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

July 17, 1985

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

Dear Alex:

Thank you for your letter dated July 10.

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

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

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

All the best.

Sincerely,

  
Edward I. Koch  
Mayor

mg

cc: Morris Abram



July 10, 1985

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

Dear Mr. Mayor:

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

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

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

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

Cordially,

Alexander M. Schindler

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June 26, 1985

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

Dear Alex:

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

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

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

ack 9/8



Rabbi Alexander Schindler

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June 26, 1985

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

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

To you, my personal best.

Sincerely,



Morris B. Abram

pmf  
Enclosure

*Dear Alex -*

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



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

June 27, 1985

To Whom It May Concern:

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

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

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

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


Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

MEMORANDUM

*I thought this  
might interest  
you.*



*Barney Frank*

BARNEY FRANK  
FOURTH DISTRICT  
MASSACHUSETTS



OK-3  
June 25, 1985

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

Dear Mr. Frank:

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

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

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc. Joe Paul  
RC



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

□ 1310

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

□ 1320

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

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

Mr. PANETTA. I would be pleased to.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### ORDER OF BUSINESS

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

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

There was no objection.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There was no objection.

The statement and letter are as follows:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, DC, June 3, 1985.

Ms. LINDA CHAVEZ,

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

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

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



that I have asked you what evidence you have for it. Because I think this is a matter that ought to be fully aired publicly. I hope you'll be able to clarify for me the basis on which you made your anti-Semitism charge. Finally, if you feel you were not accurately or fairly quoted by The New York Times I would appreciate your letting me know that so that I will not be commenting myself on a comment which does not fully represent your views.

BARNEY FRANK.

### MY ADVICE TO THE PRIVILEGED ORDERS

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

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

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

□ 1330

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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June 28, 1985

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

Dear Morris:

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

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

Be well.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



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June 25, 1985

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

Dear ~~Rabbi Schindler~~: *Alex*

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

Some questions:

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

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

Rabbi Alexander Schindler

-2-

June 25, 1985

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

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

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

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

All my best, and with respect I am

Sincerely,



Morris B. Abram

pmf



May 30, 1985

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

Dear Peter:

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

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

בית אמת



**Beth Emet The Free Synagogue**

1224 Dempster Street  
Evanston, Illinois 60202  
312 869.4230

Peter S. Knobel, Rabbi  
David Polish, Founding Rabbi

May 28, 1985  
8 Sivan 5745

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

AMERICAN JEWISH  
ARCHIVES

Dear Alex:

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

Congratulations on continuing to fight the good fight.

Shalom,

Rabbi Peter S. Knobel  
psk:ag



B/L  
May 31, 1985

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

Dear Sam:

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

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

All good wishes and warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler

cc: Rabbi David Saperstein



*Black Jurose*

April 25, 1984

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

Dear Count Wojtanowski Chudzikiewicz:

Thank you for sharing your thoughts with me once again.

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



# FLORIDA Sunny Rock Farms

April 22, 1984

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

Dear Rabbi Schindler:

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

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

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

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

I remain,

Very truly yours,

*Wojtanowski Chudzi Kewicz*

Chunt Leopold Franciszek Wojtanowski Chudzikiewicz

WC/lfc



leader's edition

# keeping posted

דבר בעתו

VOLUME XXV NUMBER 1



## JEW AND BLACKS



# keeping posted

VOLUME XXV NUMBER 1 A PUBLICATION OF THE UAHC

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Vol. XXV, No. 1, October 1979.

## dear reader

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

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

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

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

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

## about our cover



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

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

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





# blacks and jews: friends or foes?

BY ALBERT VORSPAN

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

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

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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

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

## moral issues clear cut

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

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

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

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

## affirmative action

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





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

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

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

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

## the bakke case

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

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

## jews oppose quotas

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

community and the black civil rights organizations.

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

## need black doctors

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



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

## supreme court decides

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

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

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

## jews flee cities

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

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





## blacks now seen as competitors

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

## each group goes its own way

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

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

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

## stereotype blacks as pro-arab

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

## grounds for hope

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

Jewish ideals of social justice demonstrated at civil rights gathering.







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

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

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

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

### we both need allies

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

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



### what's wrong with jewish liberals



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

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

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

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



Do you think any malice towards blacks is intended?

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

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

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

have a place in any meaningful relationship with blacks.

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

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

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



keeping  
דבר בעתו  
posted

# JEW & BLACKS

## AN INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONTINUED ON PAGE 16

## EDITOR'S NOTE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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





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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a. Spring, 1963, *American Judaism*. "Jewish-Negro Relations: An Evaluation." Roy Wilkins rehearses the role of Jews from 1909, notes, "All this is not to say that Jews have been unanimous in aiding the Negro's cause. If they had been, they would be, indeed, superhuman. They have been human." Similarly, he notes, "In their great hurt and in their blinding frustrations, Negroes—humanly—are receptive to scapegoatism. They listen to and repeat the pat phrases of the anti-Semites among them and among some non-Jews with whom they come in contact." He concludes that "These two great minorities of similar experiences with proscriptions and oppressions cannot do other than come closer together in their common campaign for humanity." In short, a reasoned effort to explain away the first glimmerings of friction.

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

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

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

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





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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

their neighborhoods and businesses.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

tions.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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


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

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

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

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

What can you do in your community to find out?

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

## SESSION 3

## SESSION 4



God's universe.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

—Avot 1:3



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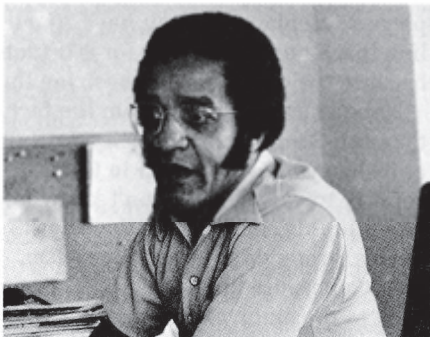
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Do you believe that the Zionism equals racism resolution that was passed in the UN has reinforced black anti-Semitism?



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

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



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

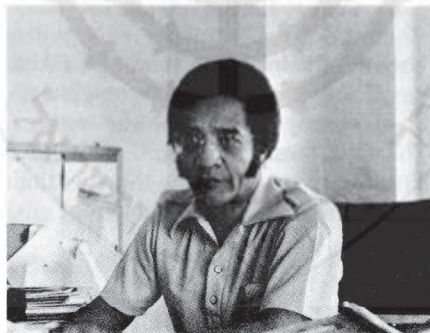
I didn't leave them out. I said any country. Now, we were talking about Israel. It's used against Jews in America. There's no Mozambique constituency in America to incur our anger. There are no Zambians here for us to get uptight about. But Jews are a very prominent part of the American landscape.



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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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



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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

## talking it out in santa cruz

BY DAN PULCRANO  
WITH LARRY GLASS

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

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

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

### something's not kosher between blacks and jews

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

### jews own the stores

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

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

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

We asked him if he had any questions

### ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

### are jews third world people?

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

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

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

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



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

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



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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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





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



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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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



# opinion poll shows widening rift

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

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

## negative stereotypes about jews

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

Percentage Agreeing with Statements

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

## mixed feelings about jews

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

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

Percentage Agreeing with Statements

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

## jews no longer in vanguard

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

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

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

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

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

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





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



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

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

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

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

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

John Osborne

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

## Andy Young's Undoing

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

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



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

After the *New York Times* published Young's statement that the US government knew almost immediately about his meeting with Terzi, Under Secretary of State Warren Christopher spent most of Sunday, August 19 getting Young to agree to a "denial." Christopher urged Young to admit that no transcript of the meeting circulated in Washington. But Young stubbornly refused, agreeing only that he would no longer comment on the substance of the report. In the end, the best the State Department could say was that Young "would not contradict" the official statement. The statement said: "After a careful check of the records of the State Department and of the United States Mission to the United Nations, we have determined that prior to August 11 there was no account available in the State Department of Ambassador Young's meeting with Mr. Terzi on July 26. There was information available on July 30 that on July 26 a suggestion was made that Ambassador Young meet with Mr. Terzi but not that a meeting had been agreed upon." That may sound like a flat denial, but it was not. One insider familiar with the drafting of official "non-denials" said that the statement had enough holes "to drive a truck through." Young neither confirmed nor denied the statement; he simply kept quiet, as he had agreed.

Young's problems with the State Department began long before his meeting with Terzi. Staid US diplomats regarded Young as a "loose cannon," not always willing to play by their rules. According to reliable department sources, this was certainly the case following the initial leak of his meeting with Terzi. Young told Assistant Secretary of State for International Organizations, William Maynes, the truth about the exact nature of the meeting when first questioned about it on August 11. But the State Department decided to cover up, to inform the public that Young had said his meeting with Terzi was accidental, only a "social" encounter similar to many other previous contacts with the PLO in the corridors of the UN. Even President Carter shook hands with a PLO official during the 1977 General Assembly. That was the precedent necessary to justify subsequent "social encounters." The State Department said that these meetings could not be viewed as "recognition" of or "negotiation" with the PLO, both of which are prohibited by US policy.

The entire matter probably would have blown over if Young—having told his bosses the truth—had gone along with the State Department's lie. Instead, for whatever reason, Young confided to the Israeli

ambassador at the UN, Yehuda Blum, that the "official" version was not true, that he had indeed discussed substantive issues with Terzi. Young probably suspected that the Israelis knew the truth anyhow. Once Young officially informed Blum of the truth, Blum was forced to report it to his government. Israel was left with no choice but to lodge an official protest against a violation of earlier US commitments to Israel not to deal with the PLO. If Young had kept his mouth shut, an Israeli source told me, the Israelis would have remained silent. The controversy probably would have remained minor. But once Young told the truth and the Israelis filed their protest, an embarrassed State Department had to issue another "corrected" explanation, admitting that Young had had substantive talks with Terzi. This led to Young's resignation, on the false premise that he had lied when originally asked about the meeting.

This explanation of who knew what when leaves open the question that has arisen in the weeks since August 11: Was Young himself bugged by either the Israelis or his own government? ABC News reported on August 29 that Young's Waldorf Astoria apartment had been bugged by US intelligence and that this is how American officials first learned that Young was planning to meet with Terzi. President Carter personally denied the report, saying that he had checked with the heads of all the various US intelligence agencies, but ABC said it had two sources and refused to admit error.

What makes these charges plausible is that there has been widespread suspicion and hostility toward Young in the American intelligence community, and concern about his "reliability," ever since he was appointed. In private, some intelligence officials even have raised the possibility that the ambassador posed a potential national security threat to the US government. They were most unhappy about some of the company he is said to have kept, especially a few of his earlier associates in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference thought to be former members of the Communist party. Intelligence officers even suspected "lingering associations" with the Russians, according to reliable US and other sources. This is in no way to suggest that Young was a national security risk; it only means that some of the old "pros" in the US intelligence community would have felt more comfortable with another American ambassador at the UN. Some agents at the FBI were naturally suspicious of Young, given his earlier involvement in the civil rights movement and their hostility to it. Young's series of controversial statements fueled the flames of suspicion in the intelligence community, where he was considered "anti-American." That was especially the case following the flap over Young's comparison of American "political prisoners" with those in the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, ever since the Young-Terzi meeting surfaced, Israel's intelligence service, the Mossad, has



received a lot of unfavorable attention in the American news media. First there was the report in the *Atlanta Constitution* that Israel had bugged the Young-Terzi meeting. Then there was a report in *Time* magazine that Israel regularly bugs all Arab missions at the UN. Finally *Newsweek* which first learned of the meeting, reported that "the Israelis routinely spy on their U.S. allies." *Newsweek* hinted that an Israeli source had provided the first information on the Young-Terzi rendezvous.

*Newsweek* quoted "former CIA agents" and "intelligence experts" as saying that the Mossad has "penetrations all through the U.S. government." It said:

*with the help of American Jews in and out of government, Mossad looks for any softening in U.S. support, and tries to get technical intelligence the Administration is unwilling to give Israel. 'Mossad can go to any distinguished American Jew and ask for his help,' says a former CIA agent. The appeal is a simple one: when the call went out and no one heeded it, the Holocaust resulted.*

That grave accusation, built on blind quotations, naturally upset Israeli officials, who strongly denied it. Raising the specter of Jewish dual loyalty—to the US and Israel—has long been a staple of the extreme right wing fringe, the John Birchers, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Liberty Lobby. But *Newsweek*? Are Harold Brown, Henry Kissinger, Robert Strauss, and dozens of other former and present senior US officials who happen to be Jewish really potential Israeli spies? Ridiculous. Several strategically placed Jews with access to information that could be very useful to the Israelis insist that they never have been approached by Israeli intelligence. If, in fact, some American intelligence agency had been overzealous in its surveillance work at the UN, the spate of articles about Israeli "espionage" in the US may well be part of a deliberate campaign of disinformation designed to cover up official illegal acts. *Newsweek*, in that case, was an unwitting party in the campaign.

*Newsweek* did not stop there. "Israel is not likely to use its information against the US, but CIA officials still think Mossad's US operations threaten American security. One intelligence source says that what data the Soviets can't get in the US, 'they steal back from the Israelis.'" That accusation outraged intelligence officials of both Israel and the US. "Israel's intelligence services are probably as secure as—if not more than—our own," one US intelligence official told me. He said the Soviets are much more likely to get American information from the French and the West Germans. US and Israeli intelligence sources could not recall one incident in which important US information in Israeli hands—legitimately or not—was ever compromised.

The US-Israeli intelligence relationship is a paradox. On the one hand, there is extensive cooperation, with information exchanges flowing on both sides. CIA officials in Israel and Mossad agents in the US are "declared" to their host governments, according to an

agreement similar to the ones that exist between Washington and other NATO allies. "Almost everything we need from the Americans, we get above board," an Israeli source said. "The same is true on the other side. We would have to be crazy to risk that type of relationship by opening covert operations against each other's government."

At the same time, however, the relationship between the US and Israeli intelligence communities has gone through various stages. During the height of the 1975 US "reassessment" of policy toward Israel, for example, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger reportedly spread the word to "cool it" with Israel. There were discussions in the intelligence community about starting clandestine operations against Israel. After some serious consideration, that idea was dropped.

Today, according to sources on both sides, the relationship is not as good as it used to be. This appears to be the result of serious differences on the major political issues involved in the search for a comprehensive Middle East peace settlement. There are mutual suspicions that the other side may be moving too far, beyond the agreed limits of intelligence operations in each other's country. Both sides have done some foolish things in recent years. The suspicions today are manifested in several ways: when an Israeli diplomat turns on his radio to a rock 'n' roll station during a private meeting in his embassy office; or when a senior US official accompanying President Carter to Jerusalem's King David Hotel passes notes to a visitor, apparently afraid that his room is bugged. Such strange behavior must result from real fears.

Israel's intelligence services are good, but they are not as great as the popular mythology would have us believe. There have been some notable successes, but also some terrible failures—the most painful being the misreading of Egyptian and Syrian intentions on the eve of the 1973 war. "For Israel to be doing a tenth of what the press would have us believe," a US official said last week, "they would need the budget and manpower of the CIA and KGB combined. They just don't have those capabilities." The Israelis are partially to blame for their own bad publicity today because they sometimes glorified their intelligence successes, such as the capture of Adolph Eichmann.

President Carter said in Atlanta on August 30 that there was nothing "abnormal" about Israeli intelligence in the US. "All countries have some form of intelligence operations in other countries," he said. "And it consists of collections of data, interviews with private citizens, perusal of news media, and also some secret devices. But there are boundaries of legitimacy and I think the Israelis honor those boundaries, just as we do." On the next day, Carter dismissed reports that the Israelis had bugged Young's apartment in New York. "There is no way for me to certify to that kind of thing," he said, "in our key spots—like the Oval Office and the ambassador's residence—there is a routine sweep



the surreptitious listening devices and my guess is that if any nation should try to bug the telephone or the premises of the UN ambassador, it would be detected quite early and there have been no detections of any such devices."

## Wolf Blitzer

*Wolf Blitzer is Washington correspondent for the Jerusalem Post.*

Drug traffic makes it the only country with a negative black market in dollars.

## Colombian Gold

The illicit flow of marijuana and cocaine to the United States from Colombia, which is the principal supplier to the American market, is now at an all-time high and still rising. But the Congress in Washington stubbornly denies the Colombians serious help in combating this traffic, and the Carter administration seems too timid to insist on minimally adequate funds.

Illegal drugs from Colombia fetch around \$45 billion annually in street sales in the US. But Congress is haggling over whether a maximum of four million dollars or six million dollars, either way an absurdly niggardly sum, should be given to Colombia next year to help buy military and police equipment to try to hold back this avalanche of narcotics. Congress already has done away with a proposal by Representative Benjamin S. Rosenthal, Democrat of New York, for \$16 million on the grounds that it was too much. And the Carter administration, which originally requested only a modest \$2.2-million program for Colombia, is sitting on its hands.

Considering that the US spends close to one billion dollars annually on drug enforcement in this country, congressional reluctance to go to the roots of the problem—the massive smuggling from Colombia—is a stunning example of penny-wise, pound-foolish budgeting.

To be sure, the Colombian drug traffic to the US is so large and the resources of the narcotics entrepreneurs in both countries are so great, including political clout in Colombia and the ability to acquire tiny Caribbean islets for trans-shipment purposes, that this fantastic business cannot be wholly eradicated so long as the demand for marijuana and cocaine in this country remains at its present high level. But an important dent in the traffic could be made if the Colombian authorities, who only last year began a serious effort to curtail the illegal flow, were better equipped to carry out their operations. What Colombia needs are coast guard vessels, aircraft, helicopters, vehicles,

communications gear, and fuel. Clearly these needs cannot be met from the \$1.3 million provided by the US in fiscal 1978 and the two million dollars in fiscal 1979.

Colombian president Julio César Turbay Ayala and his defense minister, General Luis Carlos Camacho Leyva, made these complaints to me recently in Bogota. Camacho Leyva has assigned the second brigade of the Colombian army to the anti-drug campaign in northern Colombia although he desperately needs troops to handle leftist guerrilla forces elsewhere in the nation. Both Turbay and Camacho Leyva were also at a loss to understand why the US, with its air and naval might, appears unable to prevent hundreds of smugglers' boats and aircraft from entering American territory with narcotics cargoes.

US Drug Enforcement Administration agents in Colombia (there are only 12 plus one pilot in the whole country) agree with Colombian complaints about insufficient US aid. At the same time, they have no illusions about breaking the back of the overall problem unless the Turbay government manages to smash the politically powerful drug-smuggling networks in Colombia and the Carter administration finds a way of dealing meaningfully with drug-related organized crime groups in the US.

The Colombian government, the DEA, and other law enforcement agencies in the US intercept no more than 10 percent of marijuana and cocaine smuggled—most by sea, but also by air—from Colombia to the US. Marijuana, the "Colombian Gold" (said to be inferior in quality only to the Hawaiian "Koni"), is grown all over Colombia's northern region. Lately new marijuana plantations have sprung up in the south and on the Pacific coast to evade military interdiction campaigns. Cocaine, originating from coca leaf grown in Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, is shipped to the US through Colombia, where laboratories transform it into paste and powder. The latest addition to Colombian drug exports are fake Quaalude pills, a frequently abused sedative, produced in the country from raw materials brought illegally from Western Europe.

The DEA calculated that 75 percent of US marijuana consumption is currently supplied by Colombia. Mexico has lost its former primacy because of the use of the paraquat herbicide on its fields, something the Colombians will not allow on the grounds that marijuana grows mixed with food crops. This means that close to 20,000 tons of Colombian "grass" is smuggled into America each year. Its street resale price here stands around \$24 billion. Over 60,000 pounds of cocaine a year from Colombia, worth more than \$22 billion, is also smuggled into the US.

Late in August, the police in Florida seized a 206-pound shipment of uncut cocaine (valued by the DEA at \$50 million) in what was described as the biggest bust in US history. It had been flown aboard a twin-engine aircraft from northern Colombia to Florida's Okeechobee county. General Camacho Leyva told me that between last October, when the army campaign



# The Uses of Suffering

By Julius Lester

And so, Jews are being used as scapegoats again.

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

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

I don't recall angry pronouncements from black leadership when 18 Jews were killed at Qiryat Shemona by Palestinian terrorists. I don't remember black hands held out in sympathy when 20 Jewish children were murdered at Ma'alot, where Palestinians held a school of children hostage. When 31 Jews were killed in a Palestinian attack on a bus, black leadership did not gather before the television cameras and microphones to say, "No! No! No! Not another Jew can be murdered on this earth."

Because blacks have been silent while Jews continued to be murdered, I am appalled that they dare come forward now to self-righteously lecture Jews to "show more sensitivity" when black leadership is guilty of ethnocentric insensitivity. Arrogance is, however, a common fault of oppressed people when they believe that their status as victims gives them the advantage of moral superiority. But morality is not found in lecturing others on morality. Morality is painfully earned by constant awareness of one's own limitations, mistakes, and fragile humanity.

Morality comes by constantly adjuring oneself, and not others, to "show more sensitivity."

It is the absence of sensitivity to point the finger at Israel's relations with South Africa when black leadership has failed to

exemplify the least concern about the oppression of Soviet Jewry. How dare black leadership thrust itself into foreign affairs on the issue of Palestinian rights after failing to take an interest when Jews were fighting against the expiration of the statute of limitations on Nazi war crimes in West Germany! The lack of black sensitivity on matters of deep and abiding concern to Jews has wounded Jews as much as Jewish opposition to affirmative action has wounded us.

However, black leadership not only wraps itself in a cloak of moral excellence, it goes further and chooses sides in the Mideast conflict. I shouldn't have been surprised by this, because, as Reverend

*Morality is not found in lecturing others. Morality is painfully earned.*

Wyatt Tee Walker expressed it, "The Palestinians are the niggers of the Middle East." Such a statement is sickeningly obscene. Any pro-Palestinian sympathies I might have had died in Munich when 11 members of the Israeli Olympic team were murdered. But maybe blacks have become so Western that we don't think it is "to the best interests of the black community" to care that there are still people in the world who want to kill Jews because they are Jews. But who in the course of Western civilization has ever cared when Jews were killed? Why, then, should blacks be different?

Not being different, black leadership takes its stand for "human rights and self-determination for Palestinians." This sounds reasonable, but something deep within me says that it is wrong to talk about Palestinian human rights as long as Israeli children live with the prospect of death at Palestinian hands. How can black leadership even think about self-determination for people who attack chil-

dren? To do so implicitly condones the murder of children.

Black leadership should know about the murder of children, or have we forgotten the four children murdered in that Birmingham church in 1963? And surely we've forgotten that at the memorial services and rallies after the bombing, it was Jews, more so than other Americans, who stood beside us and shared our pain. Black leadership insults this very real part of black history, not to mention insulting Jews, when it says that Jewish support for the black struggle was given when it was "in their [Jews] best interest to do so." No, that is not true, because those Jews who supported, worked, and died in the civil rights movement remembered in their souls the pogroms in Russia, the Holocaust, the dying that is so constant in Israel, and because they remembered, they made our struggle a part of their lives.

That Jews have not supported affirmative action does nothing to negate this. But this does not seem good enough for black leadership, which takes the position that the support Jews gave in the past is to be denigrated now. I cannot understand why black leadership lacks the simple humanity to express gratitude for past support, as well as the anger we feel now in the face of Jewish conservatism. Instead, black leadership has acted as if Jews were responsible for Andy Young's resignation. I thought Andy was responsible for that, and, with great dignity, he explained that he needed to be free to speak as he wished. But, as Western history amply demonstrates, whenever something goes wrong it is easy to blame the Jews.

By so doing, black leadership has shown itself to be morally barren. By its support of the Palestinians, it exemplifies a callousness of spirit to the meaning of the Holocaust, because when six million Jews are killed while the world is indifferent, the right of Israel to exist is unassailable. That is the only reasonable position I think one can have on the Middle East. Is black leadership unable to perceive that the world is still indifferent

to the lives of Jews? We shouldn't be, because that same world is indifferent to black lives. Are we unable to see that the position of Jews in the world has not changed significantly since World War II? And what I hear in the self-righteousness of black leaders is, very simply, we don't give a damn.

The irony is that this new expression of anti-Semitism was spearheaded by the organization founded by Martin Luther King, Jr.—the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Dr. King has been dead only 11 years, but when I listen to his SCLC successors, it is hard to believe that Dr. King ever lived.

I have missed him these past weeks, because, for all my political disagreements with him, he helped me understand that though I suffer by virtue of my race, I cannot indulge that suffering. Neither can I use suffering to crown myself with a tiara of moral superiority. I must learn to carry that suffering as if it were a long-stemmed rose I offer to humanity. I do that by living with my suffering so intimately as to never forget that, having suffered evil, I must be careful not to do something that will, as Dr. King put it, "intensify the existence of evil in the universe." Because I have suffered as a black person, I do not succumb to the thrill of making others suffer. I look at my own suffering and say, let this inhuman suffering end here.

How quickly, how effortlessly those who knew and worked with Dr. King have forgotten that he taught that "all life is interrelated," that "all humanity is involved in a single process, and to the degree that I harm my brother, to that extent am I harming myself," and that "creation is so designed that my personality can only be fulfilled in the context of community."

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

Am 5



...for decades... independent identity. They... at the center of strife in Iraq and... as well as in Iran. It once served this... country's — and the shah's — interest to encourage Iraqi Kurds in their guerrilla war. But great power calculations changed, and the Kurds were the losers.

Most Americans know little of the intricacies of this ancient quarrel. What they see is a repressive Iranian regime in a civil war against a stubbornly independent people. If the Bazargan government has made generous

the... wise... imagine the... tap. And still... to penalize this country by selling their oil elsewhere, the world market would soon meet the shortfall by shifting allocations. The oil weapon has two edges in Iran today and that is a cold-blooded reality that even Carter seems to have forgotten.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Who Did Andrew Young In?

Twelve days ago, Rep. Parren Mitchell, D-Md., a former chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus, observed that "out on the streets, the perception, the feeling is that the Israeli government went out of its way to embarrass and humiliate a black man . . . The feeling is that somebody did Andy Young in. And when you ask who did him in, the people say the Israelis."

\* \* \*

The same feeling boiled up in different words last week among the leaders of black organizations at a meeting to examine how "the successful demand for the resignation of Ambassador Andrew Young has in fact further damaged an already unhappy relationship between the American Jewish organizational spokesmen and the rank and file and the leadership of American blacks."

Who did Andrew Young in?

The answer is Jimmy Carter. The next question is why — but the president has not answered it. And in his failure to do so he has let stand, and even grow, the impression among blacks that Young had to be removed from office to appease American Jewish supporters of Israel.

It was not hard for that impression to take root. Long before the Young affair, deep differences opened between black groups and some Jewish organizations over affirmative action and quotas. That these same groups had marched side by side in the civil rights movement has made the division that much more dramatic and painful.

Then, when Young came under fire early this month, a Zionist leader demanded his resignation in heated, condescending language. Israel protested the violation of U.S. Middle East policy he told its own ambassador about. And blacks found it hard to understand why a black ambassador who meets with the PLO in New York is removed while a Jewish ambassador who meets with the PLO in Vienna isn't even scolded.

From what is known about the Young affair, it appears that the reason for Young's departure was not that he violated U.S. policy by meeting with the PLO, nor that Israel protested this violation, as it had every right to do. The resignation, quite evidently, was spurred by the way Young tried to cover himself inside his own government and by his unwillingness to accept either his country's Middle East tactics or the discipline that goes with carrying out a foreign policy.

But the public needs a more authoritative answer than "it appears" and "quite evidently" — and there is someone who can supply it. It might be thought that the president, as a Democrat presumably running for re-election, would have a strong interest in offering that explanation and trying to ease relations between two groups vital to the Democratic coalition. It might be thought that, as president, he would have a strong interest in preventing poisonous racial and religious discord. But the days go by, the passions spread and President Carter keeps his silence.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## International Opinion

### Autos in East

Communist planners... automobiles low priority... superiority of mass... water

### Young: Backfires on Carter?

President Carter's sacrifice of Andrew Young has had precisely the opposite effect from that presumably intended. It has strengthened the PLO by giving it... important lob

## The Jer

LOS ANGELES — Back East hardly anyone takes Gov. Edmund (Jerry) Brown Jr. seriously as a presidential candidate. He is too odd, people say — too flaky, in the current phrase. His attacks on deficit spending and opposition to nuclear power will offend labor and other mainstream Democratic voters. Political troubles at home in California will hobble him.

Large debts should not be placed on those assumptions. Gov. Brown is a shrewd and determined political man. By all signs he is wholly committed to the presidential challenge. He has talented people working on what is called his "exploratory committee" but is in fact gearing up for the long haul to the convention.

### Contradictory

Most important, he has a package of ideas for the campaign. Talking with him here in his Los Angeles office, I found him more intent than in previous encounters on constructing an understanding platform. He still threw out ideas a minute, but this time was a real attempt to put together a coherent framework — one that will work in national politics.

"We're going to have to down the ship in order to... it," Brown said at one point. The sentence caught the way he connected two seemingly contradictory themes: that government is doing too much, and that it needs heavy new investments, much of it from the government.

For 20 years after... Gov. Brown said, government was finally... economic growth. Now... virtually stopped... monetary policy... changed to... keep spending... pumping... private... public... with... qu





# Union of American Hebrew Congregations

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## NEWS RELEASE

Contact: Richard Cohen  
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For Immediate Release

RABBI SCHINDLER DEPLORES BLACK LEADERS DECLARATION  
AS 'NEEDLESS AND COUNTER-PRODUCTIVE' TO A DIALOGUE;  
END THE DEMAGOGUERY, LET'S START TALKING, HE URGES

Commenting on the statement issued by Black leaders in New York Wednesday, Rabbi Alexander M. Schindler, president of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, composed of 750 Reform Jewish synagogues in the United States and Canada, said today (Thursday, Aug. 23):

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

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

"It is time to stop the rhetoric and to resume talking. Our two communities share many deep common values in the quest for social justice. Let us end the demagoguery and get back to work."

X X X



TEN QUESTIONS AND COMMENTS ABOUT THE  
ANDY YOUNG AFFAIR AND THE BLACK-JEWISH FALLOUT

1.

1. WHY DID ANDY YOUNG DO WHAT HE DID.....MEET WITH THE PLO, LIE TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT ABOUT IT AND THEN RESIGN? WAS HE SET UP BY THE STATE DEPARTMENT?

It's possible, but not likely, that Young was set up. It is true that the United States government - not just Young - was girding for a shift in policy toward the PLO; and a superior might have signalled him to go ahead and meet with Terzi. But it is not likely that he was set up deliberately. More likely, his many enemies in the State Department, appalled at his innumerable gaffes over the years, saw an unexpected opportunity to unload a chronic embarrassment.

Andy Young has become notorious as a soloist - saying and doing his own thing. He has long felt that refusing to have any contacts with the PLO is ridiculous, that the Palestinian question is at the heart of the dispute, that one cannot deal with the Palestinians without dealing with the PLO. His obsession with involving the Popular Front in Rhodesia in the negotiations there, in the belief that peace without the guerillas is illusory, is directly analagous to his views on the Middle East crisis. Some commentators have suggested that the Administration agrees and wanted Young to do the heavy lifting as a private citizen.

2. DID THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ORCHESTRATE THE BLACK-JEWISH CONFRONTATION?

Perhaps. When Young resigned, the White House painted a picture of weeping and mourning at the White House, together with a gratuitous warning about its negative impact on black-Jewish relations. It was a self-fulfilling prophecy. What had black-Jewish relations to do with a United States ambassador being let go for rank insubordination and for deceiving his own government? To make it



worse, the television network news reported that an unidentified White House official had said, "Those Jews will never be satisfied until President Carter himself jumps off a cliff to prove his devotion to Israel." If this was not an incitement to bigotry, it was at least pouring fuel on an artificial ethnic issue which, once it started to blaze, obscured the central fact that President Carter had sacked the top black in his administration. Indeed, it is more than interesting that Young never expressed anger at Carter; that the black community lashed out at the Jews, not at the President; and that - to this moment - the White House has watched with cool and detached neutrality as a dangerous and inflammable clash escalated between blacks and Jews, two vital elements in the President's support system. It is a puzzle.

### 3. DID AMERICAN JEWS ACTUALLY DEMAND YOUNG'S HEAD?

The answer is NO. There were dozens of Jewish statements issued the day the media revealed that Young had met with the PLO. They were uniformly angry and heated, but - with only one exception - they did not deal with Young personally, but with what they regarded as a symptom of a blatant shift in American policy toward the PLO, in clear violation of treaty commitments the United States made to Israel. The UAHC statement, for example, noted Young's long record of "steadfast support for Jewish causes" and suggested he was a "fall guy" for Administration machinations. A prominent Zionist leader made a bitter and condescending demand for Young's firing. The Jewish umbrella groups, on the other hand, carefully avoided such a demand, in part, precisely to avoid any exacerbation of black-Jewish conflict.

### 4. WHY DID ISRAEL BLOW THE WHISTLE AND PROTEST? DIDN'T THEY KNOW IT WOULD UNHORSE ANDY YOUNG?



It would be interesting - but impossible - to know whether Israeli leaders paused to consider the repercussions of their protest in terms of a black-Jewish explosion and especially in terms of Young's pointed warning to Israeli Ambassador Blum that an Israeli formal protest would lead to the creation of a Palestinian lobby in the United States. The likelihood is that the Begin government was so determined to nip in the bud the subterranean tilt toward the PLO that it did not give serious thought to the consequences of its protest. Begin's government is to public relations what Young is to diplomatic protocol. In any case, Young's warning proved accurate; in the firestorm, Israel's position has eroded further and the PLO has gained the bonanza of a new respectability and a constituency within the United States itself! In retrospect, Israel could have found a less costly way to expose U. S. flirtations with the PLO, such as the series of contacts by Ambassador Wolf, our ambassador to Austria, with the PLO in collusion with Austrian President Kriesky.

5. IS ANDY YOUNG LIKELY TO BECOME THE PIED PIPER OF THE PALESTINIAN CAUSE?

Yes. Young seems determined to justify the initiative which cost him his position. No single individual in the world now has his authority and clout on the Palestinian issue. It is not animus toward Israel which moves him. He sincerely believes that Israel's frozen stance prevents peace and immobilizes the United States. In his messianic and prophetic self-image, Young may be shooting for the PLO-Israeli breakthrough which, he may believe, could earn him the Nobel Peace Prize. Overnight, he mobilized the black leadership in this struggle. He has extraordinary credibility in the Christian world (he is a minister) and in the Third World. Young will not be the old soldier who simply fades away. He is a political force. Freed from even the marginal restraints his official post imposed upon him, he will become a solo unguided missile of potentially great



power. Whether the Carter Administration calculated it this way or not - its chronic ineptitude suggests otherwise - it will undoubtedly use Young now as its point man with the PLO.

6. WILL THE BLACK COMMUNITY PROVE A SIGNIFICANT POLITICAL FORCE FOR THE PALESTINIANS?

Yes and no. Nothing could be more remote from the profound issues of daily life - unemployment, inflation, slums, crime, welfare reform - which bedevil ordinary blacks in America (led by an administration which has largely turned its back on black suffering). For poor blacks, the condition of the United States today is nothing less than a major depression. The suggestion that ordinary blacks will sustain the concern and the stamina to press the Palestinian cause, as American Jews do the Israeli cause, stretches belief. The argument that blacks are first to suffer from an Arab boycott is really an argument for challenging the stranglehold of OPEC, not for sanctifying PLO terrorism. (An official in Kenya said the other day that the Arabs once sold blacks into slavery; today they are strangling black Africa with the noose of OPEC's cartel.) Some cynical black leaders may smell the scent of Arab oil money; others may be intoxicated by the sudden attention of the media. (The SCLC, for example, was virtually bankrupt and dead in the water when it seized upon the PLO lifeline.) Others, no doubt genuinely, see the Palestinians as another oppressed minority. But the leap from the Palestinian people to the bloody-minded PLO is a leap from, for example, the NAACP to the Black Panthers. If even the leaders of the black community betrayed an understandable ignorance of the complex dynamics of the Middle East, it is not surprising. How would Jewish or Italian or Polish leaders do as overnight experts on the murderous complexities of Northern Ireland or



Namibia? And if the leaders are bewildered, ordinary blacks are certain to be mystified, if indeed they pay the Middle East any mind at all.

7. WHAT HAS BEEN THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA?

Mixed, with an inclination toward incendiary over-simplifications. The day Young was caught with his hand in the cookie jar, *The New York Post* hit the streets with a shrieking, two-word headline: "FIRE HIM!" The *Post* tried to back up its inflammatory headline with the statements of Jewish leaders, but the headline spoke for publisher Murdoch, not Jewish leaders, most of whom demanded no such thing. Indeed, when *Post* eager-beaver reporters called around to rustle up supporting statements, they had the chutzpah to tell at least one spokesman to make his statement stronger. One demagogic black leader, citing the *Post* journalistic mugging, told Jewish leaders that "the *Post*, of course, is Jewish." Murdoch is a WASP from Australia.

8. WHAT HAS ALL THIS DONE TO BLACK-JEWISH RELATIONS?

It has brought an already irritated and tense relationship to the breaking point. Attached is the statement issued by black leaders, together with the responding statement of the NJCRAC and a separate statement by the UAHC. Blacks managed to turn their agony over Young's fall into a needless public confrontation between blacks and Jews. The tone of the actual conference was much uglier than the final statement. A bitter litany of anti-Jewish grievances swept aside the voices of moderation and reconciliation. It might have been good therapy; it was hardly conducive to dialogue and the spirit of consultation black leaders called for. Public dumping on Jews (even for Israel's policy on South Africa, over which American Jews have about as much say as American blacks do about the closet reality that most black African nations trade with hated South Africa -



under the table) only embitters the Jewish community. Clearly the PLO was merely a symbolic excuse for an attack on Jews. The only winners from this artificial clash in America are the hard-liners in both communities where the events are seen as confirmation by the elements of both communities who would like to withdraw from the long-standing relationship between blacks and Jews. The Jewish Defense League has already made its predictable noises about turning the hand of friendship into a Jewish fist.

9. THEN WHY DID THE BLACKS FOLLOW THIS COURSE? WAS THERE NO VALIDITY TO THEIR GRIEVANCES AGAINST JEWS?

Once all black leaders were assembled in the frenzied atmosphere of the fracas, it could only be a field day for the demagogues. Don't be deceived by the self-serving statements of black leaders congratulating themselves on the unity and coherence of the conference, the new declaration of independence, the watershed of maturity, etc. Privately, some of these same self-congratulators were appalled and alarmed by the anti-Jewish thrust and its implications for the future.

Of course, the bill of particulars against the Jewish community was not a total misfire. American Jews do tend to become over-emotional on Israel, sometimes equating dissent with anti-Semitism. The issue of affirmative action, of course, was the tenderest nerve for blacks - and for some Jews, too. Black leaders were right - in my judgment - in blaming Jewish organizations for high-profile public and excessively hyperbolic campaigns against affirmative action programs which blacks see as indispensable to racial justice. A few Jewish defense agencies have whipped up a lather of passion against certain types of affirmative action (quotas). There was not sufficient consultation between blacks and Jews on the DeFunis, Bakke and Weber cases.



But it is also the case that some Jewish groups supported the black community on the DeFunis case (UAHC and NCJW). Many stayed out of Bakke so as not to exacerbate black-Jewish tensions. All but one (ADL) decided NOT to oppose civil rights forces on the voluntary program challenged by Weber. The UAHC, at its last biennial assembly (which was addressed by NAACP's Ben Hooks), voted overwhelmingly to endorse goals and time-tables in the advancement of affirmative action. Moreover, fixed quotas are rejected not only by all Jewish groups; they are also opposed by an overwhelming majority of Americans, including (according to all polls) a high proportion of blacks and other minorities.

10. ARE BLACKS AND JEWS NOW DESTINED TO BE FOES? IS THE OLD COALITION DEAD?

No. Despite monumental abrasions, healing conversations will inevitably resume after a period of reassessment. Political events will push blacks and Jews together because - despite everything - the two communities have more common interests than any other two communities in America. They recently joined in beating back electoral reform. They share a commitment to economic progress, full employment, governmental initiative to aid the poor, civil rights and opposition to the emergent right-wing and Proposition 13 conservatives. They vote alike, as evidence in their Carter support in 1976, and they will coalesce despite all the posturing and demagoguery of their leaders. Will the black caucus in Congress boycott its Jewish allies? Why did not black leaders blast the Italians, the Poles, other ethnic groups? Are they notably sympathetic to affirmative action, government programs for job development, universal health insurance, integration? No. Singling out Jews for excoriation may look like anti-Semitism (and in some cases it is); it is even more an expression of the ambivalent love/hate relationships one knows in one's own family. And the deeply injured reaction of Jews is not anti-black (though in some cases it is), but the pain of a loved one, an ally, a disappointed friend who has been publicly rebuked in a fit of pique.



This, too, shall pass. Black-Jewish relations may never be as good as we romantically pretend they once were. But they will resume after a needed cooling off period -- differently, to be sure. More measured, less instinctive, more grounded in self-interest, frank, tough. But in a deep historic and ethical sense, our two communities are joined at the hip. We can - and do - flail at each other in moments of crisis, but we have to live with each other, like it or not.







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# Union of American Hebrew Congregations

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

## NEWS RELEASE

Contact: Richard Cohen  
(212) 758-6969 For Immediate Release

### STATEMENT BY RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER, PRESIDENT, UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

It is important to set the record straight regarding Andrew Young.

1/ The Jewish community did not call for his resignation. I know of only a single Jewish leader who did so; that was his right. But the major umbrella group which speaks for the Jewish community on these matters -- the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations -- did not do so.

2/ Andrew Young's color had nothing to do with his appointment as U.N. Ambassador, his service at the United Nations, or his resignation. Consequently, there is no reason for any so called "tension" between the Jewish and Black communities arising out of this issue. Indeed, Andrew Young has been a steadfast friend of Jewish causes from his earliest days in the Civil Rights Movement. Those who speak of such tensions do a disservice to harmonious Black-Jewish relations.

3/ The concern for Black-Jewish relations should not be allowed to obscure the central issue: the State Department's policy that seeks to cosmetize the PLO and transform this terrorist gang into a fit negotiating partner in the Middle-East peace talks. Four years ago Secretary of State Henry Kissinger made a solemn commitment that the United States would not recognize or negotiate with the PLO as long as the PLO refuses to recognize Israel's right to exist and refuses to accept U.N. Resolution #242. President Carter has on numerous occasions reiterated that commitment. The State Department, however, has violated that solemn pledge by overtly or covertly encouraging

(more)



Ambassador Young to traffic with the PLO -- a policy confirmed by the fact that the U.S. Ambassador to Austria, Milton Wolf, also conferred at length with the PLO.

4/ Those forces within the State Department that are urging our country to consort with cut-throats are doing a grave disservice to the cause of peace and to the security of America. It is time for President Carter to establish his authority over the Arabists in the State Department and make crystal clear that we are a country that honors its commitments to its friends, its allies and its principles.

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

STATEMENT BY RABBI ALEXANDER M. SCHINDLER, PRESIDENT,  
UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS

on

THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE AND THE P.L.O.

It is both disturbing and depressing that a civil rights organization founded on the non-violent principles of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. should have squandered its good name by embracing and thereby lending respectability to the murderous band that calls itself the P.L.O.

Dr. Lowery's endorsement of the P.L.O. represents a disquieting failure to understand the criminal nature of the world's leading terrorist organization, a group that boasts of the slaughter not only of Jewish women and children, but of Arab leaders who support the peace process in the Middle-East. The most recent example of anti-Arab terror by the P.L.O. was the stabbing to death in June of an Islamic leader in the Gaza Strip who had the temerity to support Egypt's peace treaty with Israel.

The suggestion by Dr. Lowery that Israel sit down with the P.L.O., whose charter vows the destruction of the Jewish State, is as grotesque as if American Jewish leaders had, during the civil rights struggle of the 1960's, embraced "Bull" Connor, the infamous Police Chief of Birmingham, Alabama, and publicly endorsed his way of dealing with Blacks in the South.

Israel has extended an open invitation to Palestinians to join the Middle-East peace process. That invitation has been rejected, primarily because of the understandable fear that any Palestinian who met with Israel would be murdered by the P.L.O. It is thus the P.L.O. which stands as the chief obstacle to further progress in the Middle-East peace process.

The sooner this essential fact is understood by the U.S. State Department -- and by those who would seek to influence American policy -- the sooner the dream of peace in the Middle-East, a dream which Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. shared, can be achieved.

8/22/79

# # #



January 22, 1980

Mr. Bertram W. Korn, Jr.  
c/o Keneseth Israel  
York Road and Township Line  
Elkins Park, PA. 19117

Dear Buddy:

Thank you for your lovely note. I hope things are going well for you and the family. I also want to thank you for sharing your thoughts and concerns regarding the black community with me.

I do not really think that the blacks have become pro-Arab. Jesse Jackson's motives were clearly financial. In speaking to a group of Chicago businessmen, he said "unless the oil-rich Arabs come up with some dollars for American civil rights use three letters will drop out of the black alphabet - PLO." So much for his ties to Arab causes. Much the same has to be said about the Rev. Mr. Lowery, money and publicity were his essential interest, in my judgment.

The black leadership as a whole responded only viscerally, turning pro-Arab because of Andy Young, assured that the Jewish community was responsible for letting him go. They would have been pro-Peking had the Taiwanese been responsible or blame placed upon them.

Again, my thanks for sharing your thoughts with me. I was pleased to hear from you.

With kindest greetings and every good wish, I am

Sincerely,

Alexander M. Schindler



18 January, 1980  
Wyncote, Pa.

Dear Rabbi Schindler,

Hearing from you personally over Dad encouraged me to respond to your views which I had the pleasure to read as quoted in the 15 October U.S. News and World Report.

No<sup>d</sup> doubt many black leaders in this country are searching for issues. Doubtless, also, is the fact that many of the irrational positions of black nationalists, here and elsewhere, ignore traditional antagonisms to create a feeling of "solidarity". But please tell me: surely you do not think some conspiracy operates behind the "curious" black attachment to the Arab cause?

It seems to me much of the failure here to fully comprehend the feelings of our neighbors, across the block and across the oceans, results from ignorance of the colonial experience. That blacks seem to relate their experience here to that of the non-European ex-colonies may be analytically imperfect, but the near parallels transcend the study of history, surfacing in feelings of closeness among non-whites. Most Americans are aware that Israel is basically European on a continent of Asians. Thus, its oppressive role touches blacks more directly than does its commitment to liberal and democratic values.

I am not suggesting blacks support the destruction of the Israeli state. I am trying to understand why blacks feel close to other non-whites, even those who sold them into slavery.

Yours in dialogue,

*Buddy Korn*