



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, 1961-1996.**

Series A: Union of American Hebrew Congregations, 1961-1996.

---

Box  
2

Folder  
9a

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 <sup>them</sup> 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 <sup>EEK</sup> ~~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 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 2½, 1, 2½, 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 NATHAN 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<sup>to</sup> 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." <sup>But</sup> And in so doing they have given <sup>sided with</sup> 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. <sup>legitimate</sup> 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

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES





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.



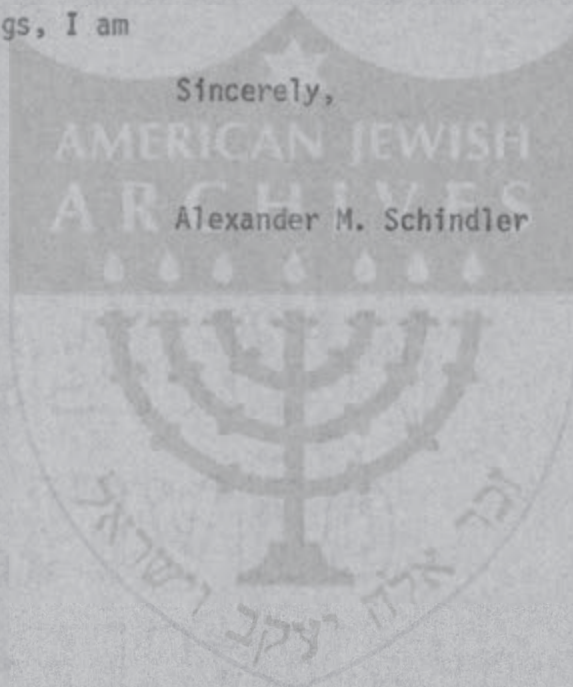
Jerome A. Cooper, Esq.  
September 13, 1979  
Page -2-

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,

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES  
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.

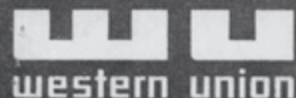
The essence of our plural democracy is that it encourages every group to express its views on whatever issues it chooses in accordance with its own values and judgments. It is out of such differing values, judgments and priorities that the temper of our society is forged.

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

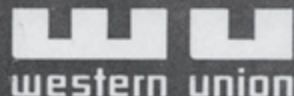
3123733366 TDBN CHICAGO IL 427 08-23 0437P EST

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 COMMITTEMENT 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



**western union**

**Telegram**

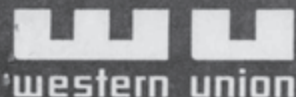
AND ESCALATION OF ACTS OF WAR AND POSSIBLY EVEN WAR ITSELF.

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

13:38 EST

MGMCOMP MGM

5241 (R1/78)



MAILGRAM

4-0328282005 0812479 108 IMPRINTS C&P NARR  
1 5155890100 NEW YORK NY 08-54 0121P EST

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATION ELM  
838 5TH AVE  
NEW YORK NY 10051

THIS MAILGRAM IS A CONTINUATION COPY OF THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE:

SIXTH FLOOR NEW YORK NY 10011-0001 1011P EST

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

FOR YOUR LOCAL NUMBER, SEE THE WHITE PAGES

OF YOUR TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

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

RABBI ALEXANDER M SCHINDLER, PRESIDENT  
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATION

1313A EST

MEMORANDUM



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-PL0 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 PL0 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 PL0. 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 PL0 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 forewear 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 Schindler  
Pres. VAHC  
838 Fifth Ave.  
New York N.Y. 10021

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

Thank 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



2.  
Sending along a copy in the event that  
you missed it. If Mr. Garam is a  
colleague or friend of yours, perhaps  
you can assist him.

Rabbi Schindler, since my young  
NFTY days and the Kagigah 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 NFTY 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

Edie -  
Tell them what we do -  
long sentence feature  
in N.Y. Times -  
Two successive  
issues of  
Time -  
Also Newsweek  
AS + VP, all  
over the  
country  
we  
do not  
have no  
volunteer  
route.

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



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 "Jew" 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, grateful, and unequivocal  
response to what is clearly anti-Semitic behavior.

Sincerely, Martin A. Poller

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 fric-

tion 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 UAHF. 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.

## AMERICAN JEWISH

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.

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."





איחוד  
ליהדות  
מתקדמת  
באמריקה

# Union of American Hebrew Congregations

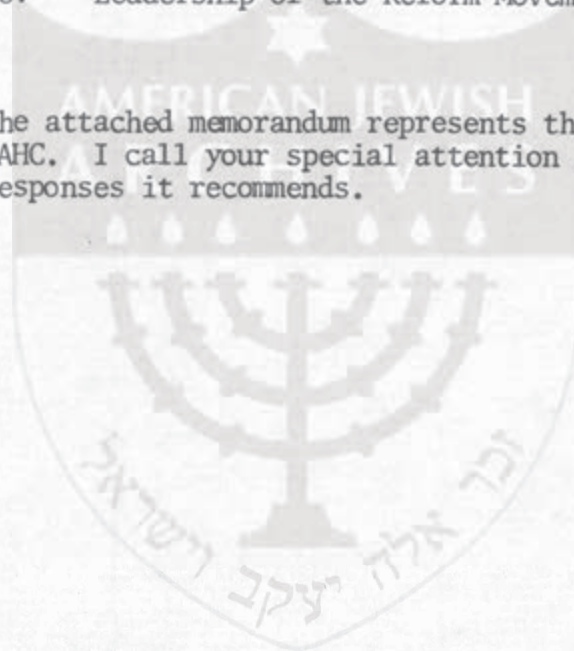
PATRON OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE—JEWISH INSTITUTE OF RELIGION  
838 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10021 (212) 249-0100 CABLES: UNIONUAHC

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 forswear 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



AMJ  
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.





*ack (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 "kosher," 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

*Kahan  
Gunn Ben-gurion*

*can*

## 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.

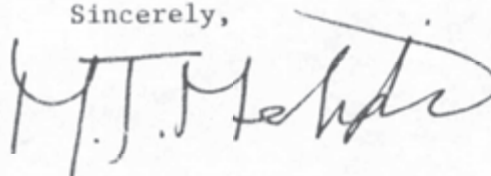
You may recall that Rabbi Schindler appeared on your program, July 20, 1985, exhorting Black leaders to "dissociate" themselves from remarks by Rev. Louis Farrakhan and others who might stimulate prejudice.

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

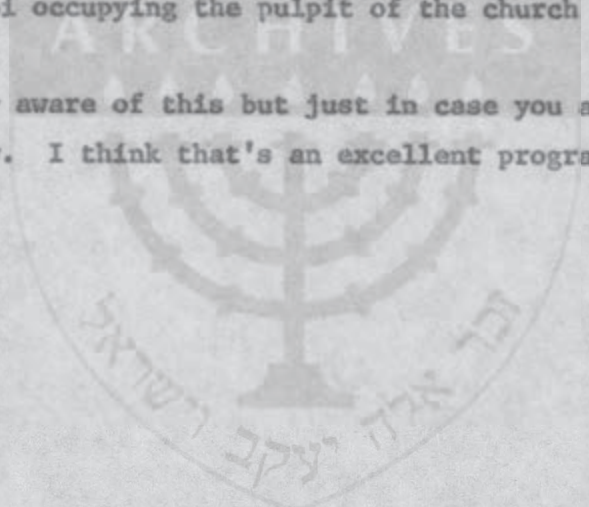
Albert Vorspan

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.



BL

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-semitic.

Michael Kelley

25 Eagle Ave  
#5E  
NY NY 10040