synagogue is the magic ingredient of our people's wondrous endurance and he found a way to strengthen it. His gifts of heart and mind were many - intelligence, integrity, good humor, an abounding love for the Jewish people and humankind - and he offered them freely in his life-long struggle to advance our mutual sacred cause. We will always be indebted to him for what he did ^{for} and what he was.

The Andy Young affair would have engaged his concern in its full ^dbreath. He would have been pained by it and he would have recognized those dangers which it brings to the safety of our community and to the inner spirit of the Jew. This is why it is proper that I offer my perspectives on this subject in the NATA Journal issue devoted to Irving's memory.

First, I suppose, we ought to set the record straight: The American Jewish community did not call for Andy Young's resignation. I know of only a single Jewish leader who did so, that was his right. None others did. More to the point, the major umbrella groups who speak for the Jewish community on these matters - while criticizing Young's PLO contacts - carefully refrained from calling for his ouster. We foresaw the consequences of such a demand and wanted to avert them.

Nor did the State of Israel demand Young's removal. The Begin government filed a formal protest decrying the State Department's failure to abide by its solemn

pledges not to negotiate ^{with} the PLO until the PLO abjures its goal to destroy Israel. Such a protest was entirely proper and Andy Young's color was irrelevant to it. It would have been lodged had he been white or yellow or Moslem or even Jew. It was improper for Young to traffic with the PLO and the government of Israel had every right to say so.

Still, the perception persists that the Israeli government went out of its way to embarrass a black man and that the American Jewish community successfully forced Young's ouster.

The source⁴ of this slander merit careful probing as do the reasons for its dissemination.

The media must accept at least a portion of the blame. On the day that Young revealed his clandestine meetings with Terzi, the New York Post hit the streets with the shrieking banner headline: FIRE HIM...JEWS OUTRAGED... Few read on, alas, for if they had they would have discovered that the lead story failed to substantiate the paper's inflammatory caption. Many Jews were quoted, all of them were outraged by the deed, only one turned against Young himself. I, myself, failed to make the papers that day possibly because I refused to heed the reporter's ^{insistence} instance that I take a stronger stance. "Don't you think that Young should be fired" he ^{demanded} denounced. Even at 1:30 in the morning I knew better than to say YES.

Be that as it may, on the morrow came the screeching headline and on the day thereafter the front page of the Post ^{was} reproduced on the front page of the Amsterdam News and the battle of the ethnics was on.

Just to add insult to injury, some days thereafter a black leader turned to me and offered the Post's journalistic muggings as ultimate proof of Jewish complicity,

"Of course the Jews did Young in....isn't the Post a Jewish newspaper" so he said, neglecting to remember that the Post is published by Murdoch and that Murdoch is a WASP from Australia.

There was a second source fuelling racial and religious discord. It was the Carter Administration.

These words do not come easy, but the evidence compels them: a White House briefing insinuates that the Jews are really to blame...and the president himself kept silent, even while he knew that he alone made the decision to fire Young and that this decision was not influenced by a single solitary Jew.

Let us not forget that Young's troubles with his superiors began long before the Terzi meeting. The intelligence community had come to question his "reliability." The State Department had adjudged him a chronic embarrassment, an unguided missile a kind of loose canon ball rolling 'round the diplomatic chambers and causing damage everywhere. There were rumors months ago - during that dramatic cabinet reshuffle - that Young would be let go. President Carter was reliably reported to have publicly reprimanded him ⁸ ~~reemed him out~~ for his many sins of commission and omission. But the President did not force the issue then, fearing the political reaction of the black community.

When the PLO story broke a new and unexpected opportunity presented itself. Now a political liability could be unloaded, and others burdened with the blame. Young could be fired, and the anger of the black community deflected -- from the administration and against the Jews.

Are these the rantings of a mind over-burdened with the painful knowledge of tragic Jewish experience?

Judge for yourself and listen to what happened at the White House briefing which came on the heels of Young's resignation. I quote now the words of the NBC correspondent as reported to a nationwide TV audience that fateful night. "There is great sadness here that so worthy a member of our government is no longer allowed to serve his nation. A high ranking White House spokesman expressed the fear that this forced resignation will further ~~ex~~acerbate the already strained relations between black and Jews. And he added, these Jews will not be satisfied until the President Carter himself jumps off the cliff to prove that he is devoted to Israel."

On the following morning the President commenced his Mississippi journey... He sailed down the river and above the battle in detached neutrality. One might have thought that as a Democrat presumably running for re-election he would have had a strong interest in trying to ease tension between two groups vital to the Democratic coalition. One might have thought that as President he would have a strong interest in, nay a sacred obligation, to prevent poisonous racial and religious discord. But the days went by, and the passions spread, and the President kept his silence. And for forty long days he kept his silence.

What a beautiful scenario for removing the pressure and saving the black vote!

W. S. CARAS It was not the President who wanted to remove the highest ranking black leader in the administration. No! It was the Jewish community. That hidden, amorphous 'power structure' which always proves to be such a useful enemy.

This then is the dangerous age-old drama which was re-enacted for us for the first time here in this land: An American administration exploiting anti-semitism for political purposes. This is what the Andy Young affair is all about!

The ploy worked well, too well, in fact. The blacks lashed out against the Jews and the Jews reacted in kind.

At a meeting of the nation's black leadership the Jews were blamed for doing Young in. A bitter litany of grievances was levelled against us; every ill conceivable afflicting the black community was laid on our door. And past Jewish contributions to the struggle for civil liberties were belittled and besmirched.

What an outrage! What a damnable distortion of the truth!

Jewish support for the black struggle was not given in a "patronizing" manner as was asserted nor only when it was in our "interest to do so." Those Jews who worked and marched and went to jail and died in the civil rights movement, they remembered the pogroms of Russia and the Holocaust ^{all} and the dying ~~that is~~ ^{so constant} in Israel and because they remembered all this they made the black struggle a part of their lives.

Some American Jews may not agree with the blacks on such issues as busing or affirmative action. Still our conception of American's domestic need is closer to the vision of the black community than that of any other segment of our society. Then why dump on us! Are we the enemy? Are we the burners of crosses and swastikas on the lawns of this land? Are we Jews really a part of that power structure which has done so little to reduce poverty and ignorance and illness? Did Jews legislate regressive social policies and demeaning welfare systems? And are we perhaps responsible for those cruel national priorities which place a premium on missiles over human life? No and over and again ~~No~~! We are not that enemy!

As for the Black leaders endorsement of PLO terrorism, these affirmations are sickeningly obscene. They reveal a moral callousness. They betray the dream of Martin Luther King, ^{for} his ideal of non-violence, and make a mockery of his martyrdom.

Thus it is that the Black leaders have allowed themselves to be entrapped into squaring off against the Jews. They have allowed themselves to be distracted from the stark reality that the administration which let Andrew Young go has also failed blacks and Jews and all who believe in economic justice and compassion for the poor.

But having said what we said, let us admit also that we are in like danger of being entrapped. That we will allow old rhetoric and misplaced anxieties to turn ourselves inward and away from the real anguish of blacks and other minorities; that we will close the door to the world and seek to ^{feed} ~~find~~ only for ourselves.

We dare not allow this to happen, if only for our sake. ^{but} Our history has taught us that the Jew is secure only in a land which is truly free, which offers the fullest measure of opportunity to all its citizens, to men and women of every race and creed and all degrees of wealth and education in the sight of God. But more than self interest born of our experience moves us to seek the peace of the community in which we live. Judaism instructs us to do so, ~~also~~ to hold fast to our vision of the good no matter what, to retain our faith in a tomorrow and struggle for its coming though we are defeated over and over again, to bear witness to the goodness of life and to sanctify all those whose lives are songs in freedom's cause.

Is this too much to ask? Can we really rise above our sorrows to sense the sorrow of others? Can those eternally rejected by mankind nonetheless retain their faith

in man? We have no other choice. This is what we Jews have always been challenged to do. ^EAnd this is precisely why it will always be difficult to be a Jew. A rabbi once taught that no one can be human unless his heart has been broken. Our Jewish hearts have been broken in every generation including ours and one meaning of our suffering is this: ~~We~~ we will not stand idly by the blood of our brothers ~~(and sisters)~~ not our own blood nor the blood of our fellow human being.

Aug 30, 79

Amid the heated controversy following Andrew Young's resignation as the United States delegate to the United Nations, some black people have suddenly embraced the Palestine Liberation Organization.

As I see it, some black leaders have turned to the P.L.O. in an effort to act as conciliators between Israel and the Palestinians.

Other blacks, I believe, met the P.L.O. representatives in New York to demonstrate their independence from official United States policy.

And still others viewed such meetings as a way of striking back against Israel and the American Jewish community for their supposed involvement in engineering Mr. Young's ouster.

But regardless of motivation, I think black people must clearly understand the moral — yes, moral — issue involved here.

For in seriously considering links with a group like the P.L.O., the black community is moving beyond the realm of mundane "politics as usual."

We are moving into an area where we face three enormous risks.

First, we risk causing serious divisions within our own ranks; second, we risk the forfeiture of our own moral prestige, which is based on a long and noble tradition of nonviolence; and third, we risk becoming the unwitting

To Blacks: Condemn P.L.O. Terrorism

By Bayard Rustin

accomplices of an organization committed to the bloody destruction of Israel — indeed of the Jewish people.

Some people have pointed to a few superficial parallels between the the P.L.O. and American civil rights movement. Naturally, this talk about the P.L.O. as a "civil rights" group or a minority movement within Israel has generated sympathy for the Palestinians among black people. But this identification and even solidarity with the P.L.O. is based on a terrible perversion of the truth, not only the truth about the P.L.O. but the truth about our own movement as well.

Looking back on the history of the P.L.O., one thing has become abundantly clear: The P.L.O., from the day of its creation in 1964, has never once uttered a word in support of any form of nonviolent resistance, peaceful relations between Israelis and Palestinians, or a political solution to the complex problems in the Middle East.

By contrast, black leaders in America, especially central figures like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and A. Philip Randolph, never once in the long history of the civil rights struggle countenanced violence or terrorism.

American civil rights leaders, of course, chose nonviolence for many political and tactical reasons, but Dr. King once identified the key source of the movement's strategy when he noted that the black American rejected physical force "because he believed that through physical force he could lose his soul." In short, the choice of nonviolence was based on deeply-held moral principles. It was based on a desire to build community, to unleash the creative force of love, and to protect and enhance the God-given human dignity of all people, be they friend or foe.

The P.L.O., however, espouses the opposites of all these principles.

In word but more importantly in deed it espouses violence, hatred and racism. It repeatedly scorns reconciliation. While Dr. King frequently spoke of nonviolence as "the sword that heals," the P.L.O. exalts the sword that kills.

My description of the P.L.O. here is no exaggeration. Its tactics, values and goals are candidly set forth in its national Covenant and other official documents. Its legacy of terrorism is

written in innocent blood across Israel and Western Europe, and even across the Arab lands of Jordan and Lebanon.

Between 1967 and 1977, for example, the P.L.O. was directly responsible for killing over 1,100 unarmed men, women and children; its terrorist activities maimed nearly 2,500 people; and it held over 2,700 hostages. Moreover, this organization has trained and armed other terrorist groups such as the Baader-Meinhof gang in West Germany and the Red Brigades in Italy.

Considering this record, I fear that individuals who see similarities between our struggle and the terror campaign of the P.L.O. are ignoring or twisting the facts.

By harshly criticizing the P.L.O., I do not mean to suggest that black leaders have no business concerning themselves with Middle Eastern problems. Nor am I arguing that blacks should shun the P.L.O. so as to ingratiate themselves with American Jews. Rather, I am saying that if black Americans are to play any constructive or conciliatory role in shaping American policy in the Middle East, we must do so in a manner totally consistent with the moral and spiritual tradition of nonviolence.

We must therefore reject hasty and expedient moves; we must reject any formal or organizational relationship with the P.L.O.

Any links with the P.L.O., no matter how limited, would give legitimacy

Any links, no matter how limited, would tacitly approve the 'rule of the gun'

and tacit approval to the rule of the gun.

Dr. King, in his letter from the Birmingham jail, included a story to illustrate the rewards of perseverance in the nonviolent tradition. He wrote about 72-year-old black woman who walked a long distance every day during bus boycott. Frequently she was jeered by hostile whites; she was tired and physically weak, but she refused to use the buses. Someone asked her why she continued to support the non-violent protest. Her response, I believe, will always be precious; "My feet is tired," she said, "but my soul is at rest."

By shunning and condemning the terrorism of the P.L.O., we too can be assured that our souls will be at rest, as we preserve our tradition of nonviolence.

Bayard Rustin is president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute, an educational, civil rights and labor organization.

A Little Street Musik

By Phillip Lopate

All New Yorkers are looking for at least one of three things: a job, an apartment, or a lover. This is what unifies them as a people. If by chance they happen to have all three, they begin to graduate to the next search: a nicer job, a bigger apartment, a better lover.

I had found the job, I was on the hunt for the other two, so I was beginning to feel right in step. Two weeks after the Fourth of July, I realized I was enjoying the city. Being there in the heart of a heat wave had its moments. The city had thinned out. Galleries and caviar shops were closed; the therapists were all refreshing and recharging themselves in places like Bar Harbor, Maine. An invisible hand came down from the sky and removed certain types, leaving only those who were stuck at jobs, too lazy to get away, or too poor. It made for a solidarity among those crazy enough to be out in the street at noon. "Man it's hot!" people would mutter at me. "It's impossible to be this hot!" I heard myself re-

peating in particular. There

BLACKS AND JEWS IN AMERICA

In the summer of '79 most Jews felt that our relations with the blacks of America had taken an ominous turn. The forced resignation of Andrew Young from his position as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, the outpouring of rage from black leadership against the Jews, the sympathy of so many black Americans for the P.L.O., has made many of us feel that bad as things have been before, the relations between Jews and blacks in America are going to get worse with dangerous consequences for us here in America, and for the precarious security of the Jews in Israel.

I believe that the summer of '79 does represent an historic turning point in the relationship between blacks and Jews of America - *but for the better, not for the worse*. Far from being frightened by the crisis I am encouraged in the belief that the worst may be over between us, and better days may be ahead.

The great question in the media this summer has been: "Are the blacks anti-Semitic?" And the mere question has sent a chill into the hearts of American Jews. But we forget that there is a difference between disliking Jews, and that virulent and malevolent anti-Semitism which leads to the extermination of Jews. Historically, hatred of the Jew had to have the backing of some powerful class or institution which used Jew-hatred for its political purposes before dislike for the Jew turned into pogroms and killings. In Europe where hatred of the Jew was endemic and chronic, the Jews survived and even flourished for many, many centuries. Only when the state itself, or a politically powerful church promoted anti-Semitism or when the mobs were let loose by the authorities, did it lead to death or exile for the Jew. So it happened in Spain, so it happened in Russia, and so it happened in Germany.

The Hindu proverb has it: When a man has been bitten by a snake, he takes fright at a rope. In America anti-Semitism is a rope—not a venomous snake. It looks dangerous often enough. But for two hundred years it has rarely been responsible for Jewish persecution. We have been disliked, we have been barred from places of residence, from colleges, and from occupations. But despite our lack of popularity we have flourished in America as nowhere else on earth at any time in our long history. Furthermore, it is not probable that black anti-Semitism, even if it increases, is likely to hurt us any more than has the long, slow pogrom the blacks have visited on us over that last ten or fifteen years—not so much because we are Jews, but because we have been here—a ready and present target for their rage. The black rage is not focused on the Jew as Jew. Even if it were now to become so, the blacks of America are still far from those levers of power which are necessary to make their anti-Semitism a present danger to us.

Over the past twenty years, we have been the accidental victims of an aborted black revolution. It is one of those little ironies of history that we Jews who had practically nothing to

do with black slavery in America, happened to be living in these great cities of the Northeast and Midwest when millions of impoverished black serfs were driven from the soil of Georgia and Alabama after World War II by a tremendous technological change in American agriculture.

But if we see the black eruption of the mid-20th century only as a revolution pure and simple, we do not see it clearly and are unable to understand its past or predict its future. For this black revolution did not begin as a revolution, but as a battle for black enfranchisement. When in 1954 the Supreme Court ordered school desegregation, there was no revolution by the blacks. The preaching of Martin Luther King, the civil rights marches in Georgia and Alabama, the great march on Washington were non-violent and thus did not constitute real revolution. It was a march toward equality for the black *within* the American political, legal, economic and social system, whereas, revolution does not seek equality, but the overthrow of the masters and their system.

But in the 1960's this black movement toward equality turned into genuine black revolution. Frustrated by their slow progress toward the promised land of enfranchisement and equality, filled with an old and unassuaged bitterness at memories of slavery, faced with the reality that even after Martin Luther King's great sermons, they were still the subclass of the American people, they turned from the search for equality, and lashed out against the whole American system. In the 1960's the large masses of blacks in American cities lusted to overthrow and humble the masters, and to take the place of the white rulers. The cry: "Burn, baby, burn!" was a cry for violence by which the high would be brought low, and the low raised on high. It should be remembered that while he was still alive large numbers of the brightest and most educated young blacks had turned away from Martin Luther King, and the new leaders in the early 1960's were LeRoy Jones, Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver, Stokely Carmichael—who preached and practised violence. In the 1960's the day of the Afro-American dawned: the curly hairdo, the Daishiki, the Swahili language or alternatively 'Black English'—a race set apart and superior—where black is beautiful and white is ugly. And there was let loose on America a wave of destruction that left large parts of our cities in such ruins that from the air it looked as if they had been bombed out by fleets of enemy warplanes.

But where is that revolution now, and where is its leadership? In the summer of '79 let us stop a moment and ask ourselves, what has become of the Stokely Carmichaels, the Eldridge Cleavers, the Malcolm X's, and the Black Panthers today: most of them are in jail, or dead. Precisely in the summer of '79 who are the young leaders of American blacks? Andy Young, Jesse Jackson, and Julian Bond. And these men don't want to destroy the American establishment and system. They want to join it. True, they dream and scheme to go to the top as all good Americans should. Andy Young is already running to become the first black President of the United States. He may have to be content with Senator from Georgia, but he is in no way minded to become King of the blacks. Jesse Jackson is the greatest preacher in America—black or white. He wears

neither Daishiki nor Afro hairdo. And Julian Bond—the black Georgia legislator! Have you seen Julian Bond? What sartorial splendor—in restrained English tailoring. I think Julian Bond is the most beautiful American male in any of the spectra of our polychromatic American people. Have you heard Julian Bond? No Swahili or black English for him. He doesn't even have a Southern accent.

During these twenty years of visible and painful and loud black revolution—something quiet and strong has been happening in black America. Behind the headlines of cities being burnt out, the robberies, the rapes, the muggings that were making our cities all but uninhabitable, beneath the burdensome overlay of black unemployment and indigence, something hopeful, something truly American was in gestation. And if you like, you can say it was born in the summer of '79—a big, well-to-do, educated, capable, and self-confident middle class black community. It could only have happened in Chicago, Detroit, Cleveland, Atlanta—and New York—never in the field of Virginia and South Carolina or Mississippi.

Now this new middle class black America is exercising its lungs and flexing its muscles. Five days after the resignation of Andrew Young, the national black leadership met in New York to plan its strategy about what appeared to them to be the challenge of Jewish political clout. Bayard Rustin, that long time co-worker with the Jews; Bayard Rustin, that die-hard opponent of black revolution came out of the meeting in a state of euphoria. He could hardly believe that the black leadership conference representing old blacks and young blacks, city blacks and country blacks, preachers and laymen, politicians and businessmen—were for the first time in agreement.

The day after that historic black leadership conference, the New York Times headline proclaimed: **BLACK LEADER—SHIP CONFERENCE DECLARES ITS INDEPENDENCE.** Independence? Independence from what or from whom. Buried deep in the article was the big news. At the end of the conference, without solicitation black doctors, lawyers, businessmen rose to pledge substantial personal cash contributions to the cause of black freedom, equality, and dignity in America. I do not know whether the Times headline writer meant to compare the blacks of this conference of the summer of '79 to the signers of the Declaration of Independence in Philadelphia in 1776—pledging their lives, their property and their sacred honor. Or whether we were being told that they were declaring their independence from their erstwhile benefactors, the American Jews. Hereafter, these blacks would depend on their own money, their own talent, their own legal and political clout to achieve complete enfranchisement. It makes no difference. The black American leadership conference in August of '79, I believe, marked the end of the black revolution of the 1960's and 70's. And the new black leadership has taken up again the dream of Martin Luther King. But this time on their own—thank you.

So, on September 11th it was reported that the N.A.A.C.P., while still critical of the Jews in the matter of Andrew Young,

hoped for the continuation of the long partnership between blacks and Jews. Mr. Hooks, the Executive Director of the N.A.A.C.P., announced: "steps were underway to initiate dialogue between black and Jewish communities under the aegis of the Kivie Kaplan Human Relations Institute"—organized and run by our own U.A.H.C.

That dialogue, if it takes place, should be fruitful for the blacks, the Jews, and for America. They should be so much more successful than ever before because this time for the first time the blacks will be sitting with the Jews as equals. Now the blacks have their own money, and more and more their own political clout. Now we are ready for the healthy give and take of two great American ethnic groups on issues which concern us because we live together, not only in the same country, and the same cities, but on the same blocks, in the same apartment buildings.

Yes, the blacks will sit down to negotiate with the Jews at the Kivie Kaplan Center in Washington, D.C., after they have calmed down a little.

Today they are having a high old time junketing to the Middle East—their expenses paid by Arab gold now, a bill which will shortly be picked up by the poorest black Americans when it comes time to heat their homes this winter. At the moment they love getting their faces and voices on television. But what can they accomplish in the Middle East? The Southern Leadership Conference has gone to Lebanon and made the world shaking discovery that Israeli cannon do not fire bagels and cream cheese at the Arabs—but from American made cannon come American made ordinance. And Jesse Jackson is journeying to Jerusalem to persuade Menahem Begin that Yasser Arafat is at bottom a decent fellow with a Christian heart. But the truth is that for all the media fanfare, and the games they are playing, the black American leadership is very much less concerned with peace in the Middle East than it is with apartheid in South Africa.

Yes, we will sit down with them soon for the dialogue between American blacks and Jews which has become a pressing matter. And though it will, perhaps, not make the headlines, it could make American history.

The Jews will say to the blacks, how could you be in sympathy with the P.L.O.—murderers of the Jews? How could you be indifferent to the fate of the survivors of the Holocaust—which was worse than your slavery in America? And the blacks will respond: But how could you American Jews be so indifferent to the fate of the millions of blacks so totally disenfranchised in South Africa—a fate as grim as that which you endured in Europe for more than a thousand years?

And since this is America, I imagine there might be a trade-off. They could agree to support Israel against the Arabs who would destroy her. And we could begin to take a serious interest in the emancipation and enfranchisement of the blacks in South Africa. For both sides must one day appreciate the additional power each will gain from the other in guiding American policy in the direction it wants and needs. What black leadership hopes to gain for the blacks of South

Africa through meeting with Arafat is puzzling, to say the least. What it can gain through serious meetings with American Jewish leadership could be substantial.

And then we will come to the question of "affirmative action" in our colleges and in our employment practices here at home. I hope that we can persuade them that the Jewish position in the Bakke case, and in the case of Brian Weber, the unskilled worker for Kaiser Aluminum who was discriminated against in job training because he was white, is not a battle on behalf of Jews by Jews. I hope we can make them understand that it is against the interest of the blacks themselves as well as the interests of all Americans to practice reverse discrimination for the noblest of reasons. I hope we can make them understand that a temporary advantage for the blacks will not be to their own long range advantage. I hope we can make them see that panting after affirmative action is a relic of the abortive black revolution, and has no place in black enfranchisement. But if we can't, then we shall, as is customary in a democracy, agree to disagree until such time as the side that is wrong will have learned that it has made a mistake.

And finally, I do hope and pray that having settled the problems of the world, and of the nation, dialogue will come back to the little local problems: What are we going to do together to rebuild the ruined cities of America? What are we going to do to make our streets and homes safe again? What are we going to do about the poor education, and the unemployment of so many young blacks? For nothing will so help both black and Jew, nothing will so enrich and cleanse America as the solution of these problems of the big cities. While it may yet be long and long before solution, surely together we can do something about it, maybe we can do a great deal about it—right away if the new black leadership can quench the fire of revolution in their own hearts and turn seriously to the problems of a full enfranchisement for their people.

As the aftermath of the Andrew Young affair, President Carter made this statement: "Black Americans and Jewish Americans have worked side by side for generations in the service of human rights, social justice, and general welfare. Both groups have a particular call on the conscience of each other and on the conscience of us all. Both groups have suffered too much pain, too much persecution, too much bigotry to compound that suffering in any way."

Let me conclude with a personal reminiscence. When I came here more than thirty years ago—well before the Supreme Court Decision of 1954, I organized the Brooklyn Interracial Fellowship—along Quaker lines. And both this congregation and I were very much involved in working with the Negro community. Rev. Gardner Taylor of the Concord Baptist Church and I exchanged pulpits. We visited in each other's homes. Members of this congregation visited with members of that congregation—in each others houses. In addition to Bayard Rustin, Whitney Young, National Executive of the Urban League, was on this pulpit. I became Vice President of the N.A.A.C.P., also a member of the Boro President's Committee on Interracial Action. I visited many

black churches and sat on the pulpit of one of them when Martin Luther King was the speaker. But one day, and that was twenty-five years ago, a black Brooklyn pastor said to me: "What right do you Jews have to take Palestine away from the Arabs to make it into a home for yourself." I thought, how many Arabs does the Brooklyn minister know, and how many Jews? It seems to me that he does not love the Arabs more, but the Jews less. But I was silent. Some months later the same man wrote to me asking why I was no longer active on the Brooklyn N.A.A.C.P. Education Committee of which he was chairman. "Sir", I wrote back, "I don't think we will ever improve the education of black children by breaking up the public schools." To which he fondly replied: "Friends like you we don't need." I quietly filed his letter in the wastebasket.

I knew then that the time had come for the Jews to pull back from the black community of Brooklyn. In the churches, civic organizations, and on the streets of Bedford-Stuyvesant I felt the rising rage of the blacks. I smelled the coming of the black revolution. I believed then that nothing we could do would prevent the fire from burning itself out. But I never lost faith in the justice of the black's demands for equality. I never lost faith that in America no matter how long the wait, enfranchisement of the black was coming. Even then, however, it was plain it would have to come through their own understanding and their own efforts. No one could hand it to them. In the last few years the signs have begun to appear that now the blacks are ready themselves to move up to equality with all other Americans. We all felt it when Barbara Jordan spoke at the televised sessions of the Home Judiciary Committee hearings on charges against President Nixon. It was not a black woman pleading for the blacks. She spoke as a great member of Congress on behalf of the ideals upon which all America rests. I have been thrilled by the televised bits of the sermons of the Rev. Jesse Jackson to the young women of an all black high school in Chicago: "Remember—Whitey isn't going to do it for you. You're going to have to do it for yourself." And I know he is going up and down the land with this single message to his people. It is the hard prudential language of enfranchisement, not the inflammatory fire of revolution.

The events of the summer of '79, it seems to me, have marked not the beginning of a new and more destructive stage of the black revolution, not the intensification of the black pogrom on the whites—particularly of the Jews of the big cities—but the beginning of the end of it. The fires will continue to smolder but the time for rebuilding seems to be here. Only God knows if this be more than a fond hope. But if it be true—we shall see more and more evidence this year. Even more important, if it be so—we Jews must be ready—now to join our efforts to those of the blacks—because they still have a long way to go before they are fully enfranchised. We must be ready to join them not only because enfranchisement is indivisible and helping them is good for the Jews—but because as Jews we have a moral commitment, because as Jews we know so it is commanded.

Tony Brown, producer and host of the nationally syndicated television program "Tony Brown's Journal," was interviewed by RJ editor Aron Hirt-Manheimer several weeks before the tensions reflected here exploded into the Andrew Young affair. Commenting in his nationally syndicated column on the subsequent crisis, Mr. Brown wrote: "It's a sign of political immaturity on the part of some unelected black leaders to place the blame for Andrew Young's firing on Jewish pressure or Jewish racism. . . . The PLO is terrorizing a people in the name of liberation . . . [it] kills and maims innocent women and children. . . . The Carter Administration has clearly signaled that our 30-year-old 'special relationship' with Israel should be sacrificed for a new one with Saudi Arabia."

It has been said that this is the low point of black-Jewish relations. Do you agree?

I think that what has happened is very refreshing and was historically inevitable. Blacks and Jews have had to renegotiate their relationship. Liberal Jews were awfully paternalistic towards blacks in the fifties and sixties. Essentially, what I think the black community is telling and has told the Jewish community is that we will work together in coalitions, we will support one another, but we will do it based on our needs and not on needs that you project to us.

I think nothing demonstrates this paternalistic relationship more clearly than the litigation that was started in 1969 by the director of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and its attorney, both of whom are Jews. They filed a class action suit in which they sued HEW, arguing that ten states were running dual systems in higher education, one for whites and a second for blacks. As a result, black colleges are being eliminated in the name of helping black people.

Now this is the kind of thing that cuts us, this is the kind of thing that irritates us to the bone, meddling whites who frequently are liberal Jews. Just imagine what would happen if Yeshiva University faced being closed unless by 1981 it got at least forty per cent black and gentile enrollment—that it could not be in existence for Jewry and Jewish culture!

Do you think any malice towards blacks is intended?

Jews & Blacks Friends or Foes?

AN INTERVIEW WITH TV'S TONY BROWN



Photo by Steven Schur

I think that these liberal Jews are well meaning but don't know their place. Anybody who is going to proceed on the basis of paternalism is not going to have a place in any meaningful relationship with blacks.

Jewish leaders need to find some new black establishment friends because the old ones are giving them some very poor advice that is based on a social policy popular and accepted at the time of the 1954 Brown decision. That social policy is no longer accepted by blacks. In poll after poll, blacks are overwhelmingly rejecting desegregation. Blacks are not interested in going to school with white people. Black parents want their children to get a good education, and if it's with green children they don't care.

Do you feel that there is a lot of anti-Semitism among blacks?

I think there is a lot of anti-Semitism in the black community, among poor blacks who have been exploited economically by Jews and among members of the black establishment who are frustrated with friends who really never knew how to help. Although it should be said that not all Jews are paternalistic.

Do you believe that the Zionism

equals racism resolution that was passed in the UN has reinforced black anti-Semitism?

Certainly, if you equated going to the moon with racism and I as a black suffer most from racism, I'm not going to like people who go to the moon. That's simply called symbolic manipulation.

What I think is contributing most to anti-Jewish sentiment among blacks in terms of international relations is Israel's military support and economic relationship with South Africa. That hurts more than anything.

Do black leaders regard Jews as potential allies in the struggle against bigotry and racism?

I think the relationship between blacks and Jews is the most unique black and white relationship in the country. It's very ambivalent, you love and hate, and sometimes you don't know which you are doing. It's like the relationship with a brother in whom you are disappointed. The intensity is much greater than with an enemy that you just outright hate.

Do you have any ideas about what can be done on both sides in order to bridge the gap between "brothers"?

Well, I think one thing is very important and that is that both sides have to

understand that our group self-interest is foremost. Blacks, for example, must realize that it is not in the group interest of Jews to support quotas. If blacks were four per cent of the population and were twenty to thirty per cent of the doctors, there is no way in the world I would settle for a four per cent quota. That's group self-interest. Now with us, it's different. We still haven't clearly defined issues based on our group's self-interest and haven't learned how to get what we want.

Why aren't blacks or organizations doing a better job of getting what they want from the government?

Unlike Jews, our history has been interrupted. Most of us can only trace our roots back to our grandparents. Jewish culture has not been interrupted and you cannot underplay the emphasis of knowing who you are and where you are from. If you watched "Roots," you saw the difference between Kunta Kinte who knew where he had been and the blacks who were born in America. All they knew from birth was that white people were in charge and always had been. Kunta Kinte knew what his people had done and that's a very important thing in terms of the progress of a group.

Has this cultural amnesia resulted in a self-image problem for American blacks?

We haven't had the luxury of being concerned with imagery in the way that Jews have. The image of Jews is one of people who are the best lawyers, the best doctors, the best businessmen, the best entertainers, the best management people, you name it. And that's a stereotype. All Jews are not good at everything, but the Jewish community has been successful in projecting a positive image of itself which is why you still outperform other groups. The stereotype that you have is uplifting. The stereotype that blacks have is downgrading.

In the Jewish community, one is culturally trained to earn a living with his or her brain. In the black community, one is implicitly or explicitly trained to earn a living with either his or her feet dancing, his or her voice singing, or kicking footballs, or stuffing basketballs, and the like. In America there are a total of 3,000 professional athletes in all individual and club sports. Only 300 players are black, yet you have 30 million black people training for 300 spots because the culture is emphasizing that.

Nobody can get away from the fact that anti-Semitism is basically a result of jealousy of every group in this country toward Jews. I don't know one group in this country that does not have a strong tinge of anti-Semitism, and it's because of jealousy. Let me go back to the ambivalence that blacks have about Jews which is manifest best this way: Jews own everything and they run everything—that's the negative part. And the good part, we blacks need to model our community after them so that we can have the same kind of unity they have.



"ETZ CHAIM - TREE OF LIFE"

a cast metal sculpture by Sanford Werfel in Congregation Beth Tikvah, Philadelphia, Pa.

FOR UNIQUE JEWISH SCULPTURE
WORKS OF ART, DONOR WALLS
AND SYNAGOGUE FURNISHINGS

SANFORD WERFEL STUDIOS
133 Avenel Street
Avenel, N.J. 07001
(201) 636-2320

**SANCTUARY
DESIGNS
SAMPSON
ENGOREN**

Write for
folder "R"

11 Holmes Place
Lynbrook, N.Y.
11563
(516) 599-3173



*The Bar Mitzvah
Scroll™*

Your Gift...
A lifetime memento.
Confirmant's Haftarah
in Hebrew and English
on a permanent "parchment"
inscribed with his
name and the date of
the Bar (Bas) Mitzvah.
Scrolled into a carved
hardwood case 14½"
high. Sent with a cloth
bag.

Jerusalem Products Corp Dept. R
BOX 76, WAITSFIELD, VT. 05673
Please ship a BAR MITZVAH SCROLL
for:

Date of Bar Mitzvah _____

Ship To: _____

— Check enclosed for \$25.95, including Shipping.
— \$4.00 Additional included for display stand.
MasterCharge _____ BankAmericard _____
Card No. _____ Exp. _____
Signature _____

Only the first order received for each Bar (Bas) Mitzvah
will be shipped. Order today. Satisfaction guaranteed.

Editorials



Relatives of the missing gather in protest.

Argentina:
Terror Continues

The atrocities continue; every week new accounts of kidnaping, torture, and murder escape from Argentina. According to Amnesty International, 19,000 men, women, and children have been abducted, only 3,000 of which are accounted for in the prisons of the Videla military regime. Among the missing and imprisoned are 1,000 Jews including Jacobo Timerman, the country's leading journalist and publisher.

Timerman, although under house arrest, is one of the fortunate ones. Few of the thousands torn from their beds or dragged from the street are ever heard from again. The government denies any knowledge of the arrests, refuses to inform families of the whereabouts of the missing, and ignores the decapitated corpses that wash up periodically along the banks of the Plata River. What occurs in the secret prisons and torture cells of this once most civilized of South American countries is a horror.

According to a recent N.Y. Times interview with a former desaparecida (one who has disappeared), Jewish prisoners are treated far more brutally and are less likely to be released than non-Jewish prisoners. Many of the so-called "operating rooms" where torture is administered have swastikas and photographs of Hitler in them. One young man, it was reported, had to crawl on his hands and knees before the other prisoners and bark like a dog because "he had committed the crime of being Jewish." Others were beaten and told, "All Jews will have to be killed."

Ever since the Spanish Inquisition reached the shores of South America, anti-Semitism has been an integral part of Argentinean culture, its time-

worn techniques of terror and torture surviving to the present despite the fact that Argentina boasts a literacy rate of 95 per cent (the highest in South America), has more doctors per capita than the United States, and once had a European-style electoral process.

Although the country suffers from chronic inflation, it has a thriving Jewish middle class and virtually no unemployment. But Argentina's Jews have permitted this prosperity to cloud their judgment. According to one leader of the community, they prefer the certainty of Videla's right-wing "moderation" to the uncertainties of a far more militant regime. They take refuge in Videla's occasional accessions to their requests and note that he has not permitted the Nazi-like excesses in the prisons to spread to the public sector. Jews believe that he is sensitive to Western criticism and fear that another in his position might not be. Only those who have suffered at the hands of the notorious "security agents," operating without government interference, understand how tenuous the Jewish future in Argentina, but few are willing to risk their livelihoods, their possessions, and their lives.

Despite the efforts of several US congressmen and the cessation of aid, the terror continues. It is incumbent upon this nation to exert its greatest influence to alter the present repressive policies in Argentina and avert yet another catastrophe in our time. We risk tragedy and ignore the lesson recently learned in Iran if we expect the more than a quarter of a million Jews in Argentina, even in the face of great danger, to leave their homeland. The resources of the American Jewish community must consolidate in a massive effort to bring the world's attention to the deplorable condition of human rights and dignity in Argentina.

The Andrew Young
Incident: Who's to Blame?

by Robert J. Marx

The resignation of Andrew Young, which some Jews unfortunately see as a blessing, has set the scene for a very dangerous drama, whose tragic consequences Jews have witnessed all too often. A troubled White House hints that it was not the President who wanted to replace the highest-ranking black leader in the Administration. Rather it was the Jewish community—that hidden, amorphous "power structure" which always proves to be such a useful enemy. What a beautiful scenario for removing pressure and saving the black vote. In this same spirit are the widely publicized insinuations that the government of Israel had unwisely jeopardized black-Jewish relations by bringing into the open its distress over Young's secret negotiations.

Solemn Promises Violated

Of course, the government of Israel was upset that the United States had violated its solemn promise not to deal with terrorists who refuse to recognize Israel's right to exist and who are sworn to her destruction. That Israel's righteous anger about the violation of a solemn promise made by an ally should be turned by whispering voices into a black-Jewish confrontation is in itself a cause for amazement. Of even greater concern is the role of the media in facilitating this shift from the true issue of United States integrity to the false issue of black-Jewish relations.

Jewish Scapegoat

Thus, a frustrated black community is encouraged to turn its anger away from the power structures which have allowed inflation to sap away hard won gains and done little to reduce ghetto unemployment and turn it to-

Letters

Cult Member Responds

Dear Editor:

Having just received a copy of the March, 1979, issue of *Reform Judaism* in which was a story about me ("I Lost My Brother to a Cult"), I thought it necessary to respond.

Firstly, I am sorry that as a national publication, you did not take the responsibility of checking with me or the family of people I live with as to the validity of Philip Fraiman's story. Philip, too, has been lax in this regard as he has never visited here with me to find out just how I live. Too many times false information has been disseminated and Jews in particular should have a strong sense of this as they, throughout history, have been the victims of hate stories.

I am a Jew and I hope that I would be afforded some courtesy and credibility.

Secondly, Philip's description of "deprogramming" was not quite complete as I'm sure he himself knows if he is honest with himself. He did not include the stories of my being tied and gagged, of my being hit, of my being kept up for hours day after day with very little sleep, of my incarceration in a mental hospital, of being held by six or more men while my hair was cut off, and of the many times I tried to reason with my parents and they only made false promises and lies in return. He failed to tell of another man from our family who, when he failed to respond to "deprogramming," received electro-shock therapy.

He also failed to report that I voluntarily submitted to various psychoneurological testing and was found to be in top physical and mental condition. All those doctors were quickly and quietly released from the case.

But . . . all this is past and here we stand now. My hope is to quench the encourage reason and understanding. To believe in mysterious mind control and brainwashing is dangerous and only leads to more separation and alienation. But, the man who is true, the one who really loves, will find the paths of truth and get to the facts.

We are open. We welcome all people who truly want to understand us to come and visit. People who haven't made an effort to understand us don't understand us or why we are together. We are people who know that the only response that helps any situation is love. I have found that that responsibility lies on me always. As a people, our hope and sincere prayer is to exemplify the real virtues of humanity to influence people everywhere to love thy neighbor as thyself. Love Israel, myself, and our whole family rely on example to inspire each other's hearts towards God. Force and coercion are not God's ways and only alienate people. Our neighbors and people here in Seattle and the State of Washington who know us can witness that we live up to our word.

ward the Jews. What a convenient outlet for this frustration Jews are!

Appeal to Blacks

In this time of tension, therefore, I appeal to blacks not to seek the easy way out of their disappointment and despair by turning against the people who have shared so much of their suffering and pain. I urge them to recognize that their true enemies are not the Jews, but ignorance and injustice, poverty and greed wherever they persist.

Appeal to Jews

I also appeal to Jews not to allow old rhetoric and misplaced anxieties

May the God of Israel help us all and for the sake of peace allow us to be humble enough to listen to each other.

Sure Israel
Love Family
Seattle, WA

When Does Human
Life Begin?

Dear Editor:

On the basis of the various positions cited in "Abortion: Religious Freedom on Trial," it appears that the view of the Orthodox rabbinate is the only one that rests on firm logical, and therefore moral, grounds. According to Rabbi Zlotowitz in his interpretation of Jewish law, "the fetus is potential human life, but not a human person until the moment of birth." But clearly there is no moral difference between that which one second is in the womb and that which the next second is out of the womb, for the infant does not undergo a biological change at the moment of birth from something nonhuman to something human. If our moral laws focus on human beings and not on a subjective definition of "person," for which there would be no basis of judging against contrary definitions, then the moment of birth is an arbitrary, unscientific designation. In fact, any designation that tries to pinpoint the beginning of human life is arbitrary, including the moment of conception since there really is no "moment" *per se*. But at least we can identify the physiology of a human being in the developing embryo, perhaps even as early as the zygote. This is why the Orthodox interpretation of Jewish law, allowing for the exceptions of incest, rape, and danger to the mother, is grounded in moral principle.

David S. Eagle
New Canaan, CT

Rabbi Zlotowitz Replies: In response to your letter to the editor, please be advised that no rabbinic authority considers a fetus a human person. Furthermore, the rabbis recognize that one cannot pinpoint the moment of ensoulment because it is one of God's secrets (Sanhedrin 110b); therefore, all rabbinical authorities agree that human life begins the moment the head emerges from the womb. The rabbis' primary interest has ever been with the question: Whether a human life has been taken and whether in aborting a fetus a murder has occurred. To the question, "Is abortion murder?" the rabbis answered emphatically and unequivocally, "No."

Orthodoxy imposed a stricter view with regard to abortion out of practical reasons. During our entire history, persecution and natural disaster have decimated our people and so repopulation has always been emphasized. Thus their reason for discouraging abortion, except under special circumstances, but is not based on moral grounds but on pragmatic ones.

turn them inward and away from the real anguish and deprivation of blacks and other minority groups. I urge them not to feed on a diet of mistrust and fear which would close their ears to the ancient cry of Amos: "Are ye not as the children of the Ethiopians unto me, O ye children of Israel?" I appeal to Jews once again, as they have so often done in their history, to open their eyes and see and open their ears and hear the suffering of poor and hungry and unemployed people whose just cause calls out for redress.

Robert J. Marx is rabbi of the Reform temple Congregation Solel, Highland Park, IL.

Native Sons and Survivors

“ There was one band
of honor and
decency in America
—Jews and blacks.
But that is not to say
Jews and blacks
don't have fights... ”

the village
VOICE

This symposium was conceived by Paul Cowan, Joel Dreyfuss, Nat Hentoff, and David Schneiderman. It was edited by Linda Perney, copyedited by Jan Hoffman, and art directed by Ernest Lynk. Photographs were taken by Deborah Feingold, and production was supervised by Susan Moskowitz and Richard Schatzberg.

The time has come to end Jewish stereotypes of blacks and black stereotypes of Jews. Those stereotypes triggered the viciousness of the fight that erupted after Andrew Young resigned from the U.S. government. The tensions had existed for at least a decade—ever since the civil rights movement waned and the beloved community Martin Luther King once talked about splintered apart. But, mostly, the tensions have remained intimations. They've rarely been confronted directly. That's one reason the rage of the last two and a half months has been so painful and so surprising to so many people.

Much of the recent fight has been misleading. There is not a Jewish community or a black community. There are Jews and blacks—some of whom believe they have common interests, some of whom are enemies, some of whom believe that the entire black-Jewish debate is irrelevant to the problems they face.

It is important to explore those differences publicly—with blacks and Jews on the same panel, in the same room.

So, at the Judson Memorial Church on October 9, *The Voice* held a symposium to bring together as many diverse black and Jewish voices as possible. To keep the symposium in context, it is important to remember that when it was held, Urban League president Vernon Jordan and NAACP director Benjamin Hooks had not yet criticized Jesse Jackson, and Moshe Dayan had not yet resigned as Israel's foreign minister.

The participants whose words appear in the edited transcript that follows were: **Roger Wilkins**, formerly a columnist for *The New York Times* on urban affairs

(Wilkins had to leave the panel early); **Misha Avramoff**, a community organizer and member of the board of Project Ezra which works with poor, elderly Jews on New York's Lower East Side; **Ruth Messinger**, councilwoman from the Upper West Side; **William Strickland** who was the head of the Northern Student Movement during the civil rights era and now teaches political science at the Amherst campus of the University of Massachusetts; **Ira Silverman**, director of Special Projects for the American Jewish Committee; **Hope Stevens**, co-chairperson of the National Conference of Black Lawyers and treasurer of the Uptown Chamber of Commerce; and **Nathan Perlmutter**, executive director of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League. **Howard Moody**, pastor of the Judson Memorial Church was the moderator.

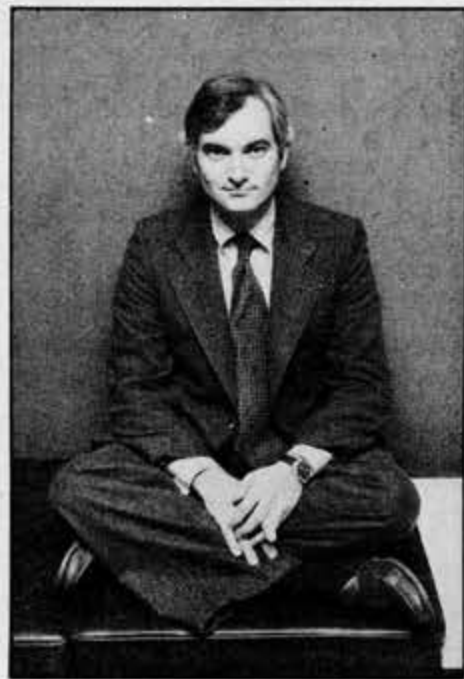
Each of the panelists spoke for about 10 minutes, and then a discussion among them followed. In the two and a half hours the symposium lasted, it was impossible to explore all the issues in the detail that was required.

That's one of the reasons we hope the symposium will represent a beginning, rather than a one-shot event. We hope similar discussions will take place in Harlem and on the Lower East Side, in Lincoln Center and Town Hall, in synagogues, churches, and political clubs, and living rooms throughout the city. Soon, perhaps, they'll involve all ethnic groups—not just blacks and Jews.

This is a time for healing—not for more polarization. But healing can only come through the kind of honest, sometimes brutal discussion that occurred at *The Voice* symposium.



Crown Heights, 1979



Ira Silverman



Ruth Messinger



Crown Heights, 1979

HOWARD MOODY: I believe the issue to which each one of these people is going to speak tonight is one of the most important issues around and there are several questions I would like to put to the speakers. The first may seem a rhetorical question, but it's not. Is the black-Jewish confrontation real or has it been concocted by media and institutional leaders of both groups? Second, what is the relationship of this struggle to the seats of power in our society? I remember, as many of you do, that the last open, verbal skirmish was the school controversy in Ocean Hill-Brownsville. At that time, in that conglomerate of issues and problems, I remember feeling that blacks and Jews were yelling at one another over the barricades, as others—who controlled the system—were sitting back, watching the two minority groups take each other on.

Then, finally, is there some common ground where people can meet to address the issues of our alienation and debate their differences? That, I hope is the purpose of this dialogue—to speak personally to those issues and finally to find a common ground on which we all must stand.

ROGER WILKINS: I was asked to come here to talk about blacks and Jews, but instead I am going to talk about fathers and sons. I am going to make the Earl Wilkins, Roy Wilkins, and X Memorial Speech. Earl Wilkins, my father, died many years ago when I was a little boy. Roy Wilkins is my father's older brother. X, I will get to later. Earl and Roy did not give me a hell of a lot of love because they were busy fighting the battles that had to be fought. But they said to me, hey, kid, you go out there and be honorable and decent anyway you can.

And so I did. And there came a time, 22 years ago, when I was a social worker for the Cuyahoga County Welfare Department in Cleveland; I had to go around and touch all those poor people. There were 100 different cases in my casebook. There was all the misery and poverty you'll ever want to see, ever. It was awful.

All of a sudden I realized that, although I wanted to, I couldn't fix all those people. But I could fix some of them by being honorable and decent the way my father and my uncle told me to be. I chose three cases that I thought I could fix. One was a case where a father was in the Ohio State Penitentiary because he had done incest to his daughter and I thought I could help them, and I tried. One was a black woman—good, decent, smart—but she had an illness. Somebody took advantage of her and she had had twins. But it was the third case that got me.

If you went into that house, it was like going into a coffin. The people were white and they were pale, and they had blue numbers on their arms. That house smelled like death because the people were scared to go out, and they wouldn't let anybody come in. They only let me come in because I was the man with the money. The woman had been in Auschwitz; the man had been in some other, less well-known camp; and somehow they had survived; somehow they had married; somehow they'd come to Cleveland; somehow I was the government, and I was a kid. Of course, I'd known about the war. I'd had friends at school in Harlem who had been refugees from Germany. But I had never seen this evil in its face that way before. After a while, I gained their confidence. One day I heard—I swear to you this is true—a scratching inside a closet, and I asked, what is that in that closet? And then I opened the door and there was a kid in the closet. The worst-looking, most malnourished kid I ever saw. It was their child, and they were afraid to bring that child out of the closet because they thought Hitler would come from the grave and burn that child.

I said, you can't do this. You can't inflict the pain of history on this child. I will help you find a school for this child. I did. Then that job was over. It was time for me to come back to New York and practice law, and that's what I did.

It is immoral for anybody to say they are tired of hearing about the Holocaust. If



“Some Jewish people were not prepared to say to us: ‘You are smart people. You are tall people. We respect your minds.’”

— Roger Wilkins

Jesse Jackson said he is tired of hearing about the Holocaust, then Jesse is an ass.

As my father's son, as my uncle's nephew, as a black person in this world, I say to you, that there was one band of honor and decency in America and it was Jews and blacks. Not all Jews; not all blacks. But the people who were killed at Philadelphia, Mississippi, were James Chaney—he was black—and Goodman, and Schwerner—they were Jews. To repudiate the Holocaust is to repudiate the child in that closet and it is to repudiate Goodman and Schwerner.

But that is not to say that Jews and blacks don't have fights. Yes, we do. We have a big fight. It's a heavy fight. We did great hurt in the late '60s, when we put Jews and other white people out of the movement. That was to repudiate Goodman and Schwerner. It was necessary for us at the time, but it was a dreadful thing to happen to Jews. But, later came Shanker, then came Podhoretz, then came Jews saying, hey, you can't have affirmative action. They said it through DeFunis, they said it through Bakke.

Please listen very carefully, I'm doing the very best I can now.

I have friends in this audience—black friends, whose faces I have known. Jewish friends whom I love so dearly; when I have

pain in the night, they take care of me. But some Jewish people were not prepared to say to us, you are smart people, you are tall people, we respect your minds.

There was a day I went up to Harlem to see my little cousin who was in trouble. He was a Black Panther and he told me as much as I could know about Black Panthers. I came back down to the Ford Foundation, and we were having a discussion about Black Panthers, and I said, 'Well, I think I know something about Panthers,' and a Jewish man said to me, 'No, stop talking, I will explain to you about Black Panthers...' You cannot have a friendship unless everybody is tall and everybody is looking one another in the eye.

So, when everything exploded around Andy Young, a lot of blacks who had hurt about all these things as badly as I do started saying to Jewish people, we are tall people. You do not have to be anti-Semitic to think the Palestinians have some rights; you do not have to be stupid to know that Israel cannot forever be protected by American bombs. Israel will not survive only with American bombs—South Vietnam learned that. Israel will survive only if Israel makes a peace settlement—some way, somehow.

That, really, is all Andy was saying.

But for a long time we could not even say that because we were scared to be called anti-Semites. Now, I myself would not sing "We Shall Overcome" with the Arabs. I wouldn't do that. But terrorism is as old as the hills and it will be around. It was there with the Green Mountain Boys; it was there with the Irgun; it was there with the Algerians. Sometimes a just cause can only capture attention through terrorism because people are so primitive and so dumb.

I'm nearly finished now, but I'll tell you, there was this Jew, a friend of Martin Luther King's. He made some money some place, selling cars, I think. Mr. J. Edgar Hoover thought this Jew had been a Communist and that he was going to turn the civil rights movement over to the KGB. And so Mr. Hoover bugged and taped Martin Luther King because of this Jew. It's hard, it's ugly, but it's just the way it was.

Martin would be out there and people would want to kill him. When I was in the government, the good people in the FBI would call me up and say, don't let Martin go to Brown's Chapel in Selma tonight, 'cause he'll get killed; and I would find my brother Andy Young, who was born the same month I was, but I didn't even know him. I'd say, Andrew don't let Martin go to Brown's Chapel tonight.

Martin was very brave, but that kind of pressure gave him fear in the night. When he was alone in the night, sometimes he would call up this Jew, and this Jew would take care of Martin the best way he could, the best way you could handle a man's fears in the night. After I got out of the government, I came to meet this Jew (and his name was Stanley Levison). He is the person I called X.

There was Earl Wilkins, who can't talk now 'cause he's dead. There is Roy Wilkins, who is old now and frail. And there was this Jew who ultimately said, I've got three sons: my son Andrew Levison, my son Andrew Young, and my son Roger Wilkins. And when the sibling rivalry between brother Andy Young and brother Roger Wilkins was so much they couldn't communicate, Stanley would fix it up and they would talk in the Waldorf Towers. He died recently. His widow is sitting right over there—Bea, whom I think of as my momma—right next to my daughter, sitting there together. And he left me his watch, right here. He knew blacks were tall people and he dealt with us that way. And in the end I said anytime any Jewish person or any other white person says that I, or any black person, is not as intelligent as whites are, not as tall as they are, not as human as they are, I will scratch at their eyes, with the watch of the Jew, the watch of my father Stanley, strapped around my wrist.

MISHA AVRAMOFF: I do not have a constituency and I have no reputation. My only claim to fame is that I'm an anti-poverty worker—not a social worker—and I work with the remnants of my grandfather's generation on the streets of the Lower East Side.

I was born in Bulgaria—into an old Sephardic family. We were expelled from Spain in 1492, and my family settled in Bulgaria. We survived the Holocaust along with most of the Bulgarian Jews, and when I was 10 we moved to Israel. My father wanted to come straight to America, but he couldn't do that from Bulgaria. I'm from a very assimilated family. If anything, living in Israel gave me a sense of my Jewishness. It gave me that which I can never get rid of, that love/hate relationship—it's mostly love—that I have with my own people, with my own tradition.

It was easy to be a Jew in Israel. There, I was a Jew because for 2000 years my people had been dispersed and prevented from being a people, prevented from living in Jewish dignity. I came here and I had to reevaluate my attachment to Jewish values. I realized that I like this country—that I will stay in this diaspora. But here I kept having to define myself as a Jew.

Soon I became much more involved in

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

the traditions of my people and I discovered something: I found that my own community, which had made it here, had never unpacked its luggage. We'd never unpacked our suitcases. We came to this country with the insecurity of 2000 years of persecution and degradation in the great empires of Europe. It looks as if we have power here and we do have the beginnings of power.

I also discovered that one of the reasons I uphold this thing called Jewishness is that we stress the relationship of men to men. I'm sure that all of you know the story of one of our sages, Rabbi Hillel, who was mockingly asked thousands of years ago if he could explain what Judaism was while standing on one foot. "Yes," he replied. "Do not do unto others as you would not have others do unto you." That is my Jewish attachment. The rest is important commentary.

In the '60s, I lived the way everyone else in the movement did. Perhaps we were not a prophetic minority, but we tried. We thought a better world was coming. When the split [between blacks and whites within the civil rights movement] occurred in 1968, and Stokely Carmichael and the others said, work within your own community, I was hurt. And I was hurt when people told us "We want to run our own organizations." But I thought I understood that. I really thought I did.

So some of us got together and began working with the elderly Jewish poor on the Lower East Side. Walking down those teeming streets of that ghetto, taking people—mostly middle-class Jews full of nostalgia, in search of their own roots—on tours, I find the animosity, the polarization of this society. Too often, when I show these people Jewish poverty, they say it exists only because all the federal funding is going to the blacks and the Puerto Ricans. But when I have tried to initiate contacts with black and Puerto Rican activists, they shun me and say, "Your people are wealthy. Don't come and take from us." "You have your money buried someplace," someone once told me. "Don't come to us."

Over the past 10 years the established Jewish organizations have not tried very hard to penetrate that suspicion, that hatred. It's difficult to squabble over who should have tried to heal the rift first. I believe we should have—because it was the just thing to do. Most Jews, despite their insecurities, are better off than much of the black community in America. And, in the end, in the way of funding, there is so little to argue over: The federal money that is coming down is only a trickle. Instead of uniting, we are busy writing proposals, trying to outdo the others for those meager amounts that are being doled out.

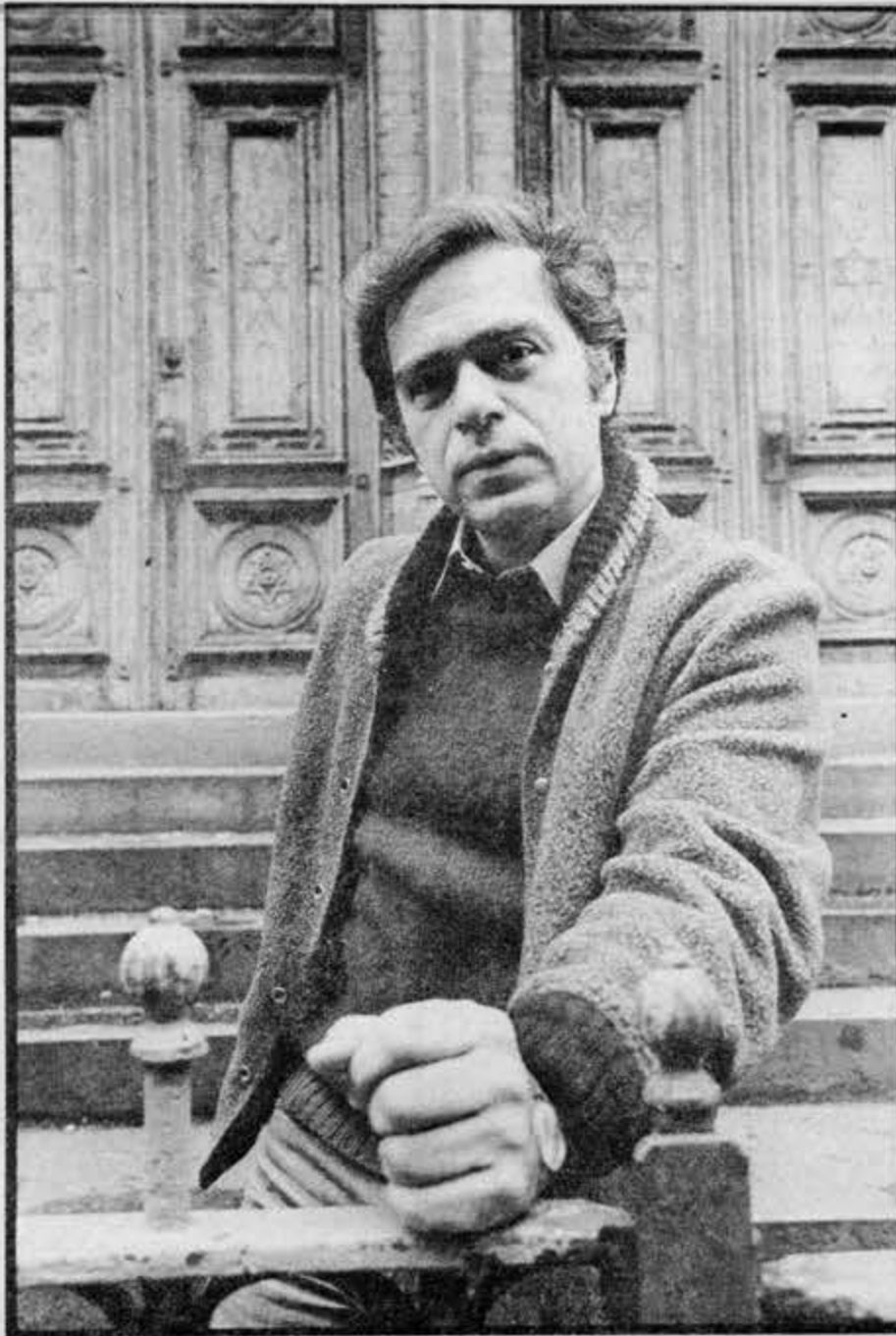
When I walk around the Lower East Side and listen to people tell me that blacks get all the federal money, and Jews don't get enough, I show them those mean streets, where you see third-generation people who live on welfare. People who have never known anything from birth but welfare. That's not even support anymore. That's the most dehumanized, degrading thing about our cities.

I am part of an insecure community and I am committed to fighting injustice because it is the just thing to do. The best safeguard for both communities is a united front—for when one minority is oppressed, the other will soon follow. So, I'm caught between that tradition of my people, which says fight injustice, and the logic that we can never get rid of the Masada and Holocaust complexes.

I was shocked when Jesse Jackson said that he understood the insecurity of the Jewish people only when he went to Yad Va'Shem [the museum of the Holocaust]. It is shocking that he could not recognize the fact of the Holocaust—the horror of the Holocaust—until he went to that museum.

But where do we go from here?

As far as the PLO is concerned, there is a growing tendency in the American Jewish community—despite its fears—to recognize the validity of the statement that Israel can never have peace until there is



“ My own community, which has made it here, never unpacked its luggage. We came to this country with the insecurity of 2000 years of persecution and degradation. ”

— Misha Avramoff

some kind of a just settlement with the Palestinians.

I believe one of the serious issues that divides blacks and Jews is the question of affirmative action. We have to deal with it. There are many of us who remember the quota systems of Russia and Poland; when we were kept out of the university. However, I am in favor of affirmative action here, and in Israel where about 16 per cent of the Oriental Jews occupy the seats of the university, although they comprise 60 per cent of the population. I just don't see any other way of redressing past injustices. But we have to sit down and talk. We can do nothing about those injustices without dialogue.

RUTH MESSINGER: As a local elected official, I am concerned about what I perceive to be the extraordinary escalation of tensions between the black and Jewish communities. It preceded the international incidents concerning Andrew Young. The tensions have been building up and, in the city, they have been aggravated

during the past few months by the particular face of the administration that is making the decisions in New York.

Still, I think the media has chosen to feed back to us only certain aspects of the crisis, portraying the problem as a simple conflict between blacks and Jews—leading each group to perceive the other as the enemy. No emphasis has been put on the common enemy—the power structure that Howard Moody talked about earlier.

I also want to talk about this issue as a person, as a Jew. I was raised according to the Jewish moral and ethical tradition, which is sometimes called by the shorthand term "Jewish liberalism." Let me tell you how I understand that tradition. I would like to share with you a quotation from Rabbi Hillel that has shaped my life. In my version of it, it goes: "If I am not for myself, who will be for me? If I am for myself alone, what am I? And if not now, when?"

That, to me, is the tradition in which I was raised. It is the tradition of generosity,

of caring for others. Here is an anecdote which suggests why I think it is so important that we keep that tradition alive.

During one of my campaigns, I spoke some place about public education and in the course of what I said, I was asked about support for bilingual education. During the question period I was asked a rather sharp question by a Jewish woman, who said, "Why isn't English good enough for them? We had to come here and learn English. Nobody provided anything for us. Why should we provide it for them?"

I took a risk, the kind of risk one doesn't usually take from a public platform, particularly in a campaign. I asked the woman when her family had come to the United States and where they had lived. And I was lucky. In a sense, I struck personal pay dirt. That woman had lived on the Lower East Side in the early part of the century, when my grandfather was the principal of P.S. 20, where most Jews were educated. My grandfather, who'd come to America from Germany, worked every day after school as a volunteer, teaching English to Yiddish-speaking immigrants so they could survive in this country.

When I reminded the woman of those early days, she began to recall how things had been for her own family. She began to change her position on bilingual education.

Of course, I wasn't only talking to her about my grandfather. I was talking about a tradition. For just as my grandfather's generation took responsibility for helping immigrants who had just come to this country, so our generation should take responsibility for helping all disadvantaged groups, including the poor Jews Misha was talking about.

When I talked about Jewish tradition, which goes beyond specific Jewish concerns—concern for Jews, for their right to have created the State of Israel, for their right to survive—I was also talking about Jewish concern for the plight of others.

I would like to suggest that that concern has two parts. I understand my responsibility to be concerned for others because that is just. But I would also say that to share those concerns for others is in itself an aspect of self-protection.

Our history is real. The Holocaust did happen; we have reasons for what is sometimes called Jewish paranoia.

It is my contention that Jews cannot survive in an illiberal context and that, in many ways, they are not free to appeal to racist ideas and racist tendencies in this society. So, although there may be real tensions between blacks and Jews right now, there are many reasons for reevaluating and strengthening the bonds between us at a local level, a national level—and even an international level.

I thought I would just end these remarks by citing an incident reported about black-Jewish tensions by Andrew Kopkind in the *Real Paper* in Cambridge. It is about my district. The article ends: "One afternoon during the height of the drama I saw a brief scene performed in front of me on line at Citibank branch in Manhattan's Upper West Side . . . A well-dressed black man and a somewhat disheveled old Jewish lady were arguing over priority in the line. 'You think you can go anywhere you want,' the black man said loudly. 'You always have the money to do what you please.'

'I came to this country with nothing. Nothing,' the old lady said pitifully—still holding firm to her place, of course. There were more shouts, more pushing and shoving. Then an old man—also an immigrant—stepped out of his position, and put his hands on both contestant's shoulders. He shrugged a little shrug. 'Do we need this?' he asked. 'Do we really need this?'

WILLIAM STRICKLAND: I wasn't informed that one of the criteria for being on the panel was a personal reminiscence, but when I went to school at Boston Latin, it was then reputed to be the best public high school in this country. At that time it was about 63 per cent Jewish. So I'll begin my remarks with that old cliché, some of my very best friends are Jewish—indeed, some of the people I play bridge with are Jewish.

Quotas and Affirmative Action

MISHA AVRAMOFF: I'm not sure what Mr. Perlmutter was saying, but he said it exceedingly well. It was sort of in the '50s spirit of motherhood and apple pie: Don't judge a person by his religion, by his race. If a person is applying for a certain position, judge him on his merits. That's a commendable attitude.

But there is reality. There is a class of underdeveloped, underemployed people. What we have to do is build a middle class in this community—that is the only salvation.

People can make affirmative action sound horrendous. I'm familiar with quota systems and with the problems inherent in them. But I would like to hear some alternative plan to help blacks who come from poverty-ridden schools, who don't have much of an education, who, unfortunately, don't come from a tradition that stresses books.

Let's not forget something, Mr. Perlmutter. Even though we haven't unpacked our luggage, and we're totally insecure, when we came here we brought something with us—we brought our institutions. We brought the Torah. We brought a certain family stability that blacks came here without. So we're not really in the same boat. We came a little better prepared. Yes, we struggled, we worked hard. But my grandfather was going to beat the daylight out of me if I didn't study. I'm not sure that poor black kids have that. We have to struggle together to make the system more just.

Give me an alternative, Mr. Perlmutter.

WILLIAM STRICKLAND: Actually, Misha raised the question that I was going to raise with Mr. Perlmutter. The reality of George Washington is different from the reality of George Washington's slave. It's a dialectic in terms of the perspective of people depending upon where they are in the social order. So you define the problems of the quota system. Misha said he was familiar with quotas—from Poland, and Russia, and so on. But America is neither Poland nor Russia. The experience that Jews had in Eastern Europe may have some similarity to the problems of American blacks. But if you define the problems solely in terms of quotas, which you say you oppose, then I must ask you what the ADL's position on social change for blacks in this country is. Economics is only a part of race reality here. If you have a dollar, and it's historically been such that for that dollar, you get 90 cents and I get 10 cents, there is no way for us to have equality in sharing that dollar unless you lose 40 cents. So there is a fight to retain privileges. I'm simply asking you, although I don't believe in putting black fate in other people's hands, just how your positions are affecting racial social change in this country. If you oppose affirmative action then what do you put in its place?

NATHAN PERLMUTTER: I know the United States is not Poland or Russia, and I didn't at any point say that I opposed the quota system because I'm a Jew. I oppose the quota system for the following reason: I believe that the state should not take note of our race or our religion and give us rights or deprive us of rights based on faith or race. I think that any state that does that is a mischievous state. There are certainly enough precedents in history to prove what I say. When the state used race as a criterion for giving favors or withholding favors, people suffered.

The past 10 years have seen tremendous increases in the numbers of blacks who have enrolled in colleges and graduated. No group is making the progress the black community is in entering the middle classes. Obviously they are not moving fast enough to satisfy all the members of the black community, but there is no quick fix for 200 or 300 years of persecution. I think we've got to continue to bend every effort to increase every individual's opportunities to absorb education and jobs, but the minute we start counting heads on a racial basis and ask the state to pass laws accordingly, I think it's dangerous.

and two uncles—were lynched. Somehow, that's not put forward as a commentary on man's inhumanity to man, as Treblinka or Auschwitz is.

The associated relationship to the Holocaust is the notion of shock. How could it have happened? You had only to ask black people about what your white brothers were capable of doing. Blacks—perhaps alone in Western society—understand white society's capacity to commit holocaust. For blacks, that experience is an inextricable part of Western history. Therefore, one of the significant things about the Andy Young incident, it seems to me, is that black leaders who have not previously thought of their own place in history are now showing some embryonic signs of political maturity, racial maturity, theoretical maturity.

Dr. Moody asked whether this black-Jewish confrontation is real or contrived. When one talks about the unity of the past, one must make sure that that unity is more than an exercise in nostalgia. And one would have to ask: What is the basis for future unity, and what is that unity supposed to achieve? But at the crux of those questions are the larger issues: What is the relationship of black people to American society? Do they have the same vision or the same prospects for changing that society? It seems to me that black people now stand in a period between struggles, and it's not clear what the struggles of the future will be. But one thing

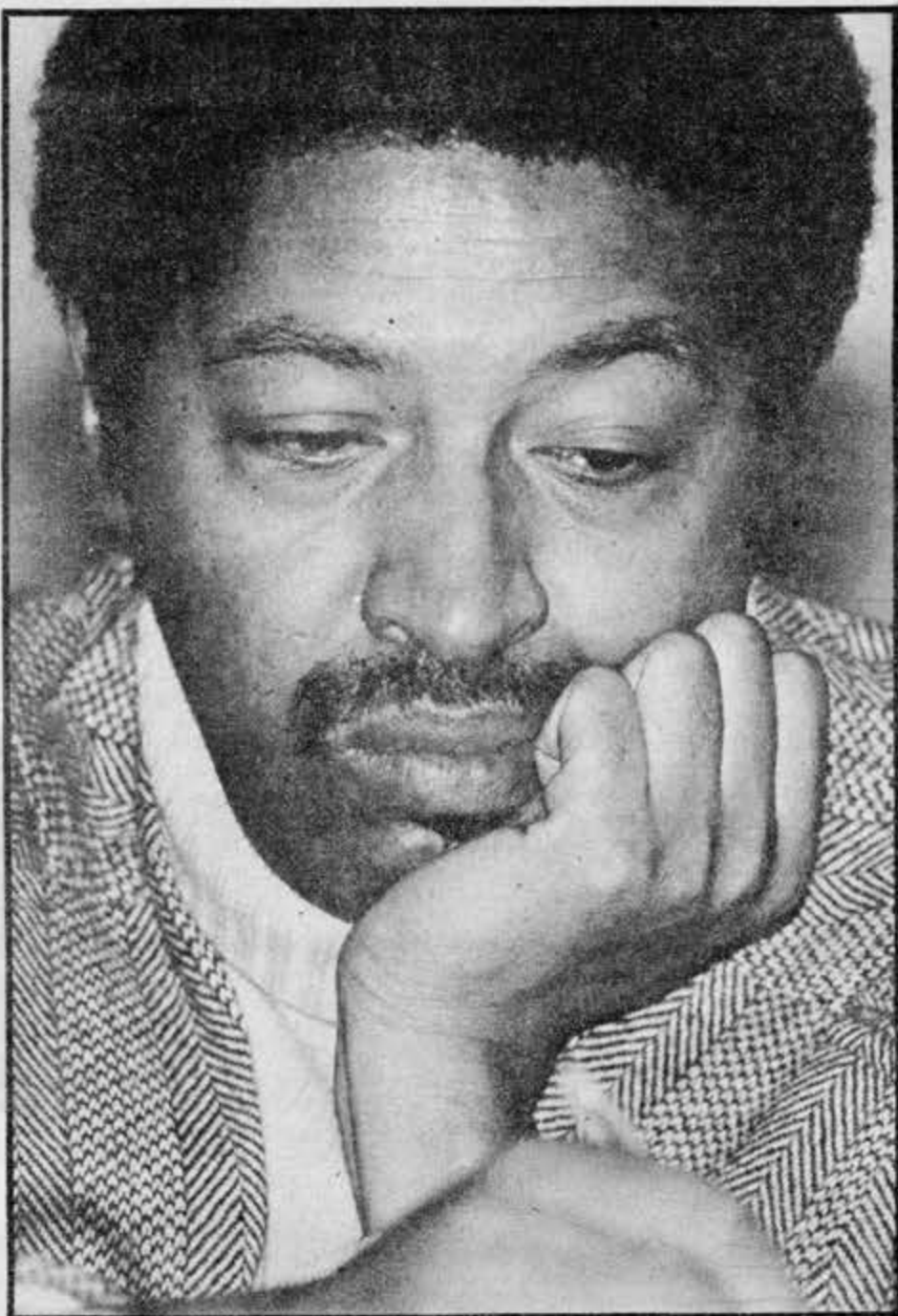
about the future course is indelibly clear. That is, we have gone beyond the question of civil rights. Whatever the future course of black struggle will be, it will certainly not be a struggle for civil rights. If that was to be the basis for black and Jewish unity, that basis has been proven historically insufficient for the future.

The second question revolves around this case of Israel. Israeli foreign policy is quite indefensible. Israel has supported Somoza; it has supported Pinochet; it has supported South Africa. It is collaborating with South Africa now in developing the nuclear bomb. If, in fact, the American Jewish community is saying that black-Jewish unity can be achieved only through total, unqualified black support for Israel—regardless of what Israel's role in the world is—that poses problems for a number of black people.

In the Middle East—and especially in the relationship between Israel and South Africa—is embedded quite obviously the prospects for World War III. In the current issue of *Seven Days* Dave Dellinger reports on something we might call the Masada Complex. He quotes an Israeli military officer as saying: "We are not going to yield an inch to the Arabs—even if that means atomic flames in New York..."

Now, it seems to me that if Israel's support of South Africa is unqualified, that if they are developing enrichment plutonium facilities for South Africa,

Continued on next page



“ People say we must never forget the Holocaust because it is an experience unparalleled in history. But whites have been killing nonwhites on that same scale throughout the history of the West. ”

— William Strickland

Ten years ago, a man named Harold Cruse wrote a book called *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*. And, even now, 10 years later, it seems to some of us that that intellectual crisis still exists. Part of it is that it's very difficult for black people to learn to think beyond the values—the norms—of this society. That Roger began his discussion with his total commitment to the significance of the Holocaust is symbolic to me.

Now, for the white world the Holocaust stands unique in history, but there have been other holocausts. The Caribs, and the Arawaks, the Congolese killed by Leopold, the native Americans in this country, black people in this country—although it's not in your history books—have all been victims of a holocaust. Indeed, in his swansong on the floor of Congress at the turn of the century, George White, the last black congressman from North Carolina, said that between 1861

and 1901, 50,000 blacks had been killed to make the South free for the Democratic Party.

People say we must never forget the Holocaust because it is an experience unparalleled in history. But that's not quite true. What is unique about the Holocaust is that white people killed other white people on a scale unprecedented in history. But whites have been killing nonwhites on that same scale throughout the history of the West.

Now, the question is, among black intellectuals, why the resonance of their own history does not make their hearts beat as profoundly as the resonance of other people's history. I cannot understand why Roger, who works for the *Times*, should not have been moved by the paper's obituary two weeks ago for the prominent black artist, Charles White. For that obituary casually mentioned that in a 15-year period, five of White's relatives—three cousins



“When this economy really finds itself in trouble, the result is going to be the same as what happened in Europe in the '30s . . . fascism will be the tool—and Jews and blacks will be the victims.”

— Hope Stevens

Continued from preceding page

then, clearly, significant elements of the black community will take exception to that relationship. If one is serious then about an alliance between Jews and blacks, there would seem to me to be a very simple course. All Israel has to do is stop supporting South Africa, and blacks in America will flock into the shuls and synagogues tomorrow, saying *Shalom*.

IRA SILVERMAN: I was born after the war and after the Holocaust, but I came of age during the civil rights movement and that was where I learned about hatred and slavery and brutality—from the black experience. And it was in the movement that I learned the need to resist racism in all its forms—including anti-Semitism and anti-black racism. And it's for those reasons that I am so hurt by this conflict between blacks and Jews, who did work together and, I maintain, still have common interests. I've been stunned even

more painfully by outcroppings of racism in just these last few weeks; that is, anti-Semitism, expressed by some blacks, essentially in leadership positions, and by the vile statements about Jewish media owners and Jewish slumlords. Although I'm still pained and angry, I think it's possible to appraise the current situation constructively and to identify several steps which should be taken.

First, there's a need for public, forthright condemnation of racist and anti-Semitic statements, made by some members of both the black and Jewish communities, and there hasn't been that.

Second, our organized groups must return to their intergroup agenda and give those concerns primacy in our work. We blacks and Jews, of all people, must remain committed to working toward harmony and reduction of tensions within our society. We know what those kinds of tensions can yield, so we have to sharpen our expertise in conflict resolution, recog-

Slumlords and the Ghetto

HOPE STEVENS: Blacks perceive American Jews as having the same potential for victimization as blacks do themselves. At the same time, they have watched Jews adopt the most reprehensible attitudes with respect to the exploitation of blacks. Now, blacks generally expect hostility from white America but as soon as a Jew gives evidence of that kind of hostility, it becomes a sinful, inhuman expression. When a ghetto kid comes home from the store with a quart of milk and tells his mother that the Jewish storekeeper on the corner charged five cents more for it than the supermarket does, the mother's reaction is not, Oh, that horrid storekeeper, but, that horrid Jewish storekeeper. That's what happens in the human mind. Most blacks simply cannot see how the Jews can engage in acts of exploitation, given their own history.

MISHA AVRAMOFF: It's sort of interesting that the Jew is always in the middle. In Russia and in Poland, the landowners lived in St. Petersburg and Warsaw and it was the little Jew and his wife who used to collect the rents, so the peasants only recognized the Jew. And the Jew became the object of hostility.

Ten years ago, we were organizing a rent strike in a building that was owned by two slumlords—Goldstein and Shapiro. It wasn't until later that I found out that a lot of the property in the same neighborhood is owned by Columbia University and the Rockefellers. But most blacks don't know that. Most blacks only relate to the guy who comes to collect the rent—Goldstein, the little guy—not Rockefeller. Most poor blacks don't realize that the grocery store on the corner that charges five cents more than the supermarket is owned by a Jew who's trying to eke out his own living, and is in a situation where, unfortunately, he can't sell his business.

nizing that legitimate group interests often create conflicts.

And there is the third point. The Andrew Young controversy—which did not at heart have any racial quality—has, regrettably, obscured the fact that there are still many natural coalition issues and common interests between our groups. Jews and blacks remain the most liberal voters on almost all issues. We support almost the same candidates for political office, we endorse similar legislation. Jewish groups have consistently pushed for full employment, and voting rights for the District of Columbia. Black groups have a traditionally strong record of support for Israel. Both groups continue to oppose discrimination of any sort.

Next, there's a need to recognize both groups' international interests. Both blacks and Jews have been concerned with the issue of human rights—for Jews, for Arabs, for Africans, for all. To my knowledge, there's never been any intimation by Jews that blacks ought not to play an active role in these issues. Jewish groups, on the contrary, have encouraged blacks to play fair and responsible roles.

But, as I see it, association with murderous thugs like Yasir Arafat, can only sully the message of Martin Luther King. I think that has to be said, and, to reply to Roger, I say terrorism cannot be justified—ever. Not for any reason, not even to draw attention to just grievances.

And I say to Bill Strickland, watch out for unsupportable and irresponsible statements about Israel's relationship with South Africa, which is dwarfed by black Africa's trade relationship with that country.

I recognize the urge which blacks expressed to declare independence from their involvement with Jews. Roger, I think you are tall. I think blacks are tall. But we have to recognize as well the necessity of rebuilding our interdependence.

On that note and closing, I think it's appropriate to quote from Leonard Fein. He wrote in a recent article in *Moment* magazine: "It would have been nice . . . back when we were all singing 'We Shall Overcome' together, if we had managed to sing just a bit louder, loud enough to make the walls of injustice tumble down. We didn't, they wouldn't have. So now, a decade later, when instead of singing, we've begun to shout. You want to see who can shout the louder. Does that help?" I think it doesn't help, and I think we have to get on with our business of working together.

HOPE STEVENS: I'm not going to attempt the personal note. I'll merely say

that I'm foreign-born, I came to this city and entered high school at night when I was 26 years old. Eight years later, I was practicing law. Don't ask me how I got by the Regents, or the entrance examinations at City College. Don't ask me whether I didn't try to crib from the 14-year-old boy who sat next to me in that entrance examination and failed because he was writing too fast. Don't ask me how I got through law school without flunking. Don't ask me how I practiced law without knowing what a summons looked like, because no white firm would employ me as a clerk, and there were no black firms to employ me.

I'm not going to engage in statements with respect to my own opinions on the subject that has brought us here together. I think your interest is in the group attitudes that concern us, so I'm merely going to try to share with you some of the perceptions of black people with respect to the Jewish community.

Howard Moody has asked if the black-Jewish confrontation is real or concocted. I perceive it as being very, very real. I perceive it as being primarily an economic confrontation resting on the blacks' observation of the differential in Jewish and black social levels.

Now, the other question is, what is the relationship between this issue and our national policy, domestic and foreign? I perceive the attitude of blacks throughout America as becoming more and more concerned with what is happening in the Middle East—the relationship between Israel and the PLO, Israel and the Arab people. And I believe that many blacks perceive every Jew as a Zionist. Now, if that perception is as widespread as I believe it is, then the average member of the black community sees the average member of the Jewish community supporting Israel and committed to Israeli supply of weapons and ammunition to South Africa, where 20 million blacks are confronted by four million racist whites. When our press published that Israel was arming Somoza's troops in Nicaragua, and continues to arm the dictators of South America and Central America, blacks may ask whether Israel's foreign policy is one the blacks can approve. Further, they wonder to what extent they should view their brother and sister Jews in America as related to these activities.

Now, the other question is whether there is some common ground where blacks and Jews may find mutually sound positions. I say there is. Most blacks perceive Jews as victims, like themselves, of

Continued on page 76

Israel and South Africa

NATHAN PERLMUTTER: It's been a long time since I've heard Israel charged with helping South Africa develop a nuclear bomb. When we're being recorded for a newspaper, where's the evidence? Where has this been published? It's a lie, and it's a lie that has been made in front of 150 people and the transcript of *The Village Voice*.

WILLIAM STRICKLAND: The evidence? Testimony before a symposium on nuclear collaboration with South Africa sponsored by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid. I challenge *The Village Voice*, or any other organ, to write about the Israeli-South African connection, and anyone as knowledgeable as Mr. Perlmutter who tries to deny that nuclear relationship is himself a liar.

NATHAN PERLMUTTER: Certainly, there is a connection between Israel and South Africa. I so declare it. Four-tenths of one per cent of Israel's trade or, rather, South Africa's trade, is with Israel. But South Africa does eight times that amount with black African nations. My indignation is reserved for the insupportable statement that Israel is helping South Africa develop a nuclear bomb. Nobody's said there's no relationship. Insofar as any United Nations report is concerned, it should be remembered that this is the same organization that voted Zionism akin to racism. One would have to weigh the objectivity of a Communist and third-world dominated source of this kind.

WILLIAM STRICKLAND: We have conflicts but our discussion ought to be based on honesty, and you slipped a trick into the discussion. I didn't say anything about trade. Questions about trade relationships between Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana, and South Africa are irrelevant.

John Stockwell, former head of the CIA task force in Angola, has charged in his book *In Search of Enemies* that Israel provided military personnel and acted as a conduit for arms and finances in Angola and that it helped to move troops in that country. We're talking here about political and military assistance and collaboration between Israel and South Africa in the development of their own nuclear capacities, not trade relationships. The Arabs don't have the bomb and both the Israelis and South Africans do.

Editor's note: After extensive research, The Voice could not verify Mr. Strickland's assertion that Israel has helped, or is helping, South Africa develop a nuclear bomb.

Continued from page 74

America's racist society. Further, most of them see very little hope for a radical change in this society's ugly history of slavery and genocide against more than 30 million Africans extracted from their homeland—of which only some three million are recorded as having arrived on this side of the Atlantic. Blacks perceive American Jews as becoming, eventually, objects of the identical kind of oppression that blacks have had to regard as their own history here.

The responsibility of the Jewish leadership, then, is to recognize the need for more practical and effective communication with the black community. Because the other fellow, the majority in the white society, is looking on with glee as we fight each other. Why? Because when this economy really finds itself in trouble, the result is going to be the same as what happened in Europe in the '30s. Fascism is going to be the tool, and both blacks and Jews will be the targets unless we get wise to the situation, communicate, and resolve our problems.

NATHAN PERLMUTTER: I think Roger made a very compelling statement, a very beautiful statement, and I'm going to return to him because in some of the statements that Roger made lies the problem. But, first, I want to comment on the earlier question, is the rift between blacks and Jews real or concocted by the media. I think it's real enough, judging from the discussion so far.

But, still, I think that in part this crisis is the making of the media. I feel that in this debate the media has had a holiday because, to some extent, Jews and blacks are exotics in this society. There's something about us that is not out of a *Saturday Evening Post* illustration; consequently, there is this fascination with us getting at each other.

An NBC personality said to me six weeks ago, during the fallout from the Andy Young affair, "Why do you react to Jesse Jackson? Don't you know he's a media freak? If you react, you're just building him up." And I said, "Well, maybe, I don't know, we'll play it by ear." And, as this conversation concluded, he

said, "Oh, incidentally, if you're home Sunday, we've got Jesse Jackson on *Meet the Press*."

Not Vernon Jordan on *Meet the Press*, not Ben Hooks, not any one of dozens of black academics, but somebody who's good theatre. But you can't blame the media for focusing only on the spokesman who's good theatre.

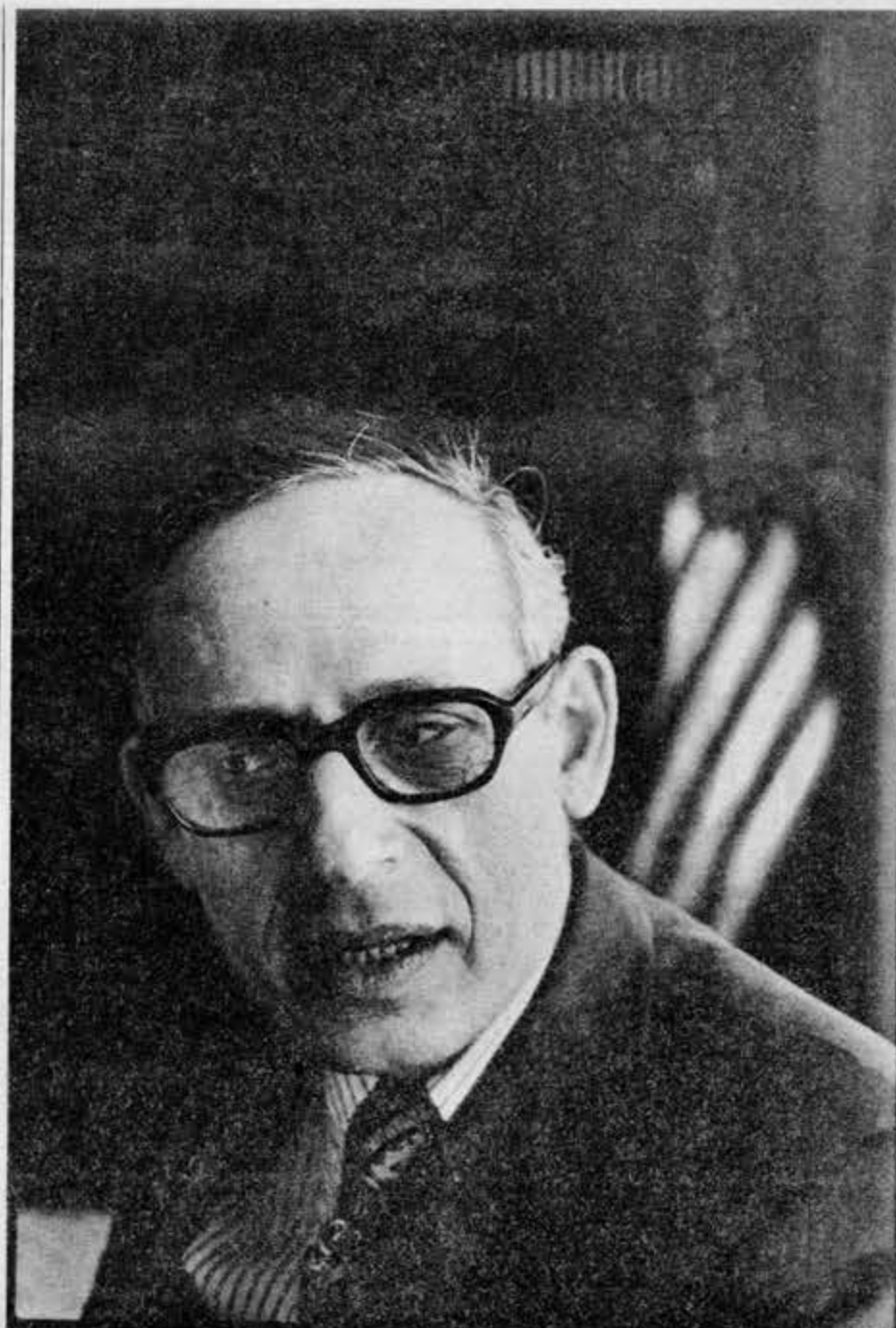
During the fallout from the Andrew Young resignation, many so-called black leaders came to me, saying, you're right, it's terrible, Jackson making speeches saying the Ku Klux Klan didn't bring the Bakke case, the Ku Klux Klan didn't bring the Weber case, the Ku Klux Klan doesn't do business with South Africa. You're right. He's appealing to raw anti-Semitism. And, I would say, why don't you say so? And the indication at that point was that it wasn't timely.

Increasingly in the last several weeks, I'm encouraged because I do see black churchmen sitting down, calmly, to find a common agenda and work on it. And I think the media may have played itself out in terms of focusing only on good theatre.

I said that in the statements that Roger Wilkins made, there is the problem. Listen to what Roger said. He talked about Jews that he's respected, Jews that he's loved. And then something happened in black-Jewish relationships, and he says, then came Shanker, and then came Podhoretz. That got to me—Norman Podhoretz is a good friend of mine—but that's irrelevant.

What on earth does Podhoretz's religion have to do with this? What if somebody sat there and made comments concerning the entire black community because of Jesse Jackson? You don't like Podhoretz? Don't like him. You don't like Shanker? Don't like him. But don't put them on to every Jew. If *Commentary* magazine had a circulation of one one-thousandth of the Jews in America, it would be doing pretty well.

The statement was made categorically, clearly, that these people—the Jews—are against affirmative action. That's nonsense. I'm the director of the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith and we filed in Weber and we filed in Bakke and we filed against the NAACP. But, as we



“ You don't like Podhoretz? Don't like him. You don't like Shanker? Don't like him. But don't put them on to every Jew. ”

— Nathan Perlmutter

see it, we filed against the quota system—not against affirmative action. Jewish organizations filed *amicus curiae* briefs in: *Brown v. Board of Education* and *Shelley v. Kramer*—the case involving the right of a black man to purchase a home.

From our perspective, we've been there all along. We're consistent. We're saying that the minute you set up a quota system based on race, at that moment you're making me less a human being.

That's what Ralph Ellison was talking about when he wrote *The Invisible Man*. Ellison's point was: When you meet me, you don't see the person in me, what you see is my color and you react to me accordingly. The whole point is to see a person as an individual. In the Bakke case we said the same thing as we did in *Brown*: Bakke has got a right not to be barred from a school because someone reacts to his color.

I know the NAACP's point of view on this. I respect it. I don't consider them anti-Jewish because they're on the other side. Reasonable people can differ, but what has happened in the last several weeks is a lot of criticism of Jews because we differed.

I want to go to other specifics. It was Roger who said when Young resigned that blacks have every right to talk about foreign policy. I don't know one spokesman in

the Jewish community, not a single one, who ever said black organizations have no right to speak to the issues of foreign policy, or to speak to the PLO.

We keep hearing that this is a "declaration of independence." Well, it may be a declaration of independence from self-imposed feelings about offending Jews. But no Jewish organization that I'm aware of has ever questioned the right of blacks to take a position on this—or any other—issue. But when a position has been taken, we have debated that position—as we will continue doing.

There is a Yiddish word: *Tsit*. A *Tsit* is like a pull, or a yank at the heart, and I felt it while William Strickland was talking about the Holocaust. I think it's outrageous to start talking about Jews not being the only ones to have suffered—the blacks have had it too. My God. How can such nonsense deprive us of our own feeling for our own people? This is more than ridiculous. It's obscene.

By way of answering the last question, is there a common ground, I say that there may not be a mutually felt common ground, but for our individual reasons, we may find ourselves continuing to stand side by side, on the political issues—welfare reform, income adjustment, health care—issues that count.