

# **AIDL RESEARCH REPORT**

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## **The Anti-Semitism of Black Demagogues and Extremists**



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ADL Research Report is a periodic publication  
of the Civil Rights Division.  
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823 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017

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## Introduction

The hateful rampage that engulfed the Hasidic community of Crown Heights in Brooklyn in August 1991 was the most dramatic, sustained and disturbing anti-Semitic outburst seen in the United States in many years. Tragically, it included the murder of a 29-year-old Orthodox Jewish scholar from Australia, Yankel Rosenbaum, who was attacked by a mob of Black youths shouting "Kill the Jew."

Following an accident on August 19 in which a car in the Lubavitch grand rabbi's entourage jumped a curb and slammed into two children, killing one, Gavin Cato, and critically injuring the other, his cousin Angela Cato, many Blacks surged through the streets over the next three days chanting "Arrest the Jews" and "Heil Hitler," attacking Hasidic Jews, smashing property and burning cars. Rosenbaum was walking along the street when the mob attacked him. New York City Mayor David Dinkins described the killing as a racial murder and a "lynching."

At an August 30 press conference, ADL National Director Abraham H. Foxman stated: "Anti-Semitism is all over the place in Crown Heights. It is crude, it is ugly, it is classical, and it is deadly. And the fact that it is American and it is Black should not make it invisible or tolerable. . ."

This report is an effort to examine the anti-Semitism of extremists and demagogues who seek to influence the Black community or who have achieved a degree of prominence and support within it. There is little quantitative evidence of how widely such sentiments are shared within the community—but the scapegoating statements and polarizing acts of anti-white, anti-Asian and anti-Semitic extremists are evidence of a troubling phenomenon which requires exposure and condemnation.

At the same time, it is important to point out that the picture of Black-Jewish relations in America is far from bleak. Both on a national level and in local communities, Jews and Blacks continue to work together cooperatively and productively as they have for many years on matters of mutual concern and public interest. ADL has played a major role in these efforts and intends to continue to do so.

No community is monolithic, and no community—Black, Jewish, or any other—should be judged by its extremists. But we believe it is reasonable to call upon the recognized and elected organizational representatives and public officials of any given community to isolate, condemn and repudiate its extremists. This principle applies to the Jewish community as well as to the Black community, recognizing that all forms of racism, including anti-Semitism, are illegitimate, poisoning the atmosphere of community relations and subverting efforts toward reconciliation.

### A Troubled Atmosphere

The Crown Heights disorders came amid an atmosphere of growing tensions between the Black and Jewish communities. In the days directly preceding the riots, the front pages of the Black newspaper, the *New York Amsterdam News*, were filled with editorials and articles in defense of Prof. Leonard Jeffries, the chairman of the African-American Studies Department at City College of New York. In a July 20th speech to the Empire State Black Arts and Culture Festival in Albany, Jeffries made front page news (after a videotape of his remarks was obtained by *The New York Post*) by claiming the existence of an anti-Black "conspiracy, planned and plotted and programmed out of Hollywood by people called Greenberg and Weisberg and Trigliani. . ." He decried the negative imagery of Blacks found in American movies, over which, he asserted, "Russian Jewry had a particular control."

Earlier, Jeffries had achieved notoriety with his "melanin" theory. Jeffries had asserted (and reportedly promoted the theory in his classes) that Blacks were racially superior because of their level of the skin pigment melanin; he calls whites unfeeling "ice people" and Blacks more humane and communal "sun people." In his Albany speech Jeffries also charged "rich Jews" with control of the colonial slave trade and referred to a CUNY colleague as the school's "head Jew," and to Diane Ravitch (a prominent educator and an official of the U.S. Dept. of Education) as a "Texas Jew."

Three days before the Crown Heights riots, a lead editorial in the *Amsterdam News* (dated August 17, 1991) stated that the Black community had "organized in order to save itself and the people of this city from the conflagration that will surely come should any kind of incident occur, by accident or design, that threatens the well-being of Professor Jeffries. . ."

The events in Crown Heights, and the bizarre racial theories and anti-Jewish charges of Jeffries, are only the latest in a series of incidents that raise serious concerns about anti-Semitism by some activists within the Black community in the U.S.

In 1988, then Chicago mayoral aide Steve Cokely had asserted in taped lectures that a secret international organization dominated by Jews was seeking to oppress Blacks and control the world. He also charged that Jewish doctors inject the AIDS virus into Blacks. Few among the many recognized leaders of the local Black community promptly repudiated these hateful charges when they became public.

Chicago was also the scene in 1990 when Congressman Gus Savage, during a hotly contested primary (which he later won), held a campaign rally at which he read aloud a list of his opponent's contributors with obviously Jewish-sounding names, charging that they had provided "pro-Israeli money" from outside the congressional district. In addition to this Jew-baiting, Savage later stated that his opponent had received support from "pro-Israel Jewish organizations" associated with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), adding, "It's very dangerous when a foreign nation can pour. . . money into a campaign." Several Black leaders subsequently condemned Savage's remarks. In 1988, Savage had invited Steve Cokely to accompany him to the Democratic National Convention. (Savage was recently defeated in his latest bid for re-election. See Part One, Section III.)

In July 1990 Legrand Clegg, president of the Coalition Against Black Exploitation, addressed a panel at the NAACP's annual convention in Los Angeles. He called for a "summit meeting" with the "Hollywood Jewish community" to "raise the issues of the century-old problem of Jewish racism in Hollywood." However, Benjamin Hooks, the NAACP's executive director, promptly issued a statement repudiating Clegg's remarks, asserting, "We disassociate ourselves totally from such statements."

Other disturbing incidents in Los Angeles involved the sale of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* at a city-sponsored Black community street fair, and the display of another work of anti-Semitic hate, *The International Jew*, by a Black employees' group at the offices of a department of the city government.

On February 1-2, 1992, Los Angeles radio station KPFK-FM broadcast a lengthy series of programs billed as "Afrikan Mental Liberation Weekend." The broadcast, which included presentations by Minister Louis Farrakhan and Professor Leonard Jeffries, contained numerous anti-Semitic statements and charges. The host of the broadcast was Dr. Kwaku Person-Lynn, a local activist who had previously written an anti-Semitic piece in the Los Angeles Sentinel accusing "European Jews" of financing the colonial slave trade, and who referred to an ADL staff member on the air as "an idiotic psychotic European Jew." (ADL has registered a complaint with the Federal Communications Commission regarding this personal attack.)

In July of 1991 "Professor" Griff, formerly spokesman of the popular rap group Public Enemy, was the featured speaker at the Cincinnati Black Book Fair. He said it was a "fact" that "white people have made it with monkeys and animals in the caves of Europe." Griff continued, "Jewish doctors, along with Russian and American doctors, got together and invented the AIDS virus in a laboratory." Such bigotry is consistent with remarks made by Griff in a 1989 interview published in the *Washington Times*, charging that "Jews are wicked" and are "responsible for the majority of wickedness that goes on across the globe."

On other fronts, one of the country's most important Black-oriented radio stations, New York City's WLIB, regularly broadcasts talk and call-in programs reflecting hostility to Jews. On the nation's college campuses, some Black student publications have expressed anti-Semitic views—for example, Nommo at UCLA defended the authenticity of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*—the notorious anti-Jewish hoax. And many Black student groups have invited speakers well

known for their anti-Semitic views. These developments are further illustrated and documented later in this report.

Finally, another important reason for concern is the continuing popularity of Louis Farrakhan in Black communities—as measured by his large, supportive audiences—despite his clearly stated anti-Semitism and frequent Jew-baiting accusations and threats (as well as anti-white and anti-Christian statements) over the years. Farrakhan is the most sought-after speaker at Black student unions across the country (see Section II).

The case of Farrakhan is, to a great extent, a microcosm of the problem that this report addresses. Louis Farrakhan has blended the preacher's call to self-respect and self-help with the demagogue's call to scapegoating and suspicion. His audiences hear him describe how they can improve their lives, and instruct them on whom to blame for their misfortunes. Farrakhan's message provides a promise of a better life through pride and economic independence, but also supplies devils to hate—whites, Jews, Zionists and American society.

The message has become all the more troubling because of the large crowds and extraordinary media attention he has drawn, and because of the support and sympathy for Farrakhan expressed by some respected figures in the Black community—implying a degree of legitimacy and acceptance for a philosophy of hatred.

### **A Brief History**

Over the years, especially since the 1960s, the Black and Jewish communities participated in the civil rights struggle and the two communities have formed close alliances in working for the alleviation of bigotry, prejudice and hate in human relations. Jews had marched from Selma to Montgomery, and participated in large numbers in the 1963 March on Washington. Many of the white students who went South in 1964 to work for civil rights were Jewish.

Historically, the first two presidents of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) were Jewish, and so was the head of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. Jews were among the most generous financial contributors to Black organizations such as the NAACP, National Urban League, and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Jews and Blacks worked together during the 1930s, 40s and 50s in a largely successful effort to promote the passage of Fair Employment Practice codes on the local and state levels. And the organized Jewish community enthusiastically supported the landmark civil rights legislation of the 1960s. Much more recently, Jewish organizations have been in the forefront of humanitarian efforts to allow Haitian refugees to remain in the United States.

On June 24, 1964, the bodies of two Jewish civil rights workers Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, along with their Black co-worker, James Chaney, were found buried in an earthen dam in the Mississippi Delta. The young men had driven together to investigate the burning of a Black church and the beating of church members in the town of Lonsdale, where Schwerner and Chaney had been organizing a voter-registration movement. The murder of the three young men would become the contemporary touchstone of Black-Jewish cooperation.

Equally important, the organized Black community has provided support for Jewish concerns in many ways over the years. For example, the Congressional Black Caucus has generally been supportive of Israel. Most members have consistently supported foreign aid to Israel and exhibited a concern over and understanding about Israel's security problems, as well as the plight of Soviet Jewry. (At the same time, there have been tensions with some members of the Caucus over Israeli handling of the Intifada, the ongoing search for a Middle East peace, and Israel-South African relations.)

In many cities, the Black community leadership has expressed solidarity with Soviet Jewry, and there was support from Black leaders when Israel came under attack from Iraqi SCUD missiles in January 1991. Numerous coalitions involving Black and Jewish community cooperation on such important matters as combatting hate groups and educating against prejudice are thriving around the country.

## A Turn for the Worse

Beginning in 1966, evidence of hostility to Jews and Jewish concerns on the part of some Black activists came to public attention. (It is an unfortunate fact that anti-Semitism had been reflected over the years in the Black nationalist movement by such leaders as Marcus Garvey, Elijah Mohammed, founder of the Black Muslim movement, and Malcolm X.) It was a hostility quickly denounced by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.—who condemned anti-Semitism as “immoral and self-destructive”—and leaders of the Urban League and NAACP.

By 1966, a dozen years had passed since the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision on school desegregation. Yet integration of Black children in the nation's public schools—and meaningful Black integration into the nation's economic life—had been slow. Inevitably, optimism gave way to frustration. Accompanying the frustration was a growing militancy by separatists within the community, and a conflict emerged between separatist Blacks and integrationists. The separatist wing gained strength, led by young militants, especially in SNCC, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which had previously espoused integration. In seeking Black control over Black community institutions, they challenged white—and particularly Jewish—involvement in the civil rights movement.

Complementing the rise of separatist feeling was the advocacy of violent “Black power” by some of the more extreme militant individuals and groups. That rallying cry, and the anti-white, anti-Jewish hostility behind it, were first expressed in the summer of 1966 at a march through Mississippi taken up by a coalition of civil rights and other groups after the shooting of James Meredith. While the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) emphasized nonviolence and expressed appreciation for white participation, militant Stokely Carmichael (now Kwame Ture) and other SNCC members repeatedly made clear their antipathy toward white participants in the march.

Black-Jewish tensions also were exacerbated by the series of confrontations from 1966 to 1969 that swirled around a Brooklyn school district, predominantly Black, and the local teachers' union, predominantly white and largely Jewish. Some Black extremists attempted to turn the controversy into an ethnic conflict. The clash in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville district was probably the most important episode of anti-Semitism emanating from within the Black community that would occur until the 1991 explosion in Crown Heights.

## Using Anti-Semitism

As noted, 1966 marked a crucial turning point in some Black attitudes toward Jews and Jewish concerns and the use of anti-Semitism by Black nationalists, Black leftist revolutionaries and some Black intellectuals to promote political, social and economic objectives of the Black community. One of the leading agitators in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville conflict was Robert “Sonny” Carson, who would play an equally provocative role in the Crown Heights riots.

The Six-Day War in 1967 focused the Jewish community's concern and attention more sharply on Israel and evoked a new level and form of anti-Semitism from Black extremists. In the rhetoric of the Black extremist and left-revolutionary organizations, “anti-Zionism” became a vehicle for anti-Semitism. Israel was labeled an “imperialist aggressor,” and Arabs and the third world were proclaimed brothers in oppression inflicted by world Jewry. In June 1967 SNCC issued a newsletter containing an attack on Israel, Zionism and Jews with a strong anti-Semitic tone. It charged that “the famous European Jews, the Rothschilds, were involved in the original conspiracy with the British to create the ‘State of Israel’ and are still among Israel's chief supporters.” “Zionist agents” in the Middle East (i.e., Israel) were the propaganda targets of Black nationalist-revolutionary coalitions at a series of meetings from 1967 to 1972.

The Black Panther Party, which had been formed in 1966, expanded rapidly in 1968 and 1969 and joined these propaganda attacks. The Panther newspaper, *The Black Panther*, published an article with the headline: “ZIONISM (KOSHER NATIONALISM) AND IMPERIALISM = FASCISM.” The article stated that “The Zionist fascist state of Israel is a puppet and lackey of

the imperialists and must be smashed. . . " Comparisons between Israel and the apartheid regime in South Africa also became increasingly common in such propaganda.

Another powerful force promoting anti-Semitism in the Black community during that period was the Black Muslim movement led by the Nation of Islam, still headed in the early 1970s by its founder, Elijah Muhammad (Louis Farrakhan is his successor). The core of Black Muslim "philosophy" is a "devil theory" of white (often Jewish) subjugation of Blacks. Anti-Semitic literature was a mainstay of the Nation of Islam's book shop in New York, which in 1972 and 1973 openly displayed and sold copies of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The Nation of Islam newspaper, *Muhammad Speaks* (now retitled *The Final Call*), inundated its readers with outright traditional anti-Semitism. One typical headline proclaimed: "When the blood flows, the money flows—Zionism is big business."

Differences between Blacks and Jews also grew during the 1970s and 1980s over the issues of affirmative action and quotas, and over allegations about Israeli policy toward South Africa.

But perhaps most disturbing of all in the 1970s (and a forerunner of what is occurring today) was evidence of anti-Jewish attitudes among some young Blacks on American campuses. Anti-Jewish and "anti-Zionist" propaganda was disseminated in certain Black student publications or by Black student groups at colleges across the country.

### The 1980s: Jackson and Farrakhan

In the early 1980s it was the controversial figure of Jesse Jackson whose statements served to polarize feelings between Blacks and Jews. In an early example of such rhetoric, Jackson blamed Jews for the resignation of Andrew Young as Ambassador to the UN in 1979. In August of that year, it had been reported that Young had met with the PLO observer at the United Nations. (United States policy was that it would not meet with the PLO until it recognized Israel's right to exist.) On August 15, Young resigned. Some Black leaders charged that Jewish pressure had forced Young's resignation—even though President Carter stated that the decision was his alone. Jackson said, "When there wasn't much decency, Jews were willing to share decency. But when there is power, they don't want to share power."

A week after Young's resignation, a group of 200 mainstream Black leaders met to denounce the "double standard" under which they felt Young had been judged. Echoing Jackson's theme, they singled out Jews as having supported Black causes in the past when it was "in their best interest to do so." Now, they said, "Jews must show more sensitivity and be prepared for more consultation before taking positions contrary to the best interests of the Black community."

In the fall of 1979, Jackson traveled to the Middle East, including Israel, where he made disparaging remarks about the importance of the Holocaust. When Jackson met Yasir Arafat in Beirut, he embraced the PLO leader.

As the 1984 election campaign unfolded, it was reported that Jackson had referred to New York City as "Hymietown." First he denied having said it; then he said it was an innocent mistake. Much later, Jackson apologized for his remark. Jackson welcomed an endorsement of his presidential candidacy by Louis Farrakhan, head of the Nation of Islam; Farrakhan even provided bodyguards for Jackson. Farrakhan issued a death threat against Milton Coleman, the Black reporter for the *Washington Post* who had disclosed Jackson's Hymietown remark. Jackson did not repudiate or condemn this threat. This was the first time in modern memory that a major-party presidential candidate had expressed anti-Semitic sentiments.

For his part Farrakhan had said in March 1983, "The Jews don't like Farrakhan, so they call me Hitler. Well, that's a good name. Hitler was a very great man. He wasn't great for me as a Black person. But he was a great German." In June, he called the creation of the state of Israel an "outlaw act" and Judaism "a dirty religion" (sometimes reported as "a gutter religion"). Wherever Jackson went, he was asked to repudiate Farrakhan. He refused. Farrakhan himself began to achieve a new respectability and prominence in the Black community during this period. Today, his audiences frequently number in the thousands on campuses and in auditoriums and conven-



tion centers around the country, cheering his anti-Semitic taunts and accusations.

Unfortunately, Blacks were the only group of Americans showing some rise in anti-Semitic attitudes in recent decades. Between 1964 and 1981, polls conducted by political analyst William Schneider and others disclosed that the level of anti-Semitism among whites dropped 8 percentage points. The level of Black anti-Semitism increased slightly. Many more Blacks than whites in 1981 agreed with the statements that "Jews have too much power in the United States," "Jews have too much power in the business world," and "Jews are more loyal to Israel than to America."

## A Community in Crisis

This ADL report comes at a time when the Black community is attempting to cope with a myriad of critical problems. In ghetto neighborhoods, stray bullets regularly take the lives of Black babies and children. A recent book, *There Are No Children Here* by Alex Kotlowitz, and the film, "Boyz 'N the Hood," presented graphic dramatizations of these conditions. Forty-seven per cent of Black 17-year-olds were recently reported to be functionally illiterate. A U.S. Census Bureau report on poverty issued in September 1991 noted that among Black Americans, 63 percent of children are currently born out of wedlock. Fatherless homes, widespread crime, truancy and drug addiction are the unfortunate reality for a substantial number of Blacks. A government study conducted by the National Center for Health Statistics and issued in 1991 found that nearly half of Black male Americans from 15 to 19 years old who died in 1988 were killed by guns. (The rate for white males in the same age group was 18 percent.)

Speaking at the Black Family Conference in Virginia, the Secretary of Health and Human Services, Dr. Louis W. Sullivan, said that the "leading killer of young Black males is young Black males." He stated: "This is a war against ourselves, and it is devastating our communities." Another government report released by the Dept. of Health and Human Services indicated that the life expectancy of Blacks declined in 1988 for the fourth year, largely due to a sharp increase in homicides and deaths related to AIDS. The report also revealed that Black babies continue to die at almost twice the rate of white babies. Sixty percent of Black women received prenatal care during the first trimester of their pregnancy, compared with 80 percent of white women.

It may be that in such an atmosphere of demoralization, poverty and crime—and to be sure, the continued existence of racism in American society as illustrated by racial murders in Howard Beach and Bensonhurst—the search for answers can lead some to conspiracy theories and scapegoating, particularly of Jews. But it must be emphasized that efforts to redress legitimate political and social grievances are undermined and debased when they involve anti-Semitism or other forms of bigotry.

Some mainstream Black leaders have forcefully denounced and repudiated anti-Semitism and Jew baiting. But others have lent respectability to bigots by sharing platforms and public forums with them, rationalizing their bigotry by stressing the "social benefits" of their programs, and even honoring them. The Jewish community therefore asks: What image, what message, will predominate in the public arena—those of the demagogues, or those of the mainstream leadership? It is the latter who must speak out clearly and act decisively, to make sure they are not drowned out or displaced by the former. As columnist Richard Cohen wrote in the *Washington Post* (October 4, 1991) regarding the events in Crown Heights:

I don't suggest that the Black leadership has an obligation to denounce every statement made by every Black crackpot. But since the loudest voices from the Black community seemed to come from demagogues and since, really, only a handful of legitimate Black leaders vociferously condemned what was happening, the Jewish community (as well as many non-Jews) is entitled to believe that anti-Semitism is endemic in the Black community.

Maybe so. Maybe not. But the impression has become a virtual conviction—a burden the already overburdened Black community simply does not need

A forceful illustration of effective Black leadership in this regard was provided by Michael Meyers, executive director of the New York Civil Rights Coalition, when he observed, in connection with Prof. Leonard Jeffries' July 20 anti-Semitic speech:

Too many of us are intimidated by charges that we are controlled by the establishment, are tokens of the whites. . . I have to say he [Jeffries] has a First Amendment right to say whatever he pleases, but what he said is so shocking, so appalling, so hateful, so stupid, so idiotic, so arrogant in its idiocy—I cannot believe that more people are not speaking out.

Another example of a Black leader's condemnation of anti-Semitism is found in the recent statement provided by Dr. Charles Hamilton, a leading Black scholar, co-author in 1967 of *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation of America*, and professor of political science at Columbia University. He told *The New Republic* (Oct. 14, 1991) that he had opposed the choice of the anti-Semitic "Professor" Griff as a speaker before Columbia's Black Student Organization:

I say to the students: 'Our struggle over time is too important to be demeaned by that kind of thing.' Now, *that* reached them. . . History is going to say, 'Hamilton, what did you say about Farrakhan? What did you say about Professor Griff?' And I want that record to be as clear as possible.

Finally, another noted political scientist, Dr. Seymour Martin Lipset, summarized this wrenching problem in *The New York Times* (March 9, 1990):

When most mainstream Black politicians hesitate before repudiating apparent anti-Semites like Louis Farrakhan. . . they frighten Jews, even though the Jews think they are not anti-Semitic themselves.

These reactions are reinforced by public opinion data, which reveal that while a plurality of Blacks support Israel and are not anti-Semitic, a larger minority among them than may be found among whites. . . agree with various anti-Jewish statements.

Jews may appear rich and powerful—they certainly are compared with Blacks—but underneath they feel anxious, rejected and worried. . . They want to be Blacks' coalition partners in the struggle for civil rights. But they cannot be as long as Blacks tolerate the anti-Semites in their community.

By publishing this report, ADL hopes to focus public attention on this troubling situation.

# PART ONE: BLACK PUBLIC FIGURES AND COMMUNITY ACTIVISTS WHO HAVE PROMOTED ANTI-SEMITISM

## I: Louis Farrakhan

"Since the Jews are in control of the mass media, newspapers, television, radio, we knew then that we could begin to look for a concerted attack on the Nation of Islam through the mass media."

-Louis Farrakhan in *Muhammad Speaks*  
(Black Muslim publication), 1972

"As long as Jewish people control the media, Arabs, Blacks, Muslims will never have a balanced view."

-Farrakhan quoted in *Columbus Dispatch*, 1984

"The Zionists made a deal with Adolf Hitler. . ."

-Farrakhan quoted in *Chicago Sun-Times*, 1984

"The presence of a state called Israel is an outlaw act."

-Farrakahn quoted in *Newsday*, 1984

"Jews know their wickedness, not just Zionism, which is an outgrowth of Jewish transgression . . . . . Black people will not be controlled by Jews."

-Farrakhan quoted in *Washington Post*, 1985

"The germ of murder is already sewn into the hearts of Jews in this country."

-Farrakhan quoted by Michael Kramer  
in *New York Magazine*, 1985

"The Caucasian people are made from a thought or determined idea contrary to the idea of Allah (God) in His creation of the Original man. The Caucasian is born by nature to be the enemy of the Original man. . . This is why the Honorable Elijah Muhammad called them a race of 'devils.' "

-Farrakhan article in *The Final Call*  
(Nation of Islam newspaper) 1988

"The Jews cannot defeat me. I will grind them and crush them into little bits."

-Farrakhan quoted in *New York Post*, 1988

In recent years, Louis Farrakhan, the anti-Semitic and racist leader of the Chicago-based Black Muslim sect known as the Nation of Islam, has been a frequent speaker on college campuses and elsewhere, and he has been received enthusiastically by thousands of people. He is the most popular speaker on campus among Black students. In his public appearances, Farrakhan continues to repeatedly inject anti-Semitism into his remarks, while paradoxically attempting to rationalize and explain away earlier anti-Jewish statements.

Farrakhan has gained increasing acceptance and respectability within elements of the mainstream Black community. On July 24, 1991, a fund-raising event in his honor was held at the famous Schomburg Center in Harlem, the nation's leading Black library institution. Football Hall of Fame member Jim Brown was the host of the event. Among the honorary co-chairpersons listed on the invitation were New York State Assemblywoman Geraldine Daniels, New York City Councilwoman C. Virginia Fields, *Amsterdam News* publisher Wilbert A. Tatum, champion boxer Mark Breland, the Rev. Al Sharpton, Professor Leonard Jeffries, and lawyer Alton Maddox.

The August 1990 issue of *Black Enterprise* magazine included a poll of its readership on the subject, "Who Speaks for Black America." Farrakhan was second only to Jesse Jackson in popularity. "The big surprise in 1990," the survey reported, "was the ascendancy of Louis Farrakhan, spokesman for the Nation of Islam, who was cited most after Jackson as the leader who speaks

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for Black America.”

Many reactions to Farrakhan on the part of more mainstream Black figures have stressed the “positive” side of Farrakhan: his theories of economic self-determination for the Black community and his opposition to drugs. Benjamin Hooks, the leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told the British journal *The Economist* in August 1990: “When Farrakhan talks about Black solidarity and economic independence, you can’t dispute that. I would look like a fool.” When Farrakhan traveled to San Diego in September 1990 to speak at the San Diego Convention Center, moderate Black community leaders met with him privately. The *San Diego Tribune* (September 1, 1990) reported:

... San Diego leaders who were to meet with him today said that while they don’t agree with some of the statements and views attributed to Farrakhan, the positive side of his work can’t be ignored. “Just because he has been controversial on some issues and said some things I might not agree with doesn’t minimize the fact that he is a voice, a very potent voice, that can do good for the Black community,” Rev. George Walker Smith, a long time community activist said. “If people listen and Black gangs stop killing each other and lay off the dope, then it’s worth him coming back as many times as he can.”

Ibrahim Naem, executive director of the San Diego Urban League, told the newspaper: “I don’t condone anybody putting down another group, but I think that to the extent that Minister Farrakhan brings a message of hope to the most vulnerable, downtrodden people of the world, he is a positive force.”

Farrakhan has been repeatedly honored in recent years by cities across the country for his anti-drug efforts. On October 25, 1989, the District of Columbia approved without debate (but with two abstentions) a resolution extolling the work of Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam for shutting down a drug market at an apartment complex. Council member Harry Thomas Sr., chief author of the resolution, presented the resolution to Farrakhan during the latter’s address to a crowd of 10,000 at the D.C. Armory.

### **Columnist William Raspberry on Farrakhan, Blacks and Anti-Semitism:**

The D.C. Council for reasons that defy common courtesy, common sense and common decency, has cited Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan for inspiring a successful anti-drug effort in a Northeast Washington neighborhood.

Naturally the resolution made no mention of Farrakhan’s anti-Jewish mouthings. . . The question is why, in the absence of any compulsion to do anything at all, they felt obliged to take this action.

The answer, I suspect is that some of them believe (correctly?) that “standing up to the Jews” is effective politics, while others (including the three white members of the council) feared that a vote against the resolution would be seen as taking the Jewish side in a Black-Jewish controversy.

I don’t know what accounts for this gratuitous antisemitism, nor do I fully understand why so many Blacks—even those who studiously avoid expressing it themselves—see it as somehow gutsy to say these hateful things.

Why, they ask, should we care that Jews are offended? Well, for the same reasons we insist that others should care when we are offended. . . In a country made up of minorities, insensitivity to any minority is a threat to its political health and civility. (*Washington Post*, Oct. 30, 1989)

In April 1990, Farrakhan received a similar honor from the city of Philadelphia, which he accepted before a crowd of 17,000 at the Civic Center. On January 26, 1990, the city of Tacoma, Washington granted honorary citizenship to Farrakhan, who spoke on that day before a standing-room-only audience of 3,000 at the city's Public Theater. Also that year in Compton, California, he was given the key to the city on "Louis Farrakhan Day."

These assessments of Farrakhan, which overlook the anti-Semitism which pervades his philosophy, have been echoed by some of the mainstream news media. In 1990, for example, ADL noted that "Over the past few months the *Los Angeles Times* has focused on Farrakhan on several occasions, in each instance emphasizing the Nation of Islam's policies while essentially ignoring the incendiary rhetoric and stark hatred of Jews that is an inseparable part of the Farrakhan program."

Since the start of 1990, Farrakhan has been accorded a new level of prominence by the media. He has been granted access to many of the top-rated television network programs—including the syndicated Phil Donahue, Larry King (CNN), ABC Prime-Time and CBS This Morning—and been given lavish coverage and editorial attention in the major print media, including the *Washington Post*, the *Washington Times*, *Time* and *Newsweek*. This coverage—both by its scope and by its tone—has implicitly granted Farrakhan a new legitimacy. There has crept into public discourse about Farrakhan the notion that while he may be "wrong" about Jews, his overall social and economic prescriptions for the Black community are constructive.

Yet these assessments of Farrakhan overlook the basic thrust of his message: the hatred of Jews and Black supremacy over whites. Like other demagogues, Farrakhan garnishes his views with a patchwork of nostrums about economic uplift, self-determination and self-respect. But Farrakhan's social message cannot be separated from his obsessive concerns about Jews and whites. Like many radicals before him, Farrakhan has a rationale and program in which to clothe his more objectionable agenda.

On February 12, 1990, using threatening imagery he had employed before, Farrakhan told an audience of 1,200 in Phoenix, Arizona: "You Jews who are here tonight look at me as an anti-Semite. I am hated by Jews. If I were Jewish, would I want Farrakhan to live?" Farrakhan went on to state that his enemies would "be removed from the face of the earth" not by Farrakhan, "but by a power bigger than I am."

In a speech to 4,000 at Michigan State University on February 18, 1990, Farrakhan accused the Jews of "sucking the blood of the Black community." He attacked Jews for their leadership positions in movie studios and book publishing: "You wrote us up in scripts as clowns and buffoons," he said. "Some Jews did that to Black people. You would not forgive Jesse Jackson. Your own Jewish Encyclopedia says that some Jews owned some of the slave ships that brought Black people to America. You have a role that you played, but you have never apologized to Black people. What the hell do you have to tell me that I have to apologize to you?"

In November 1990, Farrakhan was the guest speaker (for three hours) "before a crowd of 3,500 jubilant Blacks" at Bowling Green State University, according to the *Bowling Green Sentinel-Tribune* (Nov. 5, 1990), during the midwest Black Student Unity Conference. The newspaper reported:

The truth is that whites are descended from Blacks, Farrakhan claimed, explaining that according to Mendel light eyes are recessive and dark eyes are dominant. You can get recessive from dominant but not the reverse. That means Blacks were here first, he said. . . "So you know," he told whites, "We are your father and your mother. We brought you on the earth. So honor your father and mother that your days may be long upon the earth." Whites have to pay, he said. "You didn't enslave anybody. Why do you have to pay? Because they're not here to pay. . ."

He claimed he did not say Hitler was a great man. Rather he said Hitler was a wickedly great man and he used his greatness for wickedness.

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Other speakers representing the Nation of Islam are no less virulent than Farrakhan in their expression of anti-Jewish hatred.

In November of 1991, Abdullah Muhammad, son of Black Muslim founder Elijah Muhammad, told an audience at a school-sponsored lecture at Long Island's Nassau Community College, "It is a known fact that the Jews have been an enemy of Jesus" and that they "sought to kill the Messiah." He also criticized "the wicked machinations and manipulations" of Jewish leaders.

According to the campus newspaper, Muhammad asked the audience who Farrakhan's biggest enemies were; his question was answered by an audience chant of "The Jews! The Jews!" Sean Fanelli, the president of Nassau Community College, later issued an apology over this incident, and strongly condemned Muhammad's anti-Semitism as "repugnant" and "totally unfounded."

The next month, Khallid Abdul Muhammad, another Nation of Islam representative, was the keynote speaker at a function called "The African Holocaust" held at Brooklyn's Public School 258. According to the *New York Amsterdam News* (Dec. 28) "Muhammad's most stinging indictment was against the Jews." He charged that, regarding enslavement of Africans, "the Jews have played a prominent role in our demise."

He reportedly added the bizarre observation: "Nobody wants to talk about what the Jews did. They are always talking about what Hitler did to the Jews, but what did the Jews do to Hitler?"

### **Farrakhan 1988-89: Citizenship Pins and Campus Ovations**

In 1988 and 1989, Farrakhan's public speeches and pronouncements consistently reflected his obsessive anti-Semitism. Speaking at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois on May 30, 1988, for example, Farrakhan followed the pattern of other speeches, claiming to be offering conciliation but at the most emotionally-charged moments of his speech, challenging, taunting and threatening Jews. (The pattern of a Farrakhan speech is to begin moderately, putting an emphasis on economic and social issues, then build gradually to an emotional explosion in the final third, usually with a scapegoating of Jews as the central focus.) The *Evanston Review* (June 2, 1988) reported that "He risked inflaming feelings again with his characterization of the Holocaust as a punishment visited on Jews for failing to keep a special covenant."

Farrakhan spent most of the final hour of this speech discussing the Jews. He said he wanted to address the Jews in the audience, and asserted that he was disturbed at being seen by Jews as a "new Black Hitler." Jews had suffered so much under Hitler, he said, that "to make Farrakhan a Black Hitler is to plant the seed of murder in the heart of every Jewish person."

At Northwestern, Farrakhan then went on to consider Jesse Jackson's apology for his "Hymietown" remarks. Looking directly at Jews seated the audience, Farrakhan told them he didn't understand how "you" can be so "unforgiving." He claimed that Blacks went to bed at night sympathizing with Jewish suffering, and then proclaimed: "We cry over you but who cries over us?" He evoked a raucous response by shouting: "You can't buy me off and you really can't kill me."

Near the end of his speech, he said that if "you" were plotting against his life, "you" were actually plotting against your own. He stated, "If I were you, I would examine me much more closely. . . Everything you've tried to do against me has backfired against you. . . if you think I'm just a little show-off nigger and do to me as you did to others, you'll sentence yourself to death."

In the first of what would become a pattern of similar events, the mayor of Prairie View, Texas, Ron Leverett, presented an honorary citizenship pin to Farrakhan on December 1, 1988 and proclaimed the occasion "Nation of Islam Day" in Prairie View. Farrakhan had come to the town to speak before 1,000 Black students at Prairie View A & M University.

The city's proclamation called Farrakhan "a role model" and "an inspiring source of true uplift for Black people for well over 33 years."

## Surprise Speaker—Conspiratorial Theme

Farrakhan's respectability was further enhanced when he appeared as a surprise keynote speaker at the African-American "summit" on April 23, 1989 in New Orleans. According to the *Washington Post*, Farrakhan "repeatedly brought delegates . . . to their feet today with a speech accusing the [U.S.] government of conspiring to decimate Central Africa with AIDS and Black U.S. neighborhoods with cocaine and crack." The newspaper said that Farrakhan addressed "an enthusiastic and cheering audience" of 1,000 delegates.

Only a week before, Farrakhan had refused to come to the summit after some Black leaders announced they would boycott the conference if he did. *Newsday* (April 24, 1989) wrote that Farrakhan's appearance "provided a fiery—and by all indications, welcome—conclusion to the conference."

Salim Muwakkil, writing in *In These Times*, wrote of the response to Farrakhan:

One fascinating aspect of the three-day affair was the crowd's reaction to the Farrakhan issue. Because of the overwhelmingly negative media coverage he has received, it seemed safe to assume Farrakhan was not very popular among the middle-class activists who made up the bulk of the delegates.

That assumption proved incorrect. Despite the fact that his appearance wasn't announced until Saturday night and he wasn't listed in the program schedule, his Sunday morning address drew the summit's largest audience.

Utilizing well-practiced rhetorical flourishes, Farrakhan's speech excited the crowd and provoked several outstanding ovations, but it included few usable ideas. His wide popularity with summit delegates derives in part from a realization that much of their new focus sounds much like his longtime appeals for racial unity and stricter moral values.

## Recognition from "Blacks in Government"

A further indication of the growing acceptability of Farrakhan's message was his invitation to address the August 20, 1989 convention in Washington, D.C. of Blacks in Government (BIG)—an organization representing 1.2 million federal, state and municipal government workers. He told the crowd:

You don't have to applaud. This is who you work for! You work for the biggest criminals in the world! You work for them! You uphold them! You seek justice from a handful of criminals who have put your people all over the world into hell and misery and poverty and want to keep up a way of life in America that they will allow a few of you to share so you can uphold their criminal policies. . .

Turning to his conspiratorial fixation on the Jews, he said:

. . . this is why Jews are respected even if they are not loved, because their cultural unity has allowed them to maximize their dollars. Did you hear me? And if there's a Jew dentist and you happen to have a problem he can send you to a Jewish doctor. And if you go to the Jewish doctor and you have a mental problem, he can send you to a Jewish psychiatrist. And if you're in trouble with the law, he can send you from there to a Jewish lawyer. And if you need a judge to fix the thing, he can bring you to a Jewish judge. And if you need somebody to give you a suit, he can send you to a Jewish clothier. And if you need some shoes, he can send you to a Jewish man to shod your foot. If you need clean chickens, he can send you to the kosher store for his brother got that too. He says. . . "I may be small, but I run the world."

Howard Ervin, conference chairman and head of the BIG Pentagon chapter, told *The Final Call* that it was a "great privilege" to have Farrakhan speak: "We are Black and we have a respon-

sibility to give something back to the Black community." Ervin said the decision to invite Minister Farrakhan materialized because, "They don't own us, and we have to make the statement that they don't own and control us." Mr. Ervin did not identify whom he meant by "they."

### **August 1989: The Unvarnished Farrakhan**

Despite various efforts to find moderation in his message, a chilling glimpse of the profound anti-Semitism of Louis Farrakhan is provided in the following excerpts from his speech to the Mosque Maryam in Chicago on August 27, 1989. The speech was entitled: "And the Jews Planned: The Rising Assault on Black Leadership." Addressing his Nation of Islam followers, Farrakhan stated:

. . .The other night I woke up, oh, about three in the morning. And these words looked like they had grown to be block letters, in my brain. They were from the Koran . . . and these words were: AND THE JEWS PLANNED. And they planned that . . . a fight would break out over who would be the real heir to Elijah Muhammad's work.

They felt that this would tear the nation up. . . And the Jews planned. But the Koran did not stop there. It says, "And Allah also planned." And the Koran also says, And Allah is the best of planners.

. . . For not only could the Jews plan. But God and the Messenger planned also.

. . . I have become Public Enemy Number One. And the Jews planned. . . And the more they struck me, the more I struck back with truth. And the more I struck back with the truth, the more it struck terror in their hearts. . . And the Jews planned. . . So now they have declared they will stop at nothing until they have destroyed Louis Farrakhan. . . The enemy is getting rid of leader after leader after leader. . . They are moving on Black leaders for what? They're getting ready to make a move on the Black community. . . And the Jews planned. . . President Bush himself went to the Jews in Los Angeles, promised them, pledged to them that he would do everything in his power through the Justice Dept. to get the anti-Semites when they wear brown shirts or white shirts or bow ties. . . he is the president promising the Jews he's going to get Farrakhan. . . And the Jews planned. . . They cannot touch me. Unless one of you betrays me. . . They have an elaborate plan, brothers and sisters, and you'll be surprised who they're using. I feel sorry for anyone who will submit to the devil to be used against me. . . This blue-eyed beast by the help of Allah will never destroy the Nation! . . . Never again!

### **Anti-Semitism in "The Final Call"**

The anti-Semitic themes employed by Farrakhan are echoed in the pages of the Nation of Islam newspaper, *The Final Call*. Holocaust revisionism surfaced in *The Final Call* in June 1991. In an article about Dr. John Strugnell of the Harvard Divinity School who was removed as chief editor of *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, Abdul Allah Muhammad wrote in his column that Strugnell was unfairly fired for stating that "Judaism is a horrible religion" and that Judaism "has survived when it should have disappeared." (Strugnell did in fact make these statements and was fired as a result.)

The article then went on to an unrelated subject—the number of Jews executed at Auschwitz. Muhammad wrote that a memorial stone at the site of the concentration camp had been removed. The reason? "Simply stated," he asserted that "the four million extermination victims cited on the stone was a blatant lie. The Auschwitz State Museum now put the number of Jews executed there at 950,000, at least three million less than previously claimed." Muhammad's source was the Polish newspaper *Gazeta Wyborca*. He concluded: "But the most astute Jewish mathematicians will ignore plain facts, continue to bellow the six-million holocaust lie and to condemn anyone who insists upon being intelligent enough to subtract three from six."



Other examples of anti-Semitism from *The Final Call* include:

"The Jewish shopkeepers and merchants say Ho, Ho, Ho as they leave the community with their money bags fat with our dollars." (editorial, January 5, 1987).

"I WARN YOU, MR. REAGAN, DO NOT LISTEN TO THE JEWS WHO ARE ADVISING YOU AND INCITING YOU AGAINST ME. . ." (article by Farrakhan, January 31, 1987).

"Jews have waded through the blood of Black people to attain many of the rights they enjoy today. . ." (column, September 16, 1987).

"Practically everywhere I have gone, the Jews have gone in front of me stirring people against me and have come behind me doing the same. . ." (article by Farrakhan, May 9, 1988).

The Nov. 18, 1991 issue of *The Final Call* carried a "review" of a new stridently anti-Semitic book being actively promoted in the Black community by the Nation of Islam called *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*. According to the review, the book "presents a multitude of compelling facts describing first-hand accounts of a pernicious and extensive involvement by Jews in the African slave trade." Authorship of the 334-page book (which claims to rely on "highly respected scholars of the Jewish community") is credited to "the Historical Research Department" of the Nation of Islam.

In late 1991 and early 1992, the book was being promoted in *The Final Call*, in ads in local Black newspapers, and in promotional brochures titled "Blacks and Jews News" produced by a Brooklyn-based entity called EMF Enterprises.

The book's tone and agenda are established in its introduction:

Deep within the recesses of the Jewish historical record is the irrefutable evidence that the most prominent of the Jewish pilgrim fathers used kidnapped Black Africans disproportionately more than any other ethnic or religious group in New World history and participated in every aspect of the international slave trade. The immense wealth of Jews, as with most of the white colonial fathers, was acquired by the brutal subjugation of Black Africans purely on the basis of skin color.

In the Chicago *Sun-Times* of Oct. 20, 1989, nationally syndicated columnist Carl Rowan wrote:

It is absolutely sickening to see the egotism and arrogance of Farrakhan, which is based on nothing of substance. It is worse to see him saying, in effect, that he doesn't care who becomes mayor of New York as long as it is not a Black man, David Dinkins, who forms an alliance with Jews.

Farrakhan and everybody else had best face up to the truth that an alliance between Black Americans and Jews has existed for more than two centuries because each group needed that alliance for political, economic and even physical survival.

Despite serious disagreements. . . the bond between Blacks and Jews will never break, because both groups are too much in the gunsight of the haters.

## II. Steve Cokely

A major controversy erupted in Chicago in 1988 involving Steve Cokely, a Farrakhan sympathizer and mayoral aide who expressed vicious anti-Semitism. Cokely had given a series of lectures to followers of Farrakhan from 1985 to 1987, tape-recorded at Farrakhan's Chicago headquarters, in which he said that Jews engaged in an international conspiracy to take over the world. According to the Chicago *Tribune* (May 2, 1988), Cokely also suggested that Jewish doctors have deliberately injected Black children with the AIDS virus.

In February, 1988, the *Minnesota Daily* (Feb. 29, 1988) reported that Cokely, in a talk at the Humphrey Institute, stated that "a conspiracy by elites. . . many of them Jewish. . . to take over the world threatens Black Americans. . ." Cokely said these elites would "destroy Black people." He also suggested that students should "rape the University of Minnesota for information, rape

it dry." The newspaper reported: "In fact, students would learn more in 120 days studying with him, [Cokely] than in five years at the University, he said."

In late 1987, Cokely had been appointed as a community liaison on the staff of Chicago's then-mayor, Eugene Sawyer. ADL representatives met with Sawyer and presented the mayor with a partial transcript of Cokely's remarks.

The *Washington Post* (May 3, 1988) reported that:

On the tapes, which are sold at a South Side bookstore operated by Farrakhan's group, Cokely outlines his theory of an international "secret society" that seeks to oppress Blacks and create a single world government to be run by Jews. . . .

In another lecture Cokely asserts that the AIDS epidemic is a result of doctors, especially Jewish ones, who inject the AIDS virus in the Blacks.

Both Chicago newspapers, the *Tribune* and the *Sun-Times*, editorialized strongly and frequently on the subject of Cokely's bigotry. Prominent Black columnists in both papers, Clarence Page and Vernon Jarrett, spoke out against anti-Semitism and called for positive Black/Jewish relations.

Mayor Sawyer subsequently fired Cokely. Interestingly, a *Chicago Tribune* poll revealed that only eight percent of the Black community felt that Cokely should have been retained—hardly different from the five percent of the overall community which held that view.

Louis Farrakhan, on the other hand, expressed warm support for Cokely. According to the *Chicago Sun-Times*, Farrakhan had stated that "Cokely spoke the truth," and he accused Mayor Sawyer of weakness for giving in to demands to dismiss Cokely. Farrakhan also commented that Jewish leaders were offended "because the truth hurts. I know this man Cokely. I know if he said it, he's got the stuff to back it up."

In the ensuing months, Farrakhan's newspaper, *The Final Call*, continued to express support for Cokely's anti-Semitic conspiracy theories. In a highly sympathetic article about Cokely in the newspaper (November 4, 1988), assistant editor James Muhammad wrote of Cokely's leadership of the Anti-Colonialism Movement, his having organized an anti-Columbus, anti-Colonialism Day, and his plans for a national economic boycott by the Black community. Speaking to the *Final Call* about the reasons he was fired by Mayor Sawyer, Cokely stated: "It was the stigma of being associated with Minister Louis Farrakhan that they wanted to place on me and the fact that I was working in city government." The article went on to report that:

Cokely's attackers wanted him out of city government because "I have consistently exposed a Jewish monitoring system which monitors the Black community in many major cities," Cokely explained. "I was in a position in city government to inhibit actions by the Jewish monitoring system," Cokely said. Among the forums he will hold in Chicago are: Education as a tool of white supremacy; . . . and Israel: The bastard country.

Cokely has continued to voice his racist and anti-Semitic views at other forums. He spoke at the University of Michigan as the guest of the Black Student Union in February, 1990. According to the *Michigan Daily* (February 21, 1990) "Cokely explained that his job is to bring the beast (the white man) out of the cave, because 'you can't fight what you can't see.' He added that white people hate Blacks because the latter are direct descendants of God." On the following day, Cokely spoke to a group of Jewish students at the Fishbowl, a common area within the Student Union Building. Cokely stated that "there was a conspiracy of Jews and Hitler to kill Jews for the purpose of ethnic purity among Jews."

Another forum affording legitimacy to Cokely was provided by the Black newspaper, the Los Angeles *Sentinel* (August 2, 1990). The article was entitled: "Face to Face With STEVE COKELY—Lecturer, Historian, Activist."

### III: Gus Savage

Gus Savage, the U.S. Representative from the Second Congressional District in Illinois since 1980 (until his defeat in the March 18, 1992 Democratic primary), has a record of anti-Semitic and racist statements.

When Black Muslim Minister Louis Farrakhan spoke in 1984 about the "greatness" of Adolf Hitler and was criticized for his remarks, Savage delivered a strong defense of Farrakhan, alleging that his remarks were "historically, culturally and politically accurate." Savage also supported Farrakhan's radio-broadcast death threat against Milton Coleman, the Black reporter who had disclosed Jesse Jackson's "Hymietown" remarks.

Savage's remarks followed Farrakhan's at a weekly forum in Chicago at the headquarters of Operation PUSH, the civil rights organization founded by Jesse Jackson in 1972. *The New York Times* (April 22, 1984) reported:

Representative Gus Savage brought the audience to its feet several times when he read excerpts from Mr. Farrakhan's broadcast and said, after each passage, that Mr. Farrakhan had only spoken the truth.

"Just what did he say in that March 11 broadcast that was wrong?" the legislator asked. Many people in the audience shouted, "Nothing."

Writing in the *Pittsburgh Courier* (Feb. 28, 1985) Savage criticized both chairman Clarence Pendleton and vice-chairman Morris Abram of the United States Commission on Civil Rights. In referring to Abram, he asserted: "I can understand the hypocrisy of Abram. At least, his stance is self-serving. After all, there are 33 Jews in the U.S. House of Representatives although Jews constitute only three percent of our nation's population. . . ." A subsequent ADL letter published in the *Courier* noted "This reference to Abram's Jewish identity is not only malapropos, but irresponsible. To question, or rather to state as fact, the motives behind Abram's position, based on his ethnic identity, bringing in Abram's Jewishness, is. . . anti-Semitism."

In an article in defense of Farrakhan in the *Courier* (Nov. 2, 1985), Savage wrote that white reporters didn't ask him about other events or issues he was involved in, but always asked him about his opinion of Farrakhan. He continued: "What about Farrakhan? Why do they call us Black leaders now? Why? Farrakhan hasn't said a thing bad about you or me. If white folks, or particularly Jews, are offended by anything Farrakhan has said, why call us? Why not call him?" Savage gave the keynote address to the Nation of Islam annual convention in 1985, and compared Farrakhan to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Speaking in 1987 at a Nation of Islam rally, Savage attacked "Zionists who think they are chosen by God—that would be an awfully strange God that chose one over another."

In May, 1989, Savage enthusiastically praised Farrakhan's address to the African American summit in New Orleans. He told the Nation of Islam newspaper, *The Final Call*: "The fact that he [Farrakhan] received the greatest reception of any speaker indicates that not only do the people want unity. . . but we are of a far more militant and revolutionary attitude than you would expect."

An article about Savage in *The Chicago Tribune* (July 20, 1989) noted that "Savage's congressional record, or lack of it, caused an annual controversy when records showed he was one of the most absent members of Congress each year. In almost every instance, Savage responded that the reports were racially motivated by white-dominated news media. His response was similar when the Federal Election Commission, in 1984, filed a suit against him claiming his financial campaign reports were inaccurate and incomplete and in 1989, when a Peace Corps volunteer charged him with improper sexual advances."

The *Washington Post* (July 19, 1989) reported that when questioned by a reporter about the latter incident, Savage responded: "Why don't you ask me about economic development projects? . . . Ask me the same kind of questions you ask white congressmen. You don't ask white congressmen questions like that." The *Post* also disclosed that the Peace Corps worker reported that when she resisted Savage, "she endured his taunts about her religion and her attitude toward

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sex. 'He told me I was a traitor to the Black movement if I didn't go along,' she said."

In an editorial, the *Chicago Tribune* (July 21, 1989) commented that

When Gus Savage is in a jam he tries to crawl out of it by hurling charges of "racism" at whoever put him there. This time, because the Peace Corps worker is Black, he had to resort to a different kind of slander. He said she is emotionally unstable. . . During his nine years in the House, Savage has abused police officials because his son was arrested for driving without a license, accused newspapers of racism for disclosing his dreadful attendance record, accused the Federal Election Commission of racism for claiming that his campaign financial reports were inaccurate, tried to inject race in the recent mayoral campaign and complained that the new Black chairman of the Democratic National Committee is "soft on whites."

(Savage called Ronald H. Brown, the Democratic National Chairman, "Ron Beige." *Washington Post*, March 9, 1990.)

Interviewed by the *Chicago Tribune* about Savage, Nathaniel Clay, editor of the *Chicago Metro News*, a Black community newspaper, said that Savage had "become a master of Blacker-than-thou rhetoric, the 400-years-of-oppression rap. . . Black folks have deep grievances, and people like Gus massage them."

Savage has stated: "The press is disproportionately represented by white liberals and Jews. . . I'm not well liked by the white liberals or the Jews who oppose my positions on the Middle East, racial quotas, affirmative action."

On Middle East issues, Savage has consistently shown bitter opposition to Israeli and American policies. Savage inserted a statement in the September 28, 1982 *Congressional Record* in which he criticized U.S. arms deliveries to Israel and demanded that Israeli troops be withdrawn from Lebanon. He strongly condemned Israeli national policy charging that it was based on "racist philosophy," and added that the U.S. government and American Jews were "guilty of supporting this horrendous policy!"

When the House of Representatives issued an expression of support for U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf battling Saddam Hussein and Iraq, Savage dissented. *Newsday* (Jan. 19, 1991) reported: "Rep. Gus Savage (D-IL) who is a close ally of Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, said 'A few years ago, Israel bombed Iraq,' referring to the 1981 assault on Iraq's facility where nuclear bombs were being developed. 'Where were all the expressions of indignation then?' "

In March, 1990, Savage defeated Mel Reynolds (51% to 43%) in the Democratic Primary. In his victory statement, Savage attacked the "white racist press" and thanked Louis Farrakhan for his support. On the Saturday before the election, Savage had held his campaign rally surrounded by Nation of Islam security guards. Focusing on what he called "pro-Israeli money," Savage read a list of Jewish contributors to Reynolds' campaign and warned about Jewish influence in the race. "He who pays the piper calls the tune," he said. Congressman William H. Gray of Pennsylvania and Charles B. Rangel of New York, who had attended the rally, left before Savage made his remarks. On March 24, Rep. Rangel forcefully condemned Savage's remarks. "If I had known that such foul statements would be made, in my presence or out of it, I would not have gone to Chicago. I condemn them unequivocally." Rep. Gray told *The New York Times*: "If anti-Semitic bigoted statements were made, I condemn them, totally, unequivocally." He said he was "disturbed and terribly troubled by reports I've heard." Amid mounting criticism, Savage held a press conference on March 29, 1990 to defend himself. Responding to criticism of his remarks about his opponent, Mel Reynolds, having received financing from "pro-Israel, Jewish organizations" outside the district, including those associated with the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, (AIPAC), Savage stated: "AIPAC is supportive of a foreign nation. It's very dangerous when a foreign nation can pour 96 percent of the money into a campaign."

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<sup>1</sup>Mr. Gray has since resigned from Congress to head the United Negro College Fund

Savage maintained: "Racism is white. Ain't no Black racism. Blacks don't have the power to oppress whites. You own all the TV stations and newspapers."

Savage declined to comment on the remarks of Ronald H. Brown, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who said that he was "appalled" by Savage's remarks.

After reviewing the videotape of Savage's speech, Representative Gray said "I find much of his language and remarks unacceptable, divisive and bigoted. In his speech, Mr. Savage referred on at least six occasions to 'Jewish money,' 'Jewish lobby,' Jewish organizations,' 'Jewish newspapers,' etc. This language conveys stereotypes that I reject."

According to the *Washington Post* (March 30, 1990), Savage's remarks were also criticized by several Black lawmakers during a closed meeting of the Congressional Black Caucus. A source at the meeting told the *Post*: "It hurts us all. It hurts the Black-Jewish coalition, not just in the House, but in the country." The *Post* wrote: "By implying that a Jewish organization and its members are loyal to Israel and not the United States, said the lawmaker, Savage was saying 'what the KKK said about the [civil rights] movement, that it was controlled by Moscow.'"

A *New York Times* editorial on April 4, 1990 noted that "Mr. Savage denies charges of anti-Semitism and again blames the media. Blacks, he further asserts, can't be guilty of racism because 'racism is white.' Nothing disproves that so much as Mr. Savage's own words."

Congressman John Lewis also rejected Savage's Jew-baiting. As Roger Simon wrote in *The New York Daily News* (April 10, 1991): "U.S. Rep. John Lewis (D-GA) is a Black man who has been beaten and jailed in defense of his race and in his fight for civil rights in this country. Gus Savage asked Lewis to campaign with him this year, to attend a rally where Savage made a number of anti-Semitic references. . . . John Lewis refused. 'I just didn't want to be associated with that type of philosophy,' Lewis said. 'I remember the three civil rights workers who were murdered in Mississippi, all friends of mine. Two were Jews, one was Black. The Democrats as a party must speak out against this type of philosophy.'"

On March 18, 1992 Savage lost his Democratic primary contest to Mel Reynolds by a margin of 63% to 37%, in a newly enlarged district. Savage reacted to his defeat by saying: "We have lost to the white racist press and to all the racist, reactionary Jewish misleaders."

#### IV. Sonny Carson

Robert (Sonny) Carson, one of the key agitators during the Crown Heights riot of 1991 and the Korean grocery boycott in Brooklyn in 1990, first came to public attention in 1967 because of his anti-Semitic statements and disruptive activities during the dispute over school decentralization in the Ocean Hill-Brownsville section of Brooklyn, and for several years afterward. During last year's boycott, he said, "I'm not anti-Semitic. Don't just limit me to a little group of people. I'm anti-white."

A self-styled community spokesman and a self-proclaimed revolutionary, who in the 1970s was convicted of kidnapping and served a prison term for it, Carson is radically separatist in his beliefs and over the years has relied on the tactics of overt threats and violent confrontations with police. *NY: The City Journal* (Summer 1991) wrote that "Moderate Blacks like [David] Dinkins. . . feel that Carson has enough of a following that he must be taken seriously as a political player. In fact, no one knows how representative he is. Yet somehow, no matter how outlandishly he behaves, no one seems able to deflate or dismiss him." During the riots in Crown Heights, Carson praised the rioters as well as the killers of Yankel Rosenbaum. At the funeral of Gavin Cato, he said: "You might not like this. But I'm very proud of them." Carson is a leader of a group of Marxist revolutionaries known as the December 12th Movement. Like Carson, the other members of the group are secretive about their activities. The group states they are determined to overthrow the system by violent means if necessary.

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## More Recent Prominence

Following the Howard Beach incident in January, 1987, in which a Black man, Michael Griffith, was killed by a car after being chased by a mob of whites, Carson spoke at a rally featuring attorneys Alton Maddox Jr. and C. Vernon Mason. He was introduced as "a key participant in developing community strategy" to support Maddox's and Mason's argument for a public prosecutor in connection with the Howard Beach incident. On January 15, 1987, participating in news conferences calling for a "day of mourning and outrage," Carson reflected his separatist views by asking that Blacks refuse, for one day that week, to patronize businesses owned by whites and to stay home from work and keep their children home from school. He said the slogan of the day would be, "Black folks—don't buy and die where you can't live and work."

On March 13, 1987, Carson was a leader of a demonstration in New York City that asserted that the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association and its head, Phil Caruso, were part of the Ku Klux Klan. Carson declared: "We must let them know they too are going to be victims." He continued: "We must let them know that if they come for us in the morning we will come for them in the night." Carson and other leaders of the demonstration taunted some 200 mostly white policemen who surrounded the protestors. Carson led the protestors in chants of "Zoom! Zoom!" He explained that "Zoom" was "the war cry of the Zulu nation that used to bring fear to the crackers," adding, "Zoom is the war cry this summer."

*The New York Times* profiled Carson in an article on July 6, 1987. It reported:

"No justice, no peace," said Mr. Carson repeatedly in what he said he hopes will emerge as the rallying cry for his cause. "You don't give us any justice, then there ain't going to be no peace. We're going to make sure that everyone is disrupted in their normal lives. . ."

On June 10, 1989, the *New York Amsterdam News* reported that Carson would be a convener of a New York City Black Political Convention. Other conveners included members of the New York Eight, a Black group with which Carson had been associated. (The New York Eight were accused in 1985 of plotting the escape of two men imprisoned for the 1981 Brinks' armored car heist in Rockland County. Two police officers and a security guard were killed in the robbery. The eight were acquitted in August, 1985, of federal charges of conspiring to rob banks and commit jailbreaks. They were convicted for illegally possessing guns and using false identification.)

## An Unexplained Check

A controversy arose in October 1989 involving an alleged payment of \$9,500 to Carson by the David Dinkins mayoralty campaign. Dinkins' campaign reports showed a \$9,500 check issued to a Committee to Honor Black Heroes, without listing either its address or the purpose of the payment. Bill Lynch, Mr. Dinkins' campaign manager, said that the \$9,500 had been given to Mr. Carson, head of the Committee to Honor Black Heroes, to get out the vote in housing projects in Brooklyn and Queens. Dinkins said he had not been aware of Carson's criminal record.

In an October 6 letter to the Dinkins campaign, ADL expressed its concern about the anti-Semitism of Carson and of Jitu Weusi, another radical Black activist. Lynch responded that both Carson and Weusi were by mutual agreement (i.e., between the campaign and the two individuals) no longer involved in the Dinkins campaign. Lynch added that only Weusi had been a formal member of the campaign organization, while Carson was merely a supporter.

## The Korean Boycott

A *New York Times* editorial entitled "Sonny Carson, Koreans and Racism" (May 8, 1990) noted:

A minor scuffle in January in a Korean-American grocery store in Brooklyn has turned into an ugly boycott aimed at driving all Korean merchants out of a largely Black neighborhood in Flatbush. The boycott rides on a tide of ugly, unmistakably racist rhetoric

that warrants condemnation from every fair-minded New Yorker, starting with Mayor David Dinkins. . .

While the facts may be in dispute, there is nothing ambiguous about the behavior of Robert (Sonny) Carson, the convicted kidnapper and racial provocateur who is leading the boycott. Picketers shout threats and spit at would-be customers. Their leaflets exhort people to "boycott all Korean stores" and avoid shopping "with people who do not look like us."

Sonny Carson proclaims himself "anti-white." The boycott, which has all but shut down this and nearby stores, recalls inflammatory efforts by Mr. Carson and others against Korean merchants in Harlem, the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn and Jamaica, Queens. "In the future," Mr. Carson says crudely, "there'll be funerals, not boycotts". . .

## V: Rev. Al Sharpton

Al Sharpton has played a leading role in the Crown Heights unrest by polarizing relations and exacerbating tensions between Blacks and Jews.

On August 21, 1991, Sharpton called for the arrest of Yosef Lifsh, the driver of the car that struck and killed Gavin Cato, as a murderer. Feeding local rumors and unsubstantiated allegations, Sharpton constantly spoke of the accident as the "killing" of the Cato child as if he had been murdered, without making any reference to the actual racial murder of Yankel Rosenbaum. On August 22, Sharpton was quoted by *Newsday* as talking of "the ugliness of a blatant situation of a child being killed and there is still no arrest of any Hasidics. This is no one-person thing. The emphasis is on Black survival in Crown Heights. Our people are under attack. It's not about leadership now. It's about the liberation of the community held hostage by a minority who have permission from the city authorities to do what they do with arrogance."

On August 24 Sharpton led 400 shouting Black protestors through Crown Heights on the Jewish Sabbath chanting "Whose streets? Our streets!" and "No justice, no peace!" and shouting scattered obscenities. Speaking at the funeral of Gavin Cato on August 26, Sharpton attacked Jews as "diamond merchants," and said the Black community would allow "no compromise, no sellout. . . nothing less than the prosecution of the murderer of this young man." He said that Gavin Cato's "murder" was a "social accident," and stated: "It's an accident for one form of people to be treated better than another form. . . to allow an accident for one form of people to be treated better than another form. . . to allow a minority to perpetuate their will on a majority. . . it's an accident to allow apartheid ambulance service in the middle of Crown Heights. . . What type of city do we have. . . that will allow politics to be rised (sic) above the blood of innocent babies. . . have we lost all of our shame that even children are not above some crumbs from the table of people who have nothing but wickedness and hate in their heart?"

On August 27 Sharpton, speaking at a news conference along with Rev. Herbert Daughtry and attorney Colin Moore, charged that the investigation of the death of the Cato child conducted by District Attorney Charles Hynes was "absolutely tainted" because of what they said were Hynes' close ties to the Crown Heights Hasidic community. They questioned the integrity of Hynes' investigation, they said, because Hynes had been on a trip to Israel paid for and sponsored by a Jewish organization when the incident had occurred. Sharpton said "There is no way he can be impartial after being the recipient of an Israeli-Hasidic junket."

Responding the next day, Hynes called the allegations of Sharpton and the others "ridiculous" and "bizarre." Hynes denied Sharpton's charges that Josef Lifsh had been drunk at the time of the accident and that investigators had hidden those results in a cover-up. Hynes said Lifsh's test showed he had no alcohol in his blood at all. *Newsday* noted the irony that "The same activists used the same tactics to have Hynes appointed special prosecutor in the 1987 Howard Beach racial attack." After Queens District Attorney John Santucci could not obtain cooperation from key witnesses, Hynes was appointed special prosecutor by the governor. (Hynes obtained

manslaughter convictions in that case and was widely lauded as an advocate of racial justice.)

On September 6, 1991 a Brooklyn grand jury decided against bringing criminal charges in the death of the Cato child. Sharpton denounced both the finding and Hynes, calling for renewed protests. Sharpton had predicted that a failure to indict would revive the rioting that following the accident, but Crown Heights remained quiet.

Sharpton announced on September 15 that he was planning to travel to Israel to serve court papers on Yosef Lifsh, the driver of the car that struck and killed Gavin Cato. He did travel to Israel, but did not find Lifsh. "To his adherents," *The New York Times* has written (Jan. 13, 1991), "Mr. Sharpton is an authentic, stirring leader who has challenged the power structure too often to be doubted, who is not afraid to tell Blacks that 'we can turn this city on and off when we get ready.' To his critics, he is a publicity-hungry demagogue whose rhetoric masks limited achievements. . ."

In the last several years, Sharpton has become closely allied with the far-left, "anti-Zionist" New Alliance Party (NAP), a group tainted with anti-Semitism. Sharpton is frequently featured at rallies with the chairperson of the party, Dr. Lenora Fulani. Sharpton shares office space with the party at its headquarters in Manhattan. *The New York Times* reported in March, 1991, that Sharpton's lawyers were Michael A. Hardy, Harry Kresky and Alvaader Frazier. All three lawyers are prominent New Alliance Party members. Sharpton writes a weekly column, "The People's Preacher," for the NAP newspaper, *The National Alliance*.

Sharpton took part in a 1990 forum with Fred Newman, leader of the New Alliance Party, on the subject of "Blacks and Jews in New York City." According to the Black newspaper, *The New American* (Feb. 8, 1990), "Reverend Sharpton, who underscored the significance of the New Alliance Party's all important drive for permanent ballot status in New York, argued that the coalition of Blacks and Jews, forged to deliver an election day victory to David Dinkins had inevitably forced the Black community to sacrifice key leaders and principles in the name of unity. 'You can't enter into a relationship and ask me to give up much of what I need in the first place,' Reverend Sharpton insisted. 'This is not unity, this is slavery.'" Newman stated that "My crime was in saying publicly and passionately that Zionism is nothing more than a reactionary attack on people of color the world over."

Writing in his column in the *National Alliance* on August 9, 1990, Sharpton wrote of Mayor David Dinkins that "We have a mayor who condones Black ministers going to jail for non-violence, while he marches all over the world for Zionist terrorists."

In July, 1991, Sharpton was listed as an honorary co-chairperson of a reception for Louis Farrakhan to be held on July 25th at the Schomberg Center for Research in Black Culture. The event was sponsored by Muhammad Mosque No. 7.

In an article in the *Los Angeles Sentinel* (Aug. 7-14, 1991) Sharpton wrote of his admiration for Louis Farrakhan: "First of all, Mr. Farrakhan is a religious leader of great respect in Black America, and around the world. Mr. Farrakhan has been maligned, distorted and in many ways castigated by the white media for his uncompromising and courageous stands on behalf of Black people of color around the world. Because Farrakhan has done the unheard of by questioning Jewish authority in certain fields of American life, he has been labeled anti-Semitic, which is the way for those who sin and are members of the Jewish faith to try to purge themselves of examination by clouding the issue with a non-issue, when the issue is whether they have acted in an unsavory and unprincipled manner politically and/or economically, and not be discriminated against because of their faith or their heritage."

The Jewish newspaper *The Forward* conducted an extensive interview with Sharpton on October 4, 1991, entitled "Rev. Sharpton Warning Jews of Blacks' Ire." The newspaper reported, "Black hostility toward Jews is on the rise in New York, and the Reverend Al Sharpton says the situation will only worsen unless Jews open talks with him and other 'legitimate Black leadership' and quit calling their antagonists anti-Semites."



Critics are quick to point out that Mr. Sharpton may compare himself to [Dr. Martin Luther] King, but no one else does; they point to Mr. Sharpton's penchant for distortion, from his advocacy of Tawana Brawley to his description of Gavin Cato as a victim of "social apartheid," and they say he is simply a force of divisiveness who can never be trusted. . . .

Mr. Sharpton insists that he told his followers that "they cannot carry those anti-Semitic signs in my march. . . I told them that any Black who would praise Hitler is first of all psychotic because the only reason Hitler did not kill Blacks is we wasn't in Germany."

Despite his repudiation of Nazi sloganeering, the preacher drew charges of anti-Semitism when it was reported that he had described Jews as "diamond merchants" in the course of his eulogy at Gavin Cato's funeral service. "Don't just talk about the jeweler on Utica," he said, referring to a non-Jewish store that was looted and burned by rioters. "Talk about how Oppenheimer in South Africa sends diamonds straight to Tel Aviv and deals with the diamond merchants right here in Crown Heights."

Mr. Sharpton offers no apologies for his remark. "To take that and say I called all Jews diamond merchants is absolute hogwash," he told the *Forward*. The preacher does believe, however, that "there has been an increase in sentiments against Jews" among Blacks. Pressed to explain this rising tide of prejudice, Mr. Sharpton cites Jewish "actions and reactions around specific situations like Crown Heights," and the "terrible lack of understanding of what we're trying to say in the Black community." Jews say however, the fault lies not with the hated but with the haters, and they fault Mr. Sharpton for his role in the breakdown of relations.

Analyzing the extent of Sharpton's mass appeal, the *Washington Post* (Sept. 5, 1990) noted that "Even the reverend's harshest critics have been forced to admit that he touches a nerve, that he taps into a vein of Black discontent with white society so deep that its very existence makes white reporters and editors uncomfortable." The article noted that "Sharpton's all-purpose response to any conflict, from Howard Beach to Teaneck, is to summon the few hundred followers whom he calls his 'Black army.' But while King's marches and boycotts were supported by mainstream Black leaders, Sharpton is shunned by many prominent Blacks, and his marchers agitate only for some vague notion of 'justice'—or, worse, for Sharpton's demands that prosecutors seek the indictments he wants or that juries return the verdicts he wants."

## VI. Prof. Leonard Jeffries

On July 20, 1991 Leonard Jeffries Jr., a tenured professor at City University of New York and chairperson of its Black Studies Department delivered an obsessively anti-Semitic and racist speech in Albany, New York to the Empire State Black Arts and Cultural Festival. The speech came to wider public attention after the *New York Post* published a lengthy account of it in early August. As *Washington Post* columnist Jonathan Yardley later observed, Jeffries' comments were part of his "race-baiting harangues [that] have been a familiar part of CUNY life."

Among other charges in his speech, Jeffries asserted that "rich Jews" controlled the colonial slave trade. He also claimed the existence of a "conspiracy, planned and plotted and programmed out of Hollywood [by] people called Greenberg and Weisberg and Trigliani. . ." He stated that "Russian Jewry had a particular control over the movies, and [that] their financial partners, the Mafia, put together a financial system of destruction of Black people. It was by design, it was calculated."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Neal Gabler, author of *An Empire of Their Own: How the Jews Invented Hollywood*, has observed that the men who built the Hollywood studios—and who happened to have been Jews—themselves became a target for "wave after wave of vicious anti-Semites. . . the sum of this anti-Semitic demonology was that the Jews, by design or sheer ignorance, had used the movies to undermine tradi-

Jeffries also asserted that "The white boy can't be trusted. . . . These white folks, even the good ones, you can't trust. There's a devilishness out there when it comes to this African thing." He then turned his attention to Assistant U.S. Secretary of Education Diane Ravitch by describing her as the "ultimate, supreme, sophisticated, debonair racist" and "a Texas Jew." He reinforced the observation by pointing out that

. . . many people, such as the Ravitches, who happen to be Jewish, have blinded us on the attack coming from the Jewish community—systematic, unrelenting. . . . There is an orchestrated attack coming from the Schlesingers, and the Shankers. . . ."

(Jeffries was evidently referring to the historian Prof. Arthur Schlesinger—who is not Jewish—and Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers.)

In the 1980s Jeffries' preoccupation with race and Jews was frequently reported in various publications. In 1981 Jeffries stated that CUNY's administrators were benefitting "from institutionalized whiteness that gives priority to white males, preferably Jewish." In 1984 his capacity to serve as a department chair was called into question after he attacked a Jewish professor from another university who was a finalist for a position as CUNY's Director of International Affairs. The professor formally protested Jeffries' remarks in a two-page letter to CUNY president Bernard Harleston saying, "On two occasions, one public and the other private, patently racist and anti-Semitic remarks were made to me." Jeffries was reprimanded by Harleston, who issued a memorandum to the faculty condemning bigotry and anti-Semitism.

In 1989 Jeffries was hired as a consultant to the State Education Commissioner's New York State Task Force on Minorities. Jeffries and four others produced a report, "A Curriculum of Inclusion," critical of state curricula for alleged inattention to minorities. Opponents of the report found that it reflected "an aggressively 'Afrocentric' agenda that emphasizes racial differences to the detriment of Americans' shared experience and democratic ideals."

Jeffries has also promoted a theory of Black racial superiority. *The New York Times* reported that Jeffries has told students in his classes that Blacks are "sun people," humanistic and communal, while whites are "ice people," harsh, unfeeling oppressors of Blacks. This racist fantasy is based on the "theory" that an abundance of the skin pigment melanin accounts for what he claims is the superior intellect and physical prowess of Black people.

In April of 1988, an issue of CUNY's student newspaper, *Campus*, devoted a column to Jeffries' classroom racism. Lecturing about white people, he reportedly declared, "If I had my way, I'd wipe them off the face of the earth."

Jeffries' expressions of hate were denounced by New York Governor Mario Cuomo, U.S. Senators Al D'Amato and Daniel P. Moynihan and New York Civil Rights Coalition Chairman Michael Meyers, among others. On September 19, 1991 the City University Faculty Senate voted to condemn Jeffries' remarks.

On August 19, 1991, the *New York Post* reported that Jeffries told New Jersey students during the past spring that he was "sick and tired of having the damn Jews shoving the Holocaust down our throats." Tasha Morton, a trustee of the Board of Education in Teaneck, New Jersey, told the *Post* that she had taken Jeffries' adult education course, and had heard him make these comments. She said, "His lectures were a series of disconnected statements. He always made some kind of anti-white or anti-Semitic remark."

The August 10th issue of the *Amsterdam News* featured an article entitled "Dr. Jeffries Defends

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tional American values." In his book, Gabler went on to point out that in reality, these men sought to distance themselves from their Jewish European past, to assimilate into their new culture; "above all things, they wanted to be regarded as Americans, not Jews. . . ."

In short, whatever the nature and quality of their films, contrary to Jeffries' scapegoating accusations they were certainly not acting as Jews.

In December 1991, Gabler himself criticized Jeffries' Hollywood Jewish conspiracy thesis as "absurd." He stated that Jeffries had mischaracterized the content of his book and that Jeffries was being irresponsible in claiming that it supported his anti-Semitic charges.

His Views Without Apology." The writer stated that Jeffries spoke at a meeting on multiculturalism sponsored by the radical left Patrice Lumumba Coalition. The supportive article quoted Jeffries' remarks:

"Let me clarify my views," Dr. Jeffries said, after a long exegesis on the role of Jews in the African slave trade, "if they say we are destroying Western civilization with our proposals, then I say let it happen quickly, because Western civilization is nothing more than an institutionalized, sophisticated form of barbarism. Wherever the white man has gone, he has left his three D's: domination, destruction and death. It is for these reasons that we must destroy white supremacy in order to save the planet."

In an editorial entitled, "Watching Dr. Jeffries Self-Destruct," *The New York Times* (Aug. 25, 1991) commented:

... How can anyone take him [Jeffries] seriously after last month's speech at a black cultural festival, where he sneered at "the white boy," the "head Jew at City College" and "Miss Daisy"—Professor Jeffries' pejorative name for Diane Ravitch, an assistant U.S. Education Secretary who disagrees with his definition of multi-cultural education.

Based on what legitimate documentation does Dr. Jeffries accuse "rich Jews" of having traded in African slaves? And what basis is there for his assertion of "an alliance between the Catholic Church and rich Jews selling white central, eastern and southern Europeans into Arab slavery?"

Dr. Jeffries... told his audience that the original model for the Statue of Liberty was a black woman; documents show that Frederic August Bartholdi's model was his mother. Dr. Jeffries also expanded on his philosophy that Africans are a superior "sun people," while whites are an inferior "ice people," and he asserted African genetic superiority: "Everything else is a mutation off African genes. That's the scientific and historical data." Such talk invites comparison with others who espoused racial purity or superiority. . . .

On August 26, 1991, Bronx Assemblyman Larry Seabrook, a Black state lawmaker, condemned Jeffries' remarks. He told the *New York Post*: "The recent comments by Dr. Leonard Jeffries, in my opinion, are defamatory and appear to be a base appeal to bigotry. I therefore, deplore the remarks as I would any remarks of this kind whether uttered by David Duke or Dr. Leonard Jeffries."

The *New York Times* (Sept. 7, 1991) quoted Jeffries as referring to a Jewish "cabala" at City College:

"Now, if we're going to have an investigation," he [Jeffries] said, "we need to ask: If there's a place for societies of secrets among the academic faculty that deal with the power lever-ages of the faculty senate?" He was referring to male Jewish professors, led by Bernard Sohmer of the mathematics department, who he said had "an organization they put in place to protect their interests" that was called the cabala.

He said he had been told about the cabala—a term normally used to describe a mystical school of Jewish thought developed seven centuries ago—by Alice Chandler during her tenure as acting president of City College 11 years ago. Yesterday Dr. Chandler said she had no idea what he was talking about.

On October 27, 1991, City College's board of trustees by a 10-4 margin voted to give Jeffries a one-year extension as chairman of the Black studies department rather than the standard three years, saying they were "deeply disturbed by the irresponsible and inflammatory statements" made by Jeffries. The *New York Post* commented on this decision (Oct. 30, 1991): "This capitulation to mob rule is good news for the hoodlums and race-baiters. For the taxpayers of the state of New York—the folks who pay Jeffries' salary as well as CUNY's other bills—this abject display of cowardice on the part of all but four trustees is, or course, highly distressing. When people

in positions of trust and authority demonstrate their fear of rabble rousers, it gives ordinary people good reason to be afraid as well.

Further controversy involving Professor Jeffries erupted on October 30, 1991, when Derek Morgan, an editor of the Harvard *Crimson* at Harvard University, charged that Prof. Jeffries had threatened to kill him. According to *Newsday* (Oct. 29, 1991), Jeffries allegedly made the comments during an Oct. 18 interview at City College. Morgan said the interview was cut short when Jeffries' bodyguard took his tape and Jeffries warned, "If I see this [in print], I'll kill you."

Morgan also stated that Jeffries called Dr. Henry Lewis Gates Jr., chairman of Harvard's African-American Studies Department, "a faggot and a punk." Morgan stated that Jeffries cut the interview short and asked for the tape when he learned that "predominantly Jewish people" worked at the *Crimson*.

City College announced on October 30 that it would investigate Morgan's allegations. *The New York Times* wrote that "The student's allegations could call into question not only Dr. Jeffries' chairmanship but also his job as a tenured professor."

The *New York Post* (November 7) published excerpts from Morgan's interview with Jeffries. In the interview, Jeffries contended that white people introduced homosexuality into the Black community. Jeffries reportedly told Morgan: "Whites introduced homosexuality to us [Blacks.] When I was in Europe, they offered their wives to me [if he would perform homosexual acts with the men.] That's nasty. I've never seen anything like that," Jeffries said. Jeffries' remarks were denounced by Ellen Carton, executive director of the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation.

On March 23, 1992, the Board of Trustees of the City University of New York voted to remove Prof. Jeffries as head of the Black Studies Department at City College, effective July 1. Jeffries—who is to be replaced as chairman by Dr. Edmund W. Gordon, former chairman of the African-American Studies Department at Yale University—will be able to remain a tenured professor at City College.

These controversies have not diminished Jeffries' appeal as a speaker to some campus groups. In the past year, Jeffries has had paid speaking engagements at St. John's University, the State University of New York at Binghamton, the State University of New York at New Paltz, Long Island University, Fordham University, AT&T in Whippany, New Jersey, and Irvington High School in New Jersey.

## VII: Jitu Weusi

Jitu Weusi, the former Leslie R. Campbell, once a teacher in the New York City public school system, has been a political and social activist in the Black community in New York for over 20 years and a longtime advocate of Black nationalism and Pan Africanism. Weusi's was one of the radical Black voices during the Crown Heights riots in 1991.

Concern about Weusi's anti-Semitism dates back to 1968. Active in the African-American Teachers Association, which had come into conflict with the United Federation of Teachers over the issue of community control of public schools, Weusi (then using his former name) appeared on a radio program on WBAI in New York in 1968 and read a controversial poem by one of his students that attacked Jews, the memory of the Holocaust, and Israel.

### Fomenting Violence

Weusi's views do not seem to have changed over the last twenty years. According to the *New York Post*, Weusi "is part of a group of Brooklyn-based activists whose stock in trade is fomenting violence and race hatred in the city." (October 10, 1989.) Weusi was one of the leaders of the "Day of Outrage" demonstration on the Brooklyn Bridge in August of 1989. During that demonstration, marchers called police "pigs," and chanted "What's Coming?—War!" Bottles and bricks were thrown, causing injuries to more than 40 police officers. Weusi was also involved in a 1987

Day of Outrage protest in New York City in which Rev. Al Sharpton and lawyer Alton Maddox led an effort to shut down the city subway system. The National Black United Front, a group which Weusi helped found in 1980, supported, among others, Joanne Chesimard, a convicted murderer of a policeman. Weusi has called Libya's Muammar Khadafi and the PLO's Yasser Arafat "true leaders of their people." In 1986, he endorsed the New York Gubernatorial bid of Lenora Fulani, a leader of the "anti-Zionist" New Alliance Party.

## Past History

Weusi, 51, has referred to himself as "Big Black." He stands six feet, six inches tall; he was born and raised in the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn. In 1968, Weusi was a major mover in the African-American Teachers Association (ATA) during the teachers strike that exacerbated Black-white and Black-Jewish tensions in the school system and in the city. During that year Weusi appeared on a radio program and read aloud an anti-Semitic poem by a student that began: "Hey Jew boy with that yarmulke on your head, you pale-faced Jew boy I wish you was dead." Recalling the poem and the poem's author in 1989, Weusi told the *Village Voice* (June 6, 1989): "I read those poems and said 'wow,' she was sharp, man. She had command of the language." Twenty-one years after the fact, Weusi still defended the poem and denied that he was anti-Semitic.

Weusi served as director of The East, a cultural center in Brooklyn, and headmaster of its Uhuru Sasa school until its demise in 1985. He also wrote a column for *Black News*, The East's publication, that was critical of the educational establishment and Jews. In one of many columns he wrote in the early 1970s laced with anti-Semitism, he charged that Jews were primarily responsible for the deterioration of New York City's public school system. He also has charged that Jews are exploiters of the labor and capital of Blacks and that Black communities represent "one of the major bases of zionist [sic] capitalist exploitation in the U.S." On another occasion, he described criticism of a colleague as an attack by "the worst sort of beast, a white liberal son of zionist-racism."

## In Praise of Farrakhan's "Message of Unity"

In October, 1985, *New York Newsday* identified Weusi as one of several supporters of the Rev. Louis Farrakhan who held a news conference on the steps of New York's City Hall on October 7 to criticize Mayor Edward I. Koch and other leaders for their denunciation of the Black Muslim minister. Weusi said that Farrakhan's economic message calling for Blacks to produce goods for Black consumers was "a message of unity for Afro-Americans that cuts across class lines."

## New York City Mayoral Politics—and a Controversy

Weusi was one of the conveners of a New York City Black Political Convention in 1989. Other conveners included Sonny Carson and Father Lawrence Lucas.

On October 6, 1989 the *New York Post* identified Weusi as head of African Americans United for David Dinkins.

A controversy over Weusi's role in the Dinkins campaign ensued. On October 11, the *New York Post* reported that the Anti-Defamation League had written a letter to Mayoral candidate Dinkins concerning the participation in his campaign of Weusi and Robert "Sonny" Carson. With respect to Weusi, the ADL charged that he had written "scores of anti-Semitic" articles over the years.

On October 12, New York City newspapers reported that both Weusi and Carson had withdrawn from the Dinkins campaign.

*The New York Times*, in an editorial entitled "No Tolerance for Hate," commented: "The resignations of two Dinkins volunteer workers who once expressed anti-Semitism was . . . appropriate."

## VIII. Kwame Ture

"The only good Zionist is a dead Zionist." This inflammatory statement is a favorite punchline of Kwame Ture (formerly Stokely Carmichael) when he speaks at campuses around the country, frequently vilifying the Jewish State and its supporters. The Black nationalist figure first used the line at Columbia University in 1985 and repeated it as recently as February 1990 at the University of Maryland.

Ture stated on the latter occasion that "Zionist pigs have been harassing us everywhere," warning: "And when this anger rises, [we] will snap our fingers and finish them off."

Also in February 1990, at the University of Minnesota Law School, Ture proclaimed that "Zionism must be destroyed." Quoting the anti-Semitic head of the Nation of Islam, Louis Farrakhan, Ture said, "Zionism will make Judaism a gutter religion. It's like God and the devil." That same year, at the University of California at Berkeley, Ture said: "The slimy Zionist press will tell you that we are anti-Semitic; don't be confused . . . Yasir Arafat is a Semite; I support him. The Palestinians are Semites; I support them. How can I be anti-Semitic when I support the Semites?" Ture evoked laughter in the audience by stating, "Shamir is not a Semite. He is a Cossacoid, Golda Meir was a Cossacoid."

Continuing his vitriolic rhetoric at Colgate University in February 1991, Ture asserted that Zionism was a "diabolical movement" that was "Satanic," and that the Zionists "colluded with Hitler" and were "enemies of the people."

### Personal History

During the 1960s, Stokely Carmichael (as Kwame Ture was known then) became a national figure as a leader of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)—originally an integrated civil rights group. An early and outspoken youth leader in the civil rights movement, he was a hero to many. But he became increasingly radicalized and critical of SNCC's policies of nonviolence and integration, and steered the group toward a posture of racial separatism. He subsequently became "Prime Minister" of the Black Panthers and helped popularize the concept of "Black Power." Ture's descent into anti-Semitism began at that time.

### A Revolutionary Party

Ture is the leader of the Washington-based All-African People's Revolutionary Party (AAPRP), the most outspokenly "anti-Zionist" radical group on the left now functioning in the United States. The party has parroted the infamous UN resolution (repealed on December 16, 1991) that "Zionism is racism," and has published a pamphlet entitled "Smash Zionism."

In February 1991, Ture spoke at Tufts University. Following his speech, an Israeli flag owned by Jewish students was set on fire; its charred remains were placed back on its stand.

### Anti-Semitism as Anti-Zionism

Ture maintains that he is merely anti-Zionist, not anti-Semitic. Yet his violent rhetoric scapegoats Jews specifically. "Zionist" appears to be his transparent codeword for "Jew."

At a speech in 1990 at Princeton University, Ture repeated his frequent accusation that the "International Zionist Movement . . . [is] controlling all of the banks, businesses and financial institutions in our community, selling us rotten meat at the corner store, dry rotted clothes and charging high rent for slum buildings." In a 1988 interview with the radical magazine *Breakthrough*, Ture stated: "Zionism controls the political entity in America . . . there is no possible way for us to avoid confrontation with Zionism. No possible way."

A fervent supporter of Louis Farrakhan, Ture echoes Farrakhan's obsession with Jews, his exaggerated notion of their power, and his use of violent and threatening imagery when referring to them. In his March 1991 speech at Colgate University, Ture stated that "if we touch a Jew

they'll come and get ten of us." When he spoke at the University of Minnesota in 1990, Ture charged that "the Zionists joined with the Nazis in murdering Jews, so they would flee to Palestine."

Ture's campus appearances have engendered discord and ignited flames of hate, especially among Black students. He remains a disturbing, polarizing figure, whose provocative rhetoric warrants continuing concern.

## IX. Lenora Fulani and the New Alliance Party

Dr. Lenora Fulani is the chairperson of the New Alliance Party, an extremist political group on the far left that is tainted with anti-Semitism. During the recent Crown Heights riots, Dr. Fulani took an active role at rallies and marches.

Dr. Fulani is the party's most visible and effective representative. The New Alliance Party, which calls itself "America's third party," claims to be a women-led, multi-racial, pro-homosexual independent political organization. In actual practice, it is many other things as well.

The party once had links to the anti-Semitic political extremist and propagandist Lyndon LaRouche, and is currently supportive of Louis Farrakhan, anti-Semitic leader of the Nation of Islam. As noted earlier, the party is also allied with Rev. Al Sharpton, who shares office space with the party and writes a weekly column for its newspaper, *The National Alliance* (not to be confused with an extreme right-wing organization of the same name). Fred Newman, head of the NAP, has called Jews "the storm troopers of decadent capitalism."

Dr. Fulani is a psychologist and "director of social therapy" for the eight so called "medical and therapeutic" centers run by the party in the New York area, as well as individual centers in Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Denver, and Jackson, Mississippi. The party, which claims to have regional offices in 26 states, attempts to be politically active in areas where these therapy centers are located.

Dr. Fulani ran for the presidency in 1988, and was on the ballot in all fifty states. She was certified by the Federal Election Commission to receive federal matching funds of \$205,565.18. She received a national vote of 218,159, or less than one quarter of one percent of the total vote cast. In 1990 she ran for governor of New York State, and was endorsed by Louis Farrakhan, Al Sharpton and lawyer Alton Maddox Jr. In December 1991, Dr. Fulani qualified for over \$600,000 in federal matching funds for her campaign for the Presidency in 1992.

Closely allied to the party are the Rainbow Alliance and the Rainbow Lobby, groups which are sometimes confused with Rev. Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition—an apparently deliberate confusion that is consistent with the New Alliance Party's long-standing pattern of operation. The party also runs a so-called Chicago Center for Crisis Normalization, and a variety of services in New York City including the Castillo Art Collective in Greenwich Village, free legal clinics in Harlem and a media and entertainment corporation called New Alliance Corporation that produces "Musicruise" (a series of New York jazz concerts on a Hudson River boat.) The New Alliance Party has maintained particularly sympathetic support for the Libyan regime of Col. Muammar Khadafi. Dr. Fulani headed a New Alliance Party delegation at an "international Peace Gathering" in Tripoli on April 14, 1987 to "commemorate . . . the genocidal U.S. bombing of the Gulf of Sidra and the Libyan coast." *The National Alliance* reported on April 24, 1987 that Dr. Fulani stated: "It was extraordinarily moving, so powerful to be part of an entire nation's demonstration against U.S. militarism and racism."

NAP representatives were present on the stage with Louis Farrakhan at the Nation of Islam rally at Madison Square Garden in 1985, during which Farrakhan made numerous anti-Semitic statements. In a statement supportive of Farrakhan at the party's Harlem convention in 1985, NAP leader Fred Newman stated:

The history of Zionism, the manipulation, that is Zionism, is nothing more than the making of a deal with the devil . . . To be saved . . . means to follow and build the leader-

ship, the great struggle of people of color all over the world, and in the United States of America, to follow the leadership of the Afro-American people as Jews, as Puerto Ricans, as gays, as straights—because that's the progressive leadership that will end these sick, vulgar, inhuman deals with devils. So as with Minister Farrakhan, our party is about 'doing in the devil.' And we'll do in the devil in any way we can. Whatever Minister Farrakhan can do by way of helping us in doing in the devil—we don't turn anybody away!

Continuing in this vein, and speaking as a "progressive Jew," Newman said that the Jews responded to the Holocaust and genocide "by selling our souls to the devil. The name of the devil is international capitalism, and don't forget it!"

In 1986 Practice Press, the party's publishing arm, put out a pamphlet titled, "The Hon. Louis Farrakhan: A Minister for Progress." It is advertised weekly in *The National Alliance*. The introduction to the pamphlet stated that Farrakhan and the New Alliance Party "are the leading targets of Zionist terror," and that Farrakhan was "the most progressive religious leader on the American political landscape." In 1991, the party published (under the imprint "Castillo International") "The Man Behind the Sound Bite," an adulatory biography of Al Sharpton.

On March 6, 1987 *The National Alliance* reported that Dr. Lenora Fulani had traveled to Buffalo for a speaking engagement with five Nation of Islam bodyguards. Dr. Fulani appeared at a press conference on September 6, 1988 with Dr. Abdul Alim Muhammad, the "national spokesperson" for Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam, at which Muhammad declared his support for Fulani's presidential campaign.

The *National Alliance* reported on September 15, 1988 that Fulani "paid tribute to Dr. Muhammad and Minister Farrakhan," describing them as Black leaders of "extraordinary courage and commitment." She expressed "the active support of . . . the Nation of Islam in this campaign . . ." Referring to rumors that she "had accused Minister Farrakhan of being an anti-Semite," Fulani asserted:

I have never stated, suggested or implied that Minister Farrakhan is an anti-Semite. Nor do I believe he is. To be an anti-Semite, in my opinion, means that one intends disrespect and harm to the Jewish people. It is clear to me that Minister Farrakhan intends no such harm.

The *National Alliance* has stridently attacked the Anti-Defamation League as well as "Zionism." On November 21, 1986, the newspaper described ADL as "a multi-million dollar slander machine against progressive, and Black and Latino leaders, and Arab and pro-Arab organizations, purposely setting these groups up for attacks by an increasingly sophisticated Jewish fascist underground modeled on Israeli terrorist groups."

Dr. Fulani became a drama critic for one occasion on November 16, 1989, when the leader of the New Alliance Party, Fred Newman, produced his play "No Room for Zion," at the party's Castillo Cultural Center. She said that Newman was "a very special Jewish man who is teaching Jews and Blacks and Latinos and gays and the working class a hell of a lesson when he says about his mother: 'She weren't no fuckin Zionist.'"

Fulani went on to write that Newman and a cast member, Gabrielle Kurlander, "could not be more Jewish, contrary to what we have all have been brainwashed to believe about what it means to be Jewish—which is that every 'real' Jew is a Zionist. In many ways that's all and everything that 'No Room for Zion' is about!" Fulani wrote that Jews "had to sell their souls to acquire Israel and are required to do the dirtiest work of capitalism—to function as mass murderers of people of color—in order to keep it. Not only that, most of the Jewish people have not benefited from this 'victory.' Only a very few have—and what distinguishes the Jews who have benefited is not their Jewishness but their fascistic activity."

Near the end of her review, Fulani approvingly quoted this speech from Newman's play:

"Is there work for me to do? Do not annihilate me. Find for me, the dirty Jew, some dirty work so I may survive. Find for me a job that will be so useful that my assimilation will



be secured as it was not in Germany. Find for me such work, and I will do it, no matter what. I will do it. I will sell my historical Jewishness, my very soul . . . I am the dirty Jew and I have always done your dirty work. What is it now? What ugliness is your Christian civilization into now? What filth? I, the dirty, Jew, will help to clean it."

## PART TWO: BLACK CULTURAL FIGURES EXPRESSING ANTI-SEMITISM

### I. Professor Griff and Public Enemy

Professor Griff, the former “Minister of Information” (but not an on-stage performer) for the highly popular rap group Public Enemy, came to public attention in May 1989, when he gave an interview to the *Washington Times*. In that interview, Professor Griff said, among many other things, that Jews are responsible for “the majority of wickedness that goes on across the globe”; that Jews “have a grip on America”; and that Jews “have a history of killing Black men.” He also said “Is it a coincidence that Jews run the jewelry business, and it’s named *jewelry*?” According to the *Washington Times* (May 29, 1989), “Professor Griff’s belief in a worldwide Jewish conspiracy is based partly on notorious, decades-old anti-Semitic texts such as *The International Jew* by Henry Ford—which are available in Muslim bookstores—and on tape-recorded speeches delivered at Farrakhan’s Chicago headquarters by Steve Cokely, the Black nationalist and conspiracy theorist.” The *Times* also reported that Griff said: “The Jews can come against me. They can send the IRS after me. They can send their faggot little hit men. I mean, that don’t move me.” The *Times* reporter wrote that he “asked why *The International Jew* was among the many books and pamphlets the members of Public Enemy had stacked on a table for my visit to their headquarters.” James Norman, a member of the Public Enemy group, replied: “Don’t get hung up on this one book. We’re studious people. We study. And this just happens to be a book that we’ve read.”

On June 29, 1989, Public Enemy announced that it had disbanded. Shortly before this, the group said it had fired Professor Griff. This breakup would prove to be short-lived; Public Enemy re-established its relationship with Professor Griff shortly afterwards. In 1990 Griff was again fired by Public Enemy, and has not rejoined the group since.

Public Enemy, whose records have sold millions of copies, are devoted fans of Louis Farrakhan, and lyrics of their songs have praised him. One of the group’s members, Chuck D., raps in “Bringing the Noise”: “Farrakhan’s a prophet and I think you ought to listen to/What he can say to you, what you ought to do.”

Farrakhan’s continuing impact on Public Enemy was reflected in another song, “Welcome to the Terrordome,” released in December 1989. *The New York Times* commented on December 27, 1989:

Its [Public Enemy’s] response to a controversy last summer over anti-Semitic statements by its “minister of information” has now appeared in lyrics from its new single, “Welcome to the Terrordome,” that also seems to cross the line into anti-Semitism.

The lyrics include “Told the rab, ‘get off the rag,’ ” and:

Crucifixion ain’t no fiction  
So-called chosen, frozen  
Apology made to whoever pleases  
Still they got me like Jesus.

Interpretation: Told the rabbi to stop complaining; the Jews (“so-called chosen”) have crucified Public Enemy.

On August 12, 1989, *The New York Times* reported that despite its announced intention to disband, Public Enemy had played tour dates in August, and that Professor Griff, who had been fired, had been rehired by the group. His new position was as the group’s liaison to the Black community. Chuck D. Ridenhour, Public Enemy’s songwriter and main rapper, said: “Griff is not anti-Semitic; he hangs out with Falasha Jews from Ethiopia damn near every other month.”

Juan Williams disclosed “music’s ugly new trend: racism, sexism and gay-bashing,” in an article in *The Washington Post* on October 15, 1989. The article stated that “In a June news conference, Chuck D. of Public Enemy excused the anti-Semitism of Professor Griff’s comments by explaining the group is ‘not anti-Jewish, anti-anyone—we are pro-Black.’ This failed logic, which equated pro-Black stance with bigotry toward whites and particularly Jews, has been allowed

to flourish by the absence of outcry from Black civil rights groups."

A major controversy erupted at Columbia University in February, 1990, when Professor Griff was invited by the Black Students Organization to deliver a speech at the university. The student group said it issued the invitation because "it considered Mr. Griffin (Griff's real name) an important force in Black America." (*New York Times*, Feb. 8, 1990) Griff's appearance was closed to the press.

Since the appearance of "Welcome to the Terrordome," there have been no further instances of anti-Semitism in Public Enemy lyrics.

On May 12, 1990, the Black newspaper *New York Voice* reported that Professor Griff had been severed again from Public Enemy after a recent altercation with a white rapper from the group 3rd Bass. Griff reportedly called the rapper a "faggot Jew bastard." Griff has not appeared with Public Enemy since that time, and has been making speaking engagements on his own around the country.

Professor Griff appeared at Southern Connecticut State University on February 22, 1991. His speech included a twenty-minute anti-Semitic diatribe about "Jewish control." In July 1991, Griff was the featured speaker at the Cincinnati Black Book Fair. He stated it was a "fact" that "white people have made it with animals and monkeys in the caves of Europe." Griff said, "Jewish doctors, along with Russian and American doctors, got together and invented the AIDS virus in a laboratory."

## II. Amiri Baraka

Amiri Baraka (formerly known as Leroi Jones) is a well-known American poet with a history of hostility to Jews dating back to the 1960s. His poem, "Black Art," published in 1966 and widely disseminated by Black nationalist publications, said of Jews:

... We want poems  
like fists beating niggers out of Jocks  
or dagger poems in the slimy bellies  
of the owner-Jews. . .  
... Setting fire and death to  
whities ass. Look at the Liberal  
spokesman for the Jews clutch his throat  
and puke himself into eternity. . .  
Put it on him poem. Strip him naked  
to the world! Another bad poem cracking  
steel knuckles in a jewlady's mouth. . .

In 1967 *Evergreen Review* published three poems by Leroi Jones, all of which were anti-white and two of which were anti-Semitic. Jones/Baraka wrote that "Atheist Jews double crossers stole our secrets. . ." In February 1972, Vintage Books published a collection of the essays of Baraka entitled *Raise, Race, Rays, Raze*. It contained numerous derogatory references to Jews.

Over the years, Baraka has remained a black literary figure of some public standing. In 1980, Baraka wrote an article entitled "Confessions of a Former Anti-Semite" for the *Village Voice*, which was ostensibly a rejection of his previous views. Yet he wrote:

We also know that much of the vaunted Jewish support of Black civil rights organizations was in order to use them. . .

Baraka maintained he was now not anti-Semitic, but anti-Zionist. "In my view," he wrote, "and that of majority of the members of the United Nations as well, Zionism is a form of racism. It is a political ideology that hides behind the Jewish religion and the Jewish people, while performing its negative tasks for imperialism. . . For here is a people with the murders of millions

of their brothers and sisters still fresh in their memories who now function as imperialist watchdogs in the Middle East!" Baraka concluded that "anti-Semitism is as ugly an idea and as deadly as white racism and Zionism."

In the 1980's Baraka became a professor at the State University of New York at Stony Brook. He also founded the League for Revolutionary Struggle (Marxist-Leninist), which is based in Newark. The group publishes a monthly newspaper, *Unity*, and a theoretical journal, *Forward*. In an article entitled "Zionists Attack Africana Studies Program at SUNY Stony Brook," (*Unity*, November 1983) Baraka wrote of Jewish student opposition to the insertion into the syllabus of the Africana Studies program by a faculty member, Prof. Fred Dube, the statement that "Zionism is racism as much as Nazism was racism." Baraka wrote that "it should be clear to most objective observers that for many people throughout the world, Zionism is a reactionary nationalism, more dangerous because in Israel it has state power and functions as a junior partner to U.S. imperialism!" He also attacked "certain Zionist administrators on Stony Brook's campus."

Baraka published *The Autobiography of LeRoi Jones* in 1984. *Jewish Currents* wrote that the book was "so full of hostility and posturing that it casts doubts on the author's emotional stability as well as his claims to political leadership. . . .white-baiting of the most obscene kind creeps in." The magazine wrote that Baraka was critical of the anti-Semitism in many of his plays and essays in the 1960s and early 1970s, "but regards this as an unfortunate by-product of his turn to nationalism rather than as an offense to be corrected and repudiated in subsequent editions of his books and productions of his books."

Writing of the Democratic party campaign in *Forward* in 1985, Baraka stated: "We should know that principally the Jackson 'ethnic slur' and the sudden prominence of Louis Farrakhan were just diversions put out there to confuse, divide and cover U.S. Policy in the Middle East. Farrakhan must distinguish between Judaism and Zionism. It is the Zionists who control Israel and have the most influence now in the Jewish bourgeoisie in the U.S. (and South Africa), not the religion. . . ."

Baraka became a full-time visiting professor at Rutgers University in 1988. He was denied tenure in 1990.

### III. Ice Cube

Ice Cube (O'Shea Jackson) is a highly popular rap singer who was prominently featured in the recent film "Boyz N the Hood." His most recent album, "Death Certificate," which was released in November 1991, has been widely criticized for its anti-Semitic, anti-Korean, anti-gay and anti-women lyrics. The trade newspaper of the music industry, *Billboard*, in an unusual editorial in November 1991 stated that Ice Cube's "unabashed espousal of violence against Koreans, Jews and other whites crosses the line that divides art from the advocacy of crime."

In a song called "Black Korea," Ice Cube warns:

So don't follow me up and  
down your market/  
or your little chop suey  
ass will be a target/  
So pay your respect to  
the Black fist/  
or we'll burn your store  
right down to a crisp./

In another song aimed apparently at the Jewish manager of Ice Cube's former group, NWA, Ice Cube writes in "No Vaseline":

. . . get rid of that devil, real simple/  
put a bullet in his temple/  
cause you can't be the nigger

for life crew/  
With a white Jew telling  
you what to do.

*The New York Times* reported in November 1991 that the packaging of the album "urges young Blacks to join the Nation of Islam and shows Ice Cube reading a newspaper with the headline 'Unite or Perish.'" *The Times* wrote:

In "Black Korea," his revenge against Asian shopkeepers who are suspicious of their ghetto customers is to suggest a nationwide boycott and, as a bonus, arson. . . . a corpse with a toe tag reading "Uncle Sam" is on the cover. "Horny Lil' Devil," a rant against miscegenation, goes out of its way to derogate white women and threatens to kill white men who desire Black women. . . . The worst insult Ice Cube can think of. . . is to call someone a homosexual.

#### IV. Legrand H. Clegg

Legrand H. Clegg is president of the Coalition Against Black Exploitation, an eight-year-old Los Angeles group that monitors the way Blacks are portrayed in the entertainment industry. He came to national attention in July 1990, when, as a member of a panel at the NAACP convention in Los Angeles, he called for "a summit meeting with the Hollywood Jewish community" to "raise the issue of the century-old problem of Jewish racism in Hollywood."

Mr. Clegg was participating in a panel discussion on "Blacks in the Entertainment Industry." Another member of the panel, the Black actress and producer Marla Gibbs, said, "The Jewish system in Hollywood was not set up for us."

Writing in support of Clegg's position in the Black newspaper, the Los Angeles *Sentinel*, Kwazi Geiggar and Menelek Sessing contended that attacks on Clegg and Gibbs were "nothing more than disingenuous efforts to isolate and silence strong, Black voices. . . . we, African-Americans, must applaud and defend our leaders who have the courage and integrity to stand up and say to the world, 'Enough is enough!!'" The same article (but only Geiggar's byline) appeared in the Nation of Islam newspaper, *The Final Call* in December 1990. (Dec. 24, 1990)

Clegg, Chief Deputy City Attorney in the Los Angeles suburb of Compton, has a history of hostility to the Jewish community. His views were reflected in an article co-authored with Kwazi Geiggar in the *Los Angeles Sentinel* in 1985, (Dec. 19, 1985), in which Jews were regarded with suspicion and hostility:

Indigenous Black leaders, such as Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X, and Black writers, such as James Baldwin, long ago questioned the existence of a Black/Jewish alliance. Malcolm X, in particular, felt that Jews backed the Civil Rights movement solely to divert White American attention (which, until that time, was virtually focused as much on Jews as on Blacks) from the Jewish community to African-Americans, and thereby free Jews to quietly slip into the American mainstream.

. . . . For decades the beleaguered Black masses have complained of Jewish merchants who exploit them. They have also accused the Jewish community of feigning support for fair housing while simultaneously attempting to stem the westward movement of upwardly mobile Blacks. . . .

## PART THREE: ANTI-SEMITISM BY BLACK STUDENT GROUPS ON CAMPUS

A disturbing recent trend is the number of anti-Semitic speakers being invited to address Black student unions and other student organizations on campuses around the country. The following is a brief description of events that have occurred in recent years at a cross-section of colleges and universities.

### California

The February 1991 edition of *Nommo*, the Black student newspaper at UCLA, published an article entitled "Anti-Semitic? Ridiculous—Chill." The article was a defense of the content and display of the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* and *The International Jew* at a local function in October of 1990. Monique Matthews, the author of the article, wrote that the "Protocols" "present information which some believe confirms the theory that so-called Jews have plotted to control the world economically." Matthews also stated that Jews are a "small group of european [sic] people who have proclaimed themselves God's 'chosen' by using an indigenous African religion, Judaism, to justify their place in the world."

UCLA's Jewish Student Union (JSU) officially filed a grievance with the school's Communications Board. A meeting was arranged between JSU members and *Nommo*. At the meeting, two Jewish representatives of the JSU were jeered and mocked by members of the *Nommo* staff and members of the African Student Union, and *Nommo* refused to acknowledge that the article was anti-Semitic.

According to the *Jewish Journal* (Feb. 22, 1991) UCLA Hillel Director Rabbi Chaim Seidler-Feller received several phone calls, "some threatening, some spewing Farrakhan rhetoric, from members of the Black community who complained that Jewish students were harassing *Nommo* writer Monique Matthews. 'They said I'd be held responsible for anything that happened to her,' the rabbi recalled."

In May 1991, *Jewish Journal* reported that in its final issue of the school year *Nommo* published anti-Semitic remarks by one of its editors and a letter to the editor that urged hatred toward Jews. Entertainment Editor Darlene Webb's farewell statement was directed specifically at the Jewish news magazine *Ha'Am* and its staff. "Silly rabbits, they think I don't like them because they're Jewish," she wrote. "That's ridiculous. I don't like the majority of them because they're typical cave-dwelling. . .white, zionist fucks."

The letter to the editor published in *Nommo* asserted that "international Jews" control "the press, TV, oil and nearly everything else" in Western society.

In a letter to the Communications Board, Vice-Chancellor Winston Doby, himself an African-American, called the *Nommo* statements "highly offensive and blatantly anti-Semitic" and announced a "moratorium" on Student Affairs advertising in *Nommo* "until more responsible leadership is exercised."

Writing of the incidents at UCLA in the *Village Voice* (May 27, 1991), Nat Hentoff noted that anti-Semitism was increasingly being expressed by some African-Americans on college campuses. Hentoff added that he was "puzzled by the extent and depth of Black anti-Semitism, especially among younger Blacks and especially among some Black intellectuals. . ."

### Connecticut

Professor Griff spoke before 200 people at Southern Connecticut State University on February 22, 1991. The lecture was sponsored by the Programs Council, an umbrella student group that coordinates various campus events utilizing university funds.

Griff devoted twenty minutes of this lecture to an anti-Semitic diatribe. He spoke of "Jewish control in the music business," and of "Jewish control in South Africa that exploits the indigenous people in the country." He also claimed as true the remarks of Chicago Farrakhan follower

Steve Cokely that Jewish doctors injected Black babies with AIDS.

## Georgia

Conrad Muhammad, Black Muslim minister of the Nation of Islam, spoke at Emory University in Atlanta on November 19, 1990 to a group of 150 people at the invitation of the Black Student Alliance. Going beyond Farrakhan's notorious statement about Judaism, Muhammad stated that "White Christians misrepresent [Jesus'] words to make us a milquetoast people. . . Christians practice a dirty religion. White Christians." (*The Emory Wheel*, Dec. 4, 1990)

Muhammad stated that "Ziōnism is a political philosophy that men and women who did not even believe in God founded. . . ." Muhammad approvingly quoted another Farrakhan conspiracy theory: "There is a white plague. Whites brought drugs into the Black community to control Blacks." Muhammad's remarks evoked constant cheering in the audience.

In another instance, a blatant example of anti-Semitism in the guise of anti-Zionism was a January 1991 editorial titled "What Is Zionism?" in the student newspaper at Morehouse College in Atlanta. The editorial stated in part:

Zionism is a well organized and financed international conspiracy which controls the economic and political life of the United States and Europe; using this strangle-hold to steal and colonize the land of Palestinian people. It utilizes terror and murder to achieve its goal. . .

## Illinois

Kwame Ture made several appearances in Illinois in February, 1989. He spoke to an audience of 250 at Northwestern University on February 16. Ture's visit was reportedly paid for by a Black fraternity organization.

On February 15th, Ture spoke at the University of Chicago. His speech was funded by an allocation from the student government, and sponsored by the All-African People's Education Forum.

Louis Farrakhan spoke at the Black History Month celebration on January 30, 1990 at Northern Illinois University. His speech was sponsored by the Black Student Union. AIDS, he said, was synthetically developed, and introduced into the Black population by the white government.

Addressing Jewish students, he said he did not hate Jews and was not a new Hitler, and he denied he said that Judaism was a dirty religion, but "you" continued to write that he did. What he did say, he explained, was that "Israel will never have peace because there can be no peace structured on lying, thievery, murder—the practice of a dirty religion."

## Maryland

Kwame Ture spoke before 300 students at the University of Maryland at College Park on February 8, 1990. His speech was sponsored by the Black Coalition, an umbrella group composed of the Black Student Union, the campus chapter of the NAACP and the Pan-Hellenic Council (Black fraternities and sororities).

In his speech Ture stated that Israel was using "Judaism to break the arms of little Palestinian children." Calling himself a strong supporter of Judaism, Ture said the religion was a "gift" from Africa, since the first nation mentioned in the Bible was Cush, now Ethiopia. As people who were "responsible" for Judaism, Africans must "protect" the religion and must be "at all times and under all conditions against Zionism." Ture warned that he and his followers were angry, "and when this anger rises, we will snap our fingers and finish them off." (*Baltimore Jewish Times*, February 16, 1990)

## Michigan

Louis Farrakhan spoke to an audience of 4,000 at Michigan State University on February 18, 1990. He accused whites and Jews of "sucking the blood of the Black community." The *Detroit Free Press* (Feb. 19, 1990) reported that he "attacked Jews more directly, citing leadership positions in movie studios and book publishing. 'You people,' he said, 'took advantage of Blacks' ignorance. . . You did this to us, but you don't apologize. What the hell do you have to tell me that I have to apologize to you?'"

## Minnesota

In February 1990, the *Minnesota Daily* reported that there were tensions between the Black and Jewish communities over a series of "anti-Zionist speakers" (the latest being Kwame Ture) at the University of Minnesota sponsored by the Africana Student Cultural Center. Speakers brought to the university over the last two years have included Louis Farrakhan and Steve Cokely. The *Daily* quoted Classical and Near Eastern Studies Professor Tzvee Zahavy as stating: "There seems to be an obsession with Zionism here, completely without cause." The *Daily* wrote: "Zahavy said Kwame Ture's speech, funded by student fees, represents a trend of increasingly condoned anti-Semitic actions on campus. . . ."

Ture stated: "the Zionists joined with the Nazis in murdering Jews, so they would flee to Palestine." The *Minneapolis Star Tribune* of Feb. 28, 1990, reported that University of Minnesota President Nils Hasselmo,

reacting to pressure from the Anti-Defamation League, said he "personally found the statements in Ture's speech concerning alleged Zionist collaboration with the Nazis deeply offensive." Furthermore, he noted that while Ture distinguishes between Zionism, which advocates a separate Jewish homeland, as a political movement and Judaism as a religion, "Quite obviously many Jews and Jewish organizations in Minnesota have seen this as only a device to be able to attack the Jewish people." But Hasselmo went on to say, "While I understand and sympathize with the reaction in the Jewish community, I cannot resolve the debate about the contents of Dr. Ture's speech. I put my faith in the concept that the remedy to free-speech controversies is more free speech."

In February 1992, the Africana Student Cultural Center invited Steve Cokely as a guest speaker for the second time (he had also appeared in 1989). Cokely, who was fired in 1988 from his job as an assistant to the mayor of Chicago after it was revealed that he had charged Jewish doctors with deliberately injecting Black babies with AIDS, made racist and anti-Semitic remarks. According to the *Minneapolis Star* (Feb. 15, 1992): "Cokely told a packed auditorium. . . about a history of powerful white people—linked by their memberships in world banks, private think tanks, and secret societies—who have been moving for years towards 'a supra-government'. . . Cokely said that coalition includes not just Jews, but also WASPs, Masons, government agencies. . . and the news media."

## New York

As noted earlier, "Professor" Griff appeared as a speaker at Columbia University in February 1990 at the invitation of the Columbia Black Students Organization. Griff spoke at the commemoration of Black History Month. On the evening of his lecture, the university's Council of Jewish Organizations staged a "Rally against Hatred and Prejudice."

A student group that promotes campus events, the Board of Managers, withdrew \$1,000 it had pledged for the Black Students Organizations' programs. Asked whether the Black Students Organization approved of Prof. Griff's comments about Jews, the chairman of the group's political committee, Hector Carter, told a student newspaper: "The B.S.O. is neutral on that. We want to hear what the man has to say. We're not saying 'Yes, he's right,' or, 'No he's wrong.'"



Griff told *The New York Times*: "I want to break up the old relationship between Blacks and Jews. No more master and slave relationship, no more landlord and tenant, no more employee-employer relationship."

Black-Jewish tensions ran high during Griff's appearance. Black and Jewish factions on the Columbia campus engaged in counter-demonstrations and shouting matches across police barriers outside the auditorium where Griff was appearing.

Another disturbing incident occurred at Columbia University in the fall of 1990. Dr. Khalid Abdul Muhammad of the Nation of Islam addressed the Columbia Black Students Union. He referred to Columbia as "Columbia Jewniversity in Jew York City."

## Ohio

Louis Farrakhan addressed an audience of 5,000 people on November 5, 1990 at Bowling Green State University. Farrakhan spoke before the Fourth Annual Midwest Black Student Unity Conference sponsored by the Black Student Union. He was introduced by Maurice Tate, Black Student Union president. According to *The BH News* (Nov. 6, 1990), "Farrakhan captivated an audience of more than 5,000."

## Pennsylvania

Prof. Leonard Jeffries spoke at Temple University in Philadelphia in November 1991, under the auspices of the African National Reparations Organization, a non-university group that seeks economic reparations for slavery, and Uhuru, a student group at Temple. Jeffries spoke before 40 people.

According to the *Philadelphia Daily News* (Nov. 11, 1991), Jeffries said that "it's important to us to make the statement we are making in reference to rich Jews with property and power that are part of the rich white men's syndrome." The article reported: "Jeffries said the 1992 celebration of Christopher Columbus' voyage is rightly criticized, and he cited Jewish involvement in financing slavery."

The newspaper stated that Jeffries' talk "was frequently interrupted by cheers and chants" from the audience.

## Washington State

Abdul Alim Musa, a member of the Islamic Movement of North America, spoke at the University of Washington on May 23, 1991. His appearance was co-sponsored by the Muslim student Association and the Black Student Union.

Musa stated that America's powerful majority had purposely introduced drugs into Black communities. He also asserted that U.S. policy was "controlled by an influential Jewish community, determined to keep minorities repressed and powerless." Musa added: "The triangle of power finds the Americans at the top, but they're controlled by the Zionists below. The Americans do not control their own society.

"There is no bigger terrorist nation in the world than the United States of America," Musa said. "They make Nazi Germany's terror look like nothing." (*The Daily of the Univ. of Washington*, May 24, 1991).

Musa went on to contend that Israelis "are the enemy of humanity." He said that Jewish control of American society was evident through its participation in the recent Gulf War. "If Americans were all for truth and justice," he said, "they would take the same actions against Israel as they did against Iraq."

## Wisconsin

Louis Farrakhan spoke at the University of Wisconsin-Madison on February 6, 1989 before a crowd of 6,500 at the invitation of the Black Student Union.

He explained that when he called Hitler "great," he meant he was "wickedly great"—with an emphasis on the word "wicked." He said he never has "advocated any harm to any one Jewish person." In regard to Jesse Jackson's "Hymietown" remark, he said, "You know, 'Hymie' is not a bad name among Jews."

To sponsor the speech, the University's Black Student Union was allocated \$9,000 by the university's Multi-Cultural Council and \$3,715 by the Wisconsin Student Associations. Of those sums, Farrakhan received \$10,000. The Madison Jewish Community Council, the Milwaukee Jewish Council and Jewish students protested that funding. The chancellor of the university, Donna Shalala, and university administrators denounced Farrakhan's views.

These incidents illustrate a deeply disturbing question: Why do groups of Black students at college campuses around the country—an important segment of the Black community's likely future leadership—continue to invite and applaud speakers well known for anti-Semitic bigotry, demagoguery and ignorance?

### **Promoting Anti-Semitism at the High School Level**

The Second National Conference on the Infusion of African and African-American Content in the High School curriculum took place in Atlanta, Georgia on the weekend of November 2, 1990. *The New Republic* reported (Nov. 26, 1990) that vendors sold *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* at the conference, which was sponsored by several major corporations.

Among the points made at the conference, Andrew Sullivan wrote in *The New Republic*, were "that ancient Egypt was uniformly a Black African culture, that no Semitic peoples were involved in the building of the pyramids, that no Jews were enslaved in Egypt, and that Western philosophy was 'vomit.'" Dr. John Hendrik Clarke, professor emeritus at Hunter College in New York and a well-known Black scholar, asked: "At what point do we stop this mental prostitution to a religion invented by foreigners? All religion is artificial. All the major religions of the world are male chauvinist murder cults."

Sullivan continued that "at no session did I hear anything about interracial tolerance and understanding; at no point support for American gains in cultural pluralism; or anything that argued that study of Africa was part of a broader ethic of awareness of the world as a whole. Reading the Portland essays [a 1983 text known as the Portland African-American Base-line essays, adopted in high schools in Portland, Oregon, and now being implemented in Pittsburgh, Indianapolis, Atlanta, and Washington, D.C.] which are now the basis for reforms across the country, I found the same dogmatic reiteration of racial separatism and specious scholarship. . . . It's sad enough, perhaps, that the educational establishment can turn a blind eye to this racism in its midst. But it's sadder still that what passes for an answer to the collapse of high school education these days is the institutionalization of hate."

The conference organizer, Black educator Dr. Asa Hilliard, is on the committee to overhaul New York State's high school curriculum. The meeting was addressed by Thomas Sobol, New York State Commissioner of Education, and the anti-Semitic Prof. Leonard Jeffries, chairman of the Department of Black Studies at City College of New York.

### Another Campus Voice

Beverly Nickolson, a Black student at the University of Massachusetts, wrote an essay (which is excerpted here), on "Why I Rejected Farrakhan," as part of Professor Julius Lester's course entitled *Blacks and Jews: A Comparative Study of Oppression*. The author described her reactions when Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan was invited to the campus as part of the university's Distinguished Visitors Program.

This semester, several of my friends decided they wanted to hear Farrakhan speak. When word leaked out about the possibility of Farrakhan coming to campus, almost immediately student groups closed ranks. Background reports on Farrakhan from the Anti-Defamation League appeared, protesters rallied and I couldn't understand why. . . I began to buy into the idea that white people, and Jews, were very much against Blacks making their own decisions concerning leaders. They were threatened by a strong, aggressive man who spoke the truth without mincing words. . . . I supported what I believed to be Farrakhan's right to come to campus. . . .

I borrowed a VCR and sat in my room alone with Farrakhan for five and a half hours. It was so sick. Farrakhan is sick. He rambled continuously about the "Jewish Conspiracy." He talked about how Jews would be judged by God and found lacking. He went on and on about Blacks rising up to thwart the selfish, greedy Jew. . . . He denied hating Jews and denied the "rumors that Farrakhan wants to kill Jews" but he said that God would take care of his "problem." He talked about Hitler being a great man. Jews, he said, wanted to keep the Black man down. Jew, Jew, Jew, Jew. . . . Every word out of his mouth was another bullet. It was so transparent, so blatant how he truly felt. . . .

On February 2, that man will be on this campus and that saddens me. I am afraid of what may happen after he is gone. I am worried about what he will say while he is here. . . . I will make sure that I am not on campus that day. I don't want to be part of U. Mass. on that day. I keep hoping something will happen to prevent his trip. I keep hoping that the Board of Trustees will rescind the invitation. . . .

[Editor's Note: Louis Farrakhan did appear on the campus as scheduled. There were student demonstrations against his appearance but no violence erupted.]

## PART FOUR: USE OF THE PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION AND THE INTERNATIONAL JEW

*The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and *The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem*, are "classic" anti-Semitic texts that portray Jews as the masterminds behind a sinister plot to take over the world. Adolf Hitler used them to advance his own Jew-hating and racist theories, and they have been the favorite texts of many other hatemongers around the world. A controversy erupted in Los Angeles in 1990 over two incidents involving these publications: the sale of the *Protocols* by the Eso Won Bookstore at the city-sponsored African Marketplace fair and the display of *The International Jew* by the Black Employees Association at the Department of Water and Power General Office Building.

Los Angeles City Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky complained about the sale of the books at the Eso Won Bookstore, stating: "The sale of these books at a city cultural event, in support of which the taxpayers have allocated \$43,000, is an affront not only to the Jewish community but to all who abhor racism and treasure tolerance."

In the latter incident, the Black Employees Association had asked the Department of Water and Power for the opportunity of having a table in the lobby of the department's building with a display of books for sale. Among the books was *The International Jew*. Some employees of the department protested the book's sale, and the material was ultimately removed.

According to the *Jerusalem Report* (August 22, 1991), sales of *The Protocols* have been traced to Lushena Books, a Black nationalist book wholesaler in New York City, which in turn is buying the books from the white-supremacist Christian Book Club (which obtains them from Angriff Press in Los Angeles.) Copies have been seen at a dozen Lushena sidewalk bookstands across the New York metropolitan area.

During the 1980s Muslim groups, including some in this country, had peddled the forgery. For example, The Muslim Student Associations at Wayne State University in Michigan and at the University of California at Berkeley disseminated the document and during a 1986 conference sponsored by the Islamic Center of Southern California, the *Protocols* were prominently displayed.

## PART FIVE: A CASE STUDY OF MEDIA BIAS:

### The New York Black Press

The following section describes a pattern of hostility to Jewish concerns on the part of several Black-owned newspapers in New York City. Following a survey of Black newspapers around the country, the ADL found little evidence of a similar pattern of widespread hostility country-wide.

An examination of several Black newspapers in the New York metropolitan area (*The Amsterdam News*, *City Sun*, *Big Red News*, and the *New York Voice*) suggests a disturbing pattern of hostility toward Jewish concerns on the part of three of these papers. Only the *New York Voice* maintains an independent, mainstream position, and a continuing attitude of friendship toward the Jewish community. The other three papers share in common a number of attitudes (in varying degrees) that reflect hostility to the mainstream white community, the Jewish community and national institutions. These attitudes are reflected in editorials published by these papers, and in the one-sided, advocacy-style journalism they frequently employ.

Excluding the *New York Voice*, these papers reflect some of the views reported in a *New York Times* article of October 29, 1990 entitled "Talk of Government Being Out to Get Blacks Falls On More Attentive Ears."

The *Times* article reported that in a *New York Times*/CBS poll in New York City, a considerable portion of the Black community believed that the government was deliberately singling out and investigating Black elected officials in order to discredit them in a way it didn't do with white officials, that the government was deliberately making drugs available to poor Black neighborhoods to harm Black people, and that the AIDS virus was deliberately created in a laboratory in order to infect Black people. In the *Times* poll, from 10 percent (on the AIDS question) to 32 percent (on the question of persecution of Black officials) of the Black community shared these conspiracy-oriented views.

The circulation of the Black press in New York City is very limited. The largest paper, the *Amsterdam News*, had a circulation of 31,584 (a drop from 81,200 in 1980) according to the October 4, 1990 *Wall Street Journal*. The *Journal* noted that "In recent years, the mission of Black newspapers has become increasingly difficult. At many of them, circulation, advertising revenue and profits have fallen sharply."

These three newspapers give favorable coverage to such extremist figures in the Black community as Louis Farrakhan, Al Sharpton, Prof. Leonard Jeffries, Lenora Fulani, and lawyers Vernon Mason and Alton Maddox. The papers tend to print hostile articles about Israel on a regular basis.

It should be noted that of the four, the *Amsterdam News* is the most provocative. Its tone and content often have an emotional, even incendiary quality, largely representing the point of view of its editor, Wilbert Tatum.

#### 1. New York *Amsterdam News*/Wilbert A. Tatum

Long considered the mainstream Black newspaper, the *Amsterdam News* has undergone a metamorphosis in recent years. As recently as 1987, *The New York Times* wrote of it: "The *Amsterdam News*, founded in Harlem in 1909, speaks with the authority of the Black leadership establishment, according to many prominent figures in the Black community."

The *Times* did note, however, that while there was "still power and prestige attached to the city's black newspapers," in general they no longer hold the overwhelming importance to the city's Black population that they had in the days of segregation.

For many years, the editor of the *Amsterdam News*, Wilbert A. Tatum, was regarded by the Jewish community as someone with whom dialogue could be conducted, and he encouraged that notion. In the Crown Heights crisis, however, Tatum emerged as an influential figure willing to inflame community passions.

The anti-Semitic views of Prof. Leonard Jeffries were championed by the *Amsterdam News* in the days preceding the Crown Heights riots. Tatum's lead editorial in the August 17th issue stated that "the Black community had organized in order to save itself and the people of this city from conflagration that will surely come should any kind of incident occur, by accident or design, that threatens the well-being of Professor Jeffries. . ."

The same issue of the *Amsterdam News* included a vintage anti-Semitic tract by Joseph R. Mack in which the author wrote:

Those who live in glass houses should refrain from throwing stones. Let the Jews purge their Torah of anti-Africanism before they accuse any African man of anti-Semitism. The children of Ham (Africa); Punt (Somaliland); Mitzraim (Egypt); and Kush (Sudan, Ethiopia), who were cursed by the Torah of the Jews, have risen to defend their fathers and to uncover and ridicule the nakedness of Adam, Jacob, Noah, Hymie, Cecile (sic) B. Demille, and the Weisburgs, none of whom ever were our father. . . Let the purveyors of slavery initiated by the Torah's myth of Joseph. . . stand on the verandas of their glass house and cry anti-Semitism as we Africans make inquiry as to whether the religion of the Jews was in fact gutter, particularly in the sense that it is anti-African.

Even before the controversy on Jeffries started, the *Amsterdam News* featured an article by Jeffries in its July 27, 1991 issue attacking the *New York Post* for reporting that prominent members of the Black community (including Wilbert Tatum) were sponsoring and attending a meeting in honor of Louis Farrakhan at Harlem's Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture. In its August 10 issue, the *Amsterdam News* published an article entitled "Dr. Jeffries Defends His Views Without Apology." The writer noted Jeffries' association with the melanin theory, which maintains that Blacks—having more of this skin pigment—are superior to whites. The supportive article stated:

"Let me clarify my views," Dr. Jeffries said, after a long exegesis on the role of Jews in the African slave trade, "if they say we are destroying Western civilization with our proposals, then I say let it happen quickly, because Western civilization is nothing more than an institutionalized, sophisticated form of barbarism."

. . . "Wherever the white man has gone, he has left his three D's: domination, destruction and death. It is for these reasons that we must destroy white supremacy in order to save the planet." The elimination of white supremacy and white male hegemony are at the base of Dr. Jeffries' "curriculum of liberation," and when he concluded, the audience a half hour later was still abuzz with his speech.

The August 17, 1991 issue was filled with adulatory coverage of Jeffries and reports of threats to his life. The page one article, "Support Grows for Dr. Jeffries," had a subhead: "Concern about his safety following death threats." The article stated that Rev. Herbert Daughtry, a Brooklyn minister and activist, "was convinced that the attack on the professor is really directed at the curriculum on inclusion. 'I challenge our Jewish friends to have a scholarly debate on the questions Dr. Jeffries is raising,' he added." The article reported that faculty members of the Black Studies Department at City College wrote to Dr. W. Ann Reynolds, chancellor of the City University, on August 10 expressing regret at "the response of some representatives of the Jewish community who threatened Dr. Leonard Jeffries with physical harm because of his leadership role in the educational process. . . ."

(Needless to say, no responsible "representatives of the Jewish community" have threatened Dr. Jeffries.)

The account also said that *Amsterdam News* editors had viewed the videotape of Dr. Jeffries' remarks "and have concluded that there is nothing anti-Semitic, racist or chauvinistic in its content."

The final article on the paper's August 17th page one was a story about a "Russian Jewish scholar," Dr. William Loren Katz, who defended Jeffries. Among the sources cited by Dr. Katz in support of Jeffries' contentions was the movie, *The Godfather*. Katz, who the article stated had taught at New York University, said the attacks on Jeffries were "not related to anti-Semitism; it's related to the curriculum of inclusion. It's really about the anguish the white scholastic community feels about the curriculum of inclusion, which is a long time overdue. They are scapegoating Professor Jeffries to alibi their own failure to develop a fair curriculum over the decades." (Soon after this article appeared, a spokesperson for New York University said the school had no record of Katz ever having taught there.)

The same August 17 issue included two full editorial pages in support of Jeffries.

### Incendiary Headline

During the Crown Heights riots, the August 24, 1991 issue of the *Amsterdam News* featured a front-page article with the incendiary headline, "Many Blacks, No Jews Arrested in Crown Heights." The article began with the following slant:

Black residents of Brooklyn's Crown Heights neighborhood are steaming mad that a car full of Jews was escorted to an ambulance and whisked away after the car crushed the life out of a seven-year-old and pinned a second child underneath, resulting in critical injuries.

"If we don't get justice, we will call for Black power, then revolution," Eric Phillip, a resident of Crown Heights, said angrily.

This article is representative of an increasing tone of hostility the newspaper has been taking toward the Jewish community. The article stated that Rev. Al Sharpton, Rev. Herbert Daughtry, attorney Alton Maddox, Sonny Carson, attorney Colin Moore, Lenora Fulani (head of the radical New Alliance Party) and others leading a peaceful march "faced a barrage of rocks" from the Hasidic community. The article stated that the alleged rock-throwing Hasidim were not arrested, while 30 Blacks were arrested. (There is no indication in the article as to why the Blacks faced arrest.)

While in recent years the *Amsterdam News* has allied itself with the viewpoints of Black extremists, as late as 1985 Tatum was identified in a news story from the Jewish Telegraphic Agency as co-founder of the "Black-Jewish Coalition." He was quoted as saying "the need for coalition between Blacks and Jews in America is so evident that it is hard to understand why we are walking further and further away from it." When David Dinkins condemned the anti-Semitism of Louis Farrakhan in October, 1985, Tatum offered these views of Farrakhan in *The New York Times* of Oct. 4, 1985:

On the one hand he preaches love of Blacks for themselves, self-help, economic independence and the survival of our communities. Interspersed with this message of survival there is also a message of hatred toward Jews."

The *Times* report continued: Tatum "said Black leaders were 'finding it difficult to articulate their abhorrence of Farrakhan's hate while supporting his message of hope.'"

By 1991 Tatum was willing to appear at a dinner in honor of Farrakhan by the Schomburg Center.

The newspaper's shift away from the mainstream is illustrated by its coverage of a variety of issues, ranging from the Central Park jogger gang-rape case (it claimed the rape never occurred, and published the name of the jogging victim) to featuring various anti-white conspiracy theories in the controversies surrounding Tawana Brawley and Leonard Jeffries.

The *Washington Post* reported (Aug. 21, 1990) that Tatum's assertions "have left many readers, Black and white, stunned and angry." The *Post* stated that while the *Amsterdam News* carried weight "as one of the city's most prominent Black-run enterprises," some of its former supporters

said "the paper has drifted from its stated goal of informing Blacks and promoting their achievements."

The *Amsterdam News's* continuing negative preoccupation with Jews was reflected in an article entitled "The 'little secret' Jews don't want exposed to the public," in its October 12, 1991 issue. The article was an account of the comments of Fred Newman, leader of the Marxist therapy cult, the New Alliance Party. The article stated that "Tensions between Blacks and Jews will continue to escalate as long as Jews have a privileged position in the American Society and Blacks are exploited, Dr. Fred Newman. . . told an audience in Harlem recently." The article quotes Newman as stating, "Jews don't want this little secret to be exposed, because to do so would mean losing that privilege. . . and they have sufficient control of the media and other institutions to make sure that never happens."

## 2. *City Sun*

The Brooklyn-based *City Sun* is a well-edited weekly tabloid with a circulation of 18,500. The newspaper considers itself very militant. *The New York Times* described it as "an upstart maverick. . . the voice of a new angrier Black leadership that is challenging the Black establishment." The *Times* wrote that most Black newspapers observed "an unwritten rule to avoid criticism of Black elected officials and leaders," but at the *City Sun* "there are signs that this code of silence is starting to crack in a move toward a more mature, if more critical journalistic mission than that of the past." The *Times* also wrote that the newspaper "stands for the rejection of what it sees as a white-dominated system that will never allow real power to Blacks." The paper's publisher, Andrew Cooper, is quoted as stating: "What I'm saying is that Blacks are not part of the American family and never will be. Until Blacks learn that lesson, Blacks will forever be in bondage."

On October 25, 1989 the paper published an article titled, "Dinkins Must Be 'Sincere,' Farrakhan Says," by Christopher Atwell, which quoted Farrakhan's remarks at a Nation of Islam Savior's Day event in Washington. Farrakhan had been displeased with a Dinkins television ad pointing out that Dinkins had "even endured death threats" to speak out against Farrakhan's anti-Semitism. The article also quoted another Nation of Islam spokesman: "It's evident that David Dinkins has miscalculated the support Minister Farrakhan has among Black people in New York. Either that, or he has opted to plug into the Jewish party line on Farrakhan, regardless of how people feel. It's ignorant and not based on fact."

Following the Crown Heights riots, *Insight Magazine* (Oct. 7, 1991) interviewed Utrice Leid, editor of the *City Sun*. Asked about the silence of many Black leaders about the anti-Semitism raging in Crown Heights, she replied: "Oh please, this is a tired thing." *Insight* wrote that Leid "views the violence against the Hasidim as inseparable from what she believes are the legitimate grievances that provoked it. 'People are locked into responding to the symptom of Crown Heights, which was the uprising or the revolt,' says Leid. The underlying tension between Blacks and Jews in the neighborhood is 45-years old, she says. 'Nobody wants to deal with that.'"

## 3. *Big Red News*

*The New York Times* (August 17, 1987) wrote that for *Big Red News*, as for the *City Sun*, "the words integrationist and accommodationist are epithets, and the future lies in a kind of economic and political Black separatism." *Big Red News* is a slim, Brooklyn-based tabloid; Michael V. O'Neal is executive editor. The front page of the October 27, 1990 issue featured a picture of Al Sharpton and Lenora Fulani dressed in Black sheets marching in Queens "to protest the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and the alleged silence of Gov. Mario Cuomo and. . . Attorney General Abrams on the recent outbreak of Klan activity."

In its Sept. 1, 1990 issue, *Big Red News* ran an article entitled "Jews, Hollywood and the Media" by Kwazi Geiggar (chair of the Black Alliance Against Media Stereotypes) and Menelek Sessing (chair of the African-American Self-Defense League). It dealt with the accusations of Legrand H. Clegg II at the July 1990 convention of the NAACP in Los Angeles to the effect that Jews



controlled the film industry. The article stated:

If, as some Jewish writers admit, Hollywood is a "Jewish milieu," is it not appropriate for African-Americans to appeal to Jewish leaders to join African-Americans in the fight against racism that is so prevalent in the film industry? Or, to please the media, should African-Americans remain silent, lest they be labelled anti-Semitic? . . .

Throughout the 20th century most stereotypes of African-Americans, from the early minstrel shows, Stepin Fetchit and "The Little Rascals" to Norman Lear's "Good Times" and "The Jeffersons". . . have been produced and directed by Jews. . . .

*Big Red News* has run defenses of Public Enemy (the rap group whose former spokesman, Professor Griff, has expressed anti-Semitism), including an August 19, 1989 editorial by Ronald X Stewart, a contributing editor of the Nation of Islam newspaper, *The Final Call*.

#### 4. A Different Voice: *The New York Voice*

*The New York Times* has written that to *The New York Voice*, "genuine integration remains a cherished goal and true power comes from aggressive political advocacy within the system." Based in Flushing, Queens, *The New York Voice* is a well written and edited weekly newspaper. It is affirmative toward the Jewish community. Committed to democratic values, the newspaper has not hesitated to condemn Louis Farrakhan as an anti-Semite. It condemns all manifestations of racism and anti-Semitism. The owner of *The New York Voice*, Kenneth Drew, told *The New York Times* (Aug. 17, 1987) that "he regarded much that appears in the other Black weeklies as sensationalism and 'a lot of garbage.' "

In July, 1987, the newspaper condemned the hostility of the Black Journalists Association toward then-police commissioner Benjamin Ward, stating that those who disrupted a meeting with Ward "are playing right into the hands of a small number of radical opportunists who are out to promote their own political agendas by smearing the commissioner. It is unfortunate that some of the poison these troublemakers are spreading is infecting the Black community."

On January 27, 1990, *The New York Voice* referred to then-Washington, D.C. Mayor Marion Barry (who had just been arrested on drug charges) as a "disgrace to us all." It stated:

Cries of "entrapment" have a hollow ring to them. It matters little that Barry was the victim of a federal sting operation—should we blame the messenger for the bad news he delivers?

(Barry was later found guilty on a misdemeanor charge of cocaine possession).

On May 12, 1990, the newspaper condemned the boycott of Korean grocery stores in Brooklyn by some Black activists as "grossly unfair." It stated that the boycott "serves to unjustly scapegoat a race of people whose only crime seems to be hard work. . . . The fact that boycott organizer Sonny Carson has vowed not to cooperate with the fact finding committee speaks for itself. For whatever reason, Carson does not seem to want a peaceful resolution for the Black/Korean conflict. Those who are out on the picket lines urging Blacks not to shop with 'people who don't look like us' may believe they are engaged in a pro-Black protest, but in reality they are practicing a despicable form of racism."

*The New York Voice* frequently reports news of the Jewish community, of activities related to commemorating the Holocaust, and accounts of Black-Jewish cooperation and alliance. On June 22, 1991, for example, the newspaper ran a photograph and extensive story about an Urban League dinner honoring Ernest Schwarcz, a Holocaust survivor, Dean of the School of General Studies and Professor of Philosophy at Queens College, for his work as chairperson of the Queens Black-Jewish People to People Project.

The article reported that Dean Schwarcz and Project Coordinator June Van Brackle "have worked side by side, both publicly and behind the scenes, to bring African-Americans and Jews together in order to build understanding and friendship between communities and to strengthen

cooperative ties between the two communities." The article reported that the project had included neighborhood forums, workshops, cultural explorations, shared holiday celebrations and, at Queens College, public forums, academic symposia, conferences, and an undergraduate course on the Black and Jewish family. Participants in these activities, in addition to Jewish figures, included Dr. Charles Hamilton, noted Black scholar; Dennis M. Walcott, President and Chief Executive Officer of the New York Urban League, and Victoria A. Williams, Borough Director of the New York Urban League

*The Connection*, which claims to be New Jersey's largest Black weekly newspaper, recently published a cartoon strip with anti-Semitic connotations. The Teaneck-based paper's cartoon strip portrayed a bespectacled man addressed as "Senator" being asked by a reporter if he considered it immoral to eat the homeless. The senator replied that he had "checked with my rabbi," and added, "It's not as if we're eating pork!"

Protests about the cartoon were lodged by numerous lay leaders and clergy of all faiths in the community. In response, *The Connection* published an editorial justifying itself which raised as many questions as the cartoon itself. The editorial stated:

There is no arguing against the fact that the holocaust [sic] was a terrible thing. . . . While we hate to get into comparisons, it needs to be stated that the holocaust visited on African people as a consequence of Western slavery was far worse than anything the Jews suffered. . . . the manifestations of slavery can still be witnessed by the level of pain and suffering that still exists in the Black community.

. . . Why is it that the mere mention of Jews starts their engines to running. [sic] What makes Jews feel beyond reproach?

The editorial asked: "How many Jews ever think about the holocaust experienced by Blacks? How many care for that matter. . . . Yet the rest of us must forever be on guard, lest we step on Jewish sensibilities. It's not fair. . . ."

The editorial went on:

When Jews are accused of controlling the media and movies we need only look at the mastheads and credits. Leading to that assumption is the sustained attack that the media mounts against those who have been labeled anti-semetic [sic]. And who is labeled anti-semetic? Anyone critical of Jews.

## RADIO STATIONS

### WLIB, New York

Anti-Semitic comments and remarks are frequently heard on WLIB, a New York radio station serving a largely Black audience. WLIB is owned by New York's largest Black media company, Inner City Broadcasting, established by former Manhattan borough president Percy Sutton.

On June 16, 1990, the *New York Voice* described "rabblers" who "are sowing the seeds of hate. . . on Black-owned radio station WLIB, where phone-in callers rail against Koreans and Jews (who seem to have become the new scapegoats for Black frustration) in a racist fashion." Media commentator Fred Friendly of Columbia University told the *New York Daily News* in 1990: "There have been many personal, often anti-Semitic attacks on whites on WLIB."

Extremist speakers who are particularly hostile to the Jewish community are frequent guests

on the station's programs particularly on the Gary Byrd Show, aired each morning. Dr. Leonard Jeffries is constantly cited as a source of wisdom and insight. An occasional guest on the Gary Byrd program is Dr. Josef ben-Yochannan, who has a long history of anti-Semitism. His rambling monograph "Blacks and Jews: An Old Confrontation," (1988) is filled with offensive and inaccurate statements.

Another favorite guest is Dr. John Henrik Clarke, whose view is that Jews such as Sigmund Freud, Karl Marx and Albert Einstein represent an "evil" genius that has "colonized" the minds of the world.

An article entitled "A Counter-Reality Brews in Harlem" examined the Gary Byrd program in *Harper's Magazine* in August, 1991. The article wrote that "The show plays too significant a role in the formation of Black opinion to be dismissed."

The article wrote of a discussion of the Tawana Brawley case by three Harlem publishers, including Wilbert Tatum, owner of the *Amsterdam News*. The article continued:

Byrd began by checking whether all agreed that the grand jury report and the press accounts of the Brawley affair had been transparent, racist falsehoods. All did. Then Wilbert Tatum took the stage to praise Tawana Brawley as a latter-day African princess and to accuse the white press of deliberately lying in order to substitute a Black villain for a white one. The crowd . . . hooted with derision.

On another day, the *Harper's* reporter noted, Sonny Carson, the leader of the boycott of a Korean grocer, was interviewed on the program by Byrd, about the boycott. "The Jews," Carson told him, "when they left, they made sure that they turned those stores over to people who would continue the trickery." The *Harper's* article added: "A few minutes later a young woman from Newark called to say that a raid on a local Korean grocer had found a freezer 'full of skinned rats and cats, with onions on the other side, all to be mixed together into the soy sauce.' The audience groaned as one." The reporter commented: "The underlying emotion dictates the facts; no fact can be too strange if it vindicates the emotion."

### **Ralph From Ben Hill (Myles Smith, Jr.) WGST-Atlanta**

The "Ralph from Ben Hill" show on WGST in Atlanta provides a steady stream of Israel-bashing and anti-Semitism. "Ralph," or Myles Smith Jr., has promoted *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and *The International Jew* on the airwaves. He is also virulently anti-Israel. In September 1991, he referred to the Jews of Israel by saying, "Send them back to Germany. . . They brutalize the Palestinians." Referring to the Jonathan Pollard case on the same program, he commented, "It makes you question the allegiance of Jews who live in this country."

Speaking on the air on November 1, 1990, Ralph said, "There's a book by Henry Ford you need to read. . . I think you know the name of the book. I don't even want to call the name of the book over the air because people'll get all inflamed. But he talks about *The Elders of Zion* and some protocols, the twelve or the ten or the 13 or the 14 protocols of the Elders of Zion and they talk about a world of conspiracy. . . But if you think about some of the world events today. . . I tell you, you can't help but scratch your head. Big ol' question marks'll pop on the top of your head."

On the same night, answering a caller about Israel, Ralph said: "You're talking about a war monger nation that's in bed with South Africa, that's got the blood of Black men on their hands, that's cutting diamonds and cutting, dealing and weighing gold that's coming out of the mines of South Africa and you want to paint some lovey dovey picture about tending sheep and the Holocaust. Hey, send them back to Germany. Don't be giving me that lovey dovey story."

Discussing the Crown Heights riots and the grand jury's decision not to indict the driver of the car involved in the fatal accident, Ralph commented on September 5, 1991: "They have

obviously, bottom line, my friend, let this Hasidic Jew, this murderous Hasidic Jew, off the hook."

On September 16, 1991, Ralph said of Israel: "The state of Israel is going berserk. They are spying on this country. They are selling weapons all over the world. Doing whatever they want to doggone do. What you have is a situation where the oppressed Palestinians don't get anything. . .The state of Israel is berserk; they are out of control. . ."

## Conclusion

In January 1992, our nation celebrated the 63rd anniversary of the birth of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Dr. King was a devoted friend of the Jewish community and of Israel, and each year Jews, like other Americans, hold memorials to honor and remember him. He was also a vigorous fighter against anti-Semitism. In October 1967, he published a letter deploring the anti-Semitic views expressed in the "irrational" anti-Israel resolution adopted at the New Left's "New Politics" convention in Chicago. On another occasion, when approached by a student who attacked Zionism during a speech King delivered at Harvard, King responded: "When people criticize Zionists they mean Jews. You're talking anti-Semitism."

The Jewish community actively participated in Dr. King's battle for full civil rights for Black Americans. The relationship with Dr. King was reciprocal, based on the shared values and aspirations—as well as the common history of oppression—of both peoples.

To be sure, Blacks and Jews continue to work closely together on matters of civil rights, including legislation and combatting racism in all segments of American society. But extremists positing a counter-reality—an alternate version of history in which Jews are the primary villains—have seemingly gained growing acceptance and lamentably little opposition within that community; the taboo against anti-Semitism appears to be seriously eroding.

Even as extremists have aired virulent anti-Semitic theories and distributed *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and other hate literature, mainstream Black leaders and student groups have all too frequently afforded them access to legitimate forums, and rationalized or minimized their bigotry. This has provided the extremists with undeserved respectability. Moderate Black leaders may fear the ascendancy of the radicals, and their accusations of "Uncle Tomism." Yet, whatever the reason for this toleration and appeasement of extremists by the mainstream leadership, it remains a dangerous and disturbing phenomenon.

ADL is publishing this report to bring a significant problem to public attention. We hope to encourage recognition of the importance of this issue, and of the need to address it in a constructive manner.