

Collaboration and Conflict
Five Phases in Jewish and Black Relations: An
Examination of Tensions Between the Two Communities
from Before the Civil War to the Late 1990s

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Abstract

Jews and African-Americans have had a complex history of both collaboration and conflict. This paper examines, in an historical context, five phases in Jewish and black relations and reviews and discusses the causes of tensions between the two communities.

Keywords: Jewish Studies, African-American Studies, Inter-Group Conflict, United States History.

Introduction

Tensions between the African American and Jewish communities have been perceived and have received attention from a variety of observers (e.g., Berman, 1994; Friedman, 1995; Kaufman, 1995; Landsberg & Saperstein, 1991; Lerner & West, 1995; Salzman, 1992; Salzman & West, 1997.) This paper seeks to examine the history in the United States of the relations between blacks and Jews from before the Civil War to the end of the twentieth century. A summary of events and a presentation of core themes will be offered. Five periods in relations between blacks and Jews are selected as a framework against which to measure this complex interaction, and to identify the genesis of contention and the transition to cooperation. A number of interrelated psychological and sociological explanations attempt to account for the intensity of black and Jewish conflict during this period.

Phase One: "We hardly know you"

From 1620, through Slavery to the Founding of the NAACP in 1909.

Although both Jews and blacks arrived in America early in this country's history, they came in very different ways: blacks were brought under duress as slaves¹, whereas Jews sought to come, searching for a better life. Until the beginning of the twentieth century² the two

communities had very little interaction. Even after Emancipation the vast majority of African Americans lived primarily in rural areas of the South, and not until the end of the First World War³ did large numbers of blacks migrate to the urban north. Relatively small numbers of Jews came to America⁴ prior to⁵ and during most of the nineteenth century, but when they did come they settled in urban areas. In North America at the time of the Revolutionary War, out of a population of approximately three million⁶ only one to two thousand were Jews. Between 1830 and 1860, approximately 200,000 Jews emigrated to the United States, primarily from Germany and central Europe. Approximately a quarter of them then migrated to the south and west⁷, but the rest settled in the northeast and Midwest.⁸ Then, toward the end of the nineteenth and into the second decade of the twentieth century, almost two million Jews of Eastern European descent, mostly from Russia and Poland, arrived in America and settled in the cities of the northeast, Midwest and eventually the west coast (Sachar, 1958).

Until the 1920s Jews and blacks had little personal interaction and were hardly aware of each other except as stereotypes. Blacks knew Jews as “the people of the Old Testament,”⁹ and as “the slayers of Christ.” Jews knew that blacks had been slaves, and occasionally saw a mocking representation of them in movies or by whites in blackface in minstrel shows.¹⁰

Jewish Involvement in Slavery

In the 1990s, largely the result of academic departments of Black Studies, research into the history of the Black Diaspora revealed that Jews had owned slaves and had been involved in the slave trade. This revelation became a point of tension between blacks and Jews. In a speech in 1994, Professor Tony Martin, of Wellesley College, stated (Wolfson, 1994) that “Jews ran 75% of the slave trade.” Also in 1994, Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI) stated that, “seventy five percent of the black slaves in the old south were owned by Jews” (Gates, 1994). In 1991, NOI investigators published a book entitled *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews (Volume One)*. It purports to document Jewish participation in and domination of the African slave trade.¹¹ In 1995 at its annual meeting, the American Historical Association passed a resolution condemning as false the claim that Jews played a major role in the slave trade.

The historical record of Jewish involvement in slavery provides the following information:

1) During the era of slavery, Jews who lived in North America accepted it as a given exactly as did almost everyone else.¹² In 1861, one Rabbi Jacob Raphall of Congregation B'nai Jeeshurun in New York defended slavery in a sermon.¹³ He indicated its biblical roots and stated that “Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Job, the men with whom the Almighty conversed, were slave holders.”

2) Jews had no role either in the British Royal African Company or in the British slave trade of the 18th century, which transported the largest proportion of blacks to the New World. (Davis, 1994)

3) Jewish merchants in the mid-17th century were involved in the slave trade to Brazil.¹⁴ In the 17th and 18th century Jews made up half the white population of Curacao and were actively involved in the slave trade. In the Dutch colony of Suriname (Dutch Guiana), Jews were sugar planters and slave owners¹⁵ (Davis, 1994).

4) While seventy-five percent of Jews living in the American south in 1830 owned slaves,

most were middle class urban dwellers with small numbers of domestic servants (Gates, 1996). In 1830, on large plantations, among 59,000 slave holders owning 20 or more slaves only 23 were Jews, and only 4 Jews were among 11,000 slave holders owning 50 or more slaves (Brackman, 1994, p. 75). In 1830, black freed men who owned slaves outnumbered Jewish slave owners by fifteen to one (Gates, 1996).

In the 1860s, before the Civil War, the population of the south was approximately 9 million. About twenty thousand were Jews, of whom approximately 5 thousand owned slaves, or 25 percent. In comparison, four hundred thousand, or 5 percent, of the white population owned slaves. (Silverman, 1997, p.74)

It has been estimated that Jewish merchants were responsible for approximately two percent of the enslaved Africans brought to the United States (Brackman, 1994, p. 73).

Over 9000 Jews fought in the Civil War, approximately 7,000 were on the Union side.

5) Sleeper (1994, p. 249) wrote that "African slavery was largely invented by Arab Muslims; instituted in the West by European Christians; catered to by Africans who sold blacks from other tribes; and bankrolled and managed to a very limited extent by a small number of Sephardic Jews who owned some plantations using slave labor in Brazil and who invested in the sugar processing industry which brought black slaves to the West Indies."

Phase Two: "Early Encounters"-- Jews Extend Helping Hands of Benevolence and Self Interest.

From 1909, The Founding of the NAACP to 1939 and the Second World War

By the end of the nineteenth century the first wave of German Jewish immigrants had achieved some economic success particularly in commerce and merchandising¹⁶. With that success came a degree of upward mobility and social acceptance and a greater awareness of and concern about America's social problems, specifically poverty and the lingering effects of slavery. A second and significantly larger wave of Jewish immigrants, mostly from Eastern Europe, posed problems for the established community. Most of these new immigrants came from *shtetls* (rural Jewish villages) in Russia, Poland, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire. They were mostly poor and ill educated, and retained archaic traditions of Judaism, their own language and an old-world way of life. Although in retrospect these immigrants rapidly assimilated into American life and were successful economically and educationally,¹⁷ initially their ways and customs provoked negative response both from established Jews and society at large.

Concerned that general anti-immigrant sentiment was tending more specifically toward anti-Semitism,¹⁸ the established Jewish community took actions to counter it: they contributed financially to projects that assisted the assimilation of Jewish immigrants, and pressured the United States government to work on Czarist Russia to moderate its anti-Jewish policies. Some Jewish leaders saw a potential alliance with blacks whom they considered the most down trodden and vulnerable of America's citizens and therefore similar to the oppressed European Jews.

The first major effort of Jews to reach out to blacks involved the founding in 1909 of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).¹⁹ Jews collaborated

with W.E.B. Du Bois in this effort motivated to a great extent by humanistic and liberal ideals that were an integral part of the Reform Judaism that many practiced. However, it also seems reasonable that the Jewish community, which actively participated in and was a major financial contributor to the NAACP (and other African American organizations), also believed that helping blacks and fighting bigotry would carry over to their own group, and would diminish and perhaps eradicate anti-Semitic attitudes and actions²⁰. The lynching of the accused but innocent Jew Leo Frank²¹ in 1915 in Georgia was a strong stimulus to this approach and a grim reminder of its necessity.

During this era of the "helping hand," cooperation between blacks and Jews was largely confined to educated professionals -- the elite in both communities.²² By and large African Americans welcomed both Jewish interest in and financial, legal and managerial support for their issues. Except for the abolitionists prior to the Civil War no other group of whites had reached out to aid blacks in any serious way. The rise of the Ku Klux Klan not only in the deep South but also in the border states caused particular concern, and brought attention to lynching and intimidation of blacks²³, Jim Crow laws, the depressed living conditions of most rural southern blacks and the lack of adequate elementary and secondary education. To counter this last issue, from 1911 to his death in 1931, Julius Rosenwald, a founder and president of Sears Roebuck provided money²⁴ to build or repair over 5,000 black schools in 883 counties in 15 southern states (Sosland & Goldmuntz, 1996).

By the 1920s the everyday interaction of working class Jews and blacks began to increase in northern cities²⁵. Jews were starting small businesses, and hired blacks and served black customers. Contact between Jewish and black artists, writers, musicians and intellectuals also increased. Jews would be helpful as managers, mentors, and very occasionally as friends²⁶. However, during this period of northern separation and southern segregation relationships of genuine equality were generally difficult.²⁷ Also at this time and continuing into the civil rights era of the 1960s, black women were hired in Jewish homes to clean and assist in child rearing. Although dealings were asymmetrical in terms of power and economics, they often led to positive personal relationships and may have helped to dissolve some of the stereotyped views each community held of the other²⁸. However, economic exploitation of blacks grew in neighborhoods where Jews had become storekeepers and landlords. These were often once Jewish areas, now abandoned, or mixed-race areas where blacks and Jews lived in close proximity. Major targets of the 1935 Harlem riot were Jewish merchants.²⁹

The growth of the labor movement, particularly in its more radical socialist and communist wings, provided another ground on which blacks and Jews could meet.³⁰ Jews, remembering their own oppression and the pogroms, were concerned for workers' rights and attracted to a utopian dream of a classless and color blind society. Although a very small segment of the total Jewish and black populations were involved in radical politics, Jews were significantly more active there than were other white ethnic groups³¹. The early struggles for labor rights attracted socially conscious individuals and to some degree laid the groundwork for the idealism and practical cooperation and eventual collaboration between Jews and blacks during the civil rights era³².

Jews reaching out to blacks primarily characterize this phase. Support, while largely motivated by compassion and idealism, was tinged with a degree of self-interest. At the interface of more personal relationships elite blacks welcomed and were grateful for white support, but the great majority of blacks reacted negatively to the perception and reality of

their economic exploitation by Jews. Blacks had little alternative to an acceptance of this asymmetrical relationship. W.E.B. Du Bois³³, generally positive toward Jews, nevertheless wrote in the *Souls of Black Folk* (1903, p. 127): "only a Yankee or a Jew could squeeze more blood from debt-cursed tenants." Cooperation and resentment played a part in all subsequent phases of black and Jewish relations.

Phase Three: "Arm in Arm for Social Justice"

The Civil Rights Era--From 1940 to 1967

The period from World War II to the middle of the Civil Rights Movement is fondly remembered and idealized by Jews as the time of a grand alliance with blacks for social justice. In contrast, among blacks Jewish participation and partnership in the civil rights struggle has been all but forgotten. Cornel West (1995) noted that cooperation in the movement is "downplayed by Blacks and romanticized by Jews."

The background to Jewish participation in the Civil Rights Movement began during the late 1930s when anti-Semitic laws enacted in Germany and Italy caused fear in American Jews. They believed that legal strictures abroad would resonate among Nazi sympathizers and bigots in America. Influential leaders in the black community -- intellectuals, labor officials, clergymen -- spoke out passionately against fascism³⁴. Jews welcomed this support, and the alliance between the two communities deepened to include the sympathies of the masses as well as the talents, energies and resources of the leaders. Clearly, similar prejudices threatened Jews and blacks; both were often victimized by the same forces. Because of shared fears a kind of union was forged -- an alliance for social justice. The result was the enactment of legal protections, legislation and court decisions that ended state-sanctioned segregation in accommodations, education, housing, voting practices and employment. Although aspects of discrimination have continued to exist in the United States, their legal justification was dismantled, and the idea of equal opportunity and social acceptance emerged, partly the result of the Civil Rights struggle itself.

As for legal reform, The Supreme Court decision in *Brown vs. the Board of Education* was the defining point. Jews and blacks collaborated closely on the case, with Jewish legal scholars often serving as advisors and mentors to black lawyers³⁵. It is estimated that Jews contributed half to three-quarters of the funds required to support the civil rights struggle. In the summer of 1964, Jews accounted for almost two thirds of the white volunteers who traveled to the south in support of integration and black voter registration (Kaufman, 1997, p. 110). Furthermore, Jews constituted "about one third to one half of the Mississippi summer volunteers three years later" (Friedman, 1995, p. 181). During the 1964 "Freedom Summer" more than half of the hundreds of lawyers assisting civil rights workers in southern courts were Jewish (Friedman, 1995, p. 183). A painful but powerful symbol of this cooperation was the murder in Mississippi of three civil rights workers, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner, who were Jewish, and James Chaney who was black. Martin Luther King, Jr. acknowledged the work of Jews on civil rights stating, "[I]t would be impossible to record the contribution Jewish people have made toward the Negro's struggle for freedom, it has been so great" (Rose, 1994, p. 38)³⁶.

From the 1940s through much of the 1960s, Jews and blacks worked together to implement

changes in three areas: employment, housing and education. Although they were generally united and fairly successful in their efforts, the two groups had different goals. In employment, blacks wanted to break the barriers against them in trade unions, whereas the barriers against Jews were in law firms and corporate boardrooms. In education, blacks fought to attend integrated primary and secondary schools, whereas Jews wanted quota-free entrance into Ivy League colleges and professional schools. In housing, blacks wanted to de-segregate middle and working class neighborhoods, whereas Jews wanted to move into white upper middle class suburbs.

By the end of the sixties the legislative and legal goals of the civil rights movement had been more or less achieved. Perhaps as a result, behind the facade of mutual support, tensions between blacks and Jews, at both the popular and leadership levels, were growing.

Phase Four: "Breaking Apart"³⁷

From the Death of Martin Luther King, Jr. to the Emergence of Louis Farrakhan: 1968-1984

Even before the death of Martin Luther King, Jr.,³⁸ conflict was developing between blacks and Jews in the civil rights movement. The hopes of ordinary blacks had been raised but tangible economic and social benefits were not forthcoming, especially in the inner cities of the north.

Malcolm X³⁹ opposed Martin Luther King's integrationist agenda. Young black activists -- Stokely Carmichael, Huey Newton, H. Rap Brown, Maulana (Ron) Karenga, and organizations -- SNCC, CORE, "US" were calling for "Black Power." The leaders questioned the motives of whites in the movement, a significant percentage of whom were Jews.⁴⁰ Some blacks viewed Jewish financial support and intellectual involvement as paternalistic and self-serving. Jews were hurt and outraged by the attack on their integrity, and by the implicit denial of their contributions and sacrifices in the struggle for racial justice.

Meanwhile, middle class black organizations, specifically the NAACP and the Urban League, welcomed Jews and offered them leadership positions. Moreover, in Democratic Party Politics, congress, state legislatures, and city governments Jews and blacks were gaining influence and working closely together toward common goals. But in the civil rights area black activists banished radical Jews and other whites from positions as mentors, leaders, and decision makers⁴¹. The rift between black and Jewish civil rights leaders was mirrored in the behavior and attitudes of ordinary blacks and Jews. The 1965 Watts riot, followed in 1968 by civil disorders in other cities,⁴² targeted Jewish merchants. Meanwhile, in northern urban areas, Jews, and other whites, either resisted blacks' moving into their neighborhoods or else left those neighborhoods for the suburbs⁴³. In 1968 in New York City, a bitter schoolteachers' strike pitted black community activists against a union and a school system⁴⁴ both dominated by Jews.

During the late sixties and early seventies black and Jewish intellectuals⁴⁵ split on two issues: Affirmative Action⁴⁶ and Israel. Jews, remembering quotas that had restricted their admission to prestigious universities in the thirties and forties, often opposed a policy that reserved for minorities a percentage of acceptances in employment and education. Whereas at Columbia University in New York City in 1914 40% of students were Jewish, within ten years quotas had diminished Jewish admissions to about 15% (Kaufman, 1995). African

Americans supported (and have relied on) Affirmative Action, which guaranteed their placement in public employment, where over half of black professionals and managers were employed during the 1990s. The differing positions on this issue divided the two communities. As Chanes (1997, p. 295) noted, "Contrary to conventional wisdom, Black-Jewish relations over the past decade have had very little to do with anti-Semitism in the African American community, and almost everything to do with public-affairs issues, especially affirmative action."

Until Israel's victory in the 1967 Six Day War, black leaders and the community were consistent supporters of the Jewish state. But after that war, and partly in response to the Vietnam War, an anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, and pro-Marxist viewpoint began to prevail among both white and black social and civil rights activists. For radical black leaders, a number of whom were influenced by the teachings of Islam on the subject of Black Nationalism, this meant opposing both the policies (and for some the existence) of Israel. That country was seen to be a "tool" of American imperialism,⁴⁷ which oppressed the Palestinians, a third world people of color with whom blacks identified. Jews, even Jewish radicals, were shocked by the black response to Israel, perceiving it as a threat to their own identity and, more painfully, as anti-Semitic, an unacceptable attitude in a group with whom they had worked closely and whose goal of racial justice they shared. The larger Jewish community reacted negatively and publicly to signs of anti-Israel bias among blacks. In 1979, Andrew Young, a former civil rights activist and colleague of Martin Luther King, Jr., then Ambassador to the United Nations, met with members of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Largely because of protests by Israel and American Jewish supporters, Young was forced to resign his position in the U.N.⁴⁸ Another measure of the change in black/Jewish relations was Jessie Jackson's statement on the Jews of New York City. In 1984, Jackson was running for President in the Democratic Party primary. Jewish leaders pressured Jackson to reject his support for Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam in order to get their support. Jackson, in a private meeting with his followers, described the Jews' intervention, and said, "all Hymie wants to talk about is Israel; every time you go to Hymietown that's all they want to talk about" (Kaufman, 1995, p. 256). Jackson received about 20% of the white vote but no more than 10% from Jews.

Thus, by 1984 a split had developed between radical blacks and the Jewish community, and struggles increased for control of educational policies in public schools. By that point, black women no longer worked as domestics in Jewish homes as Latin Americans had replaced them, and Jews no longer owned stores in black neighborhoods as Koreans and Arabs had replaced them, but memories of Jewish exploitation persisted. The only interaction between blacks and Jews was in educational, business and professional settings.

So although the majority of blacks and Jews were largely invisible to each other in their everyday lives, they did relate to each other through the filters of stereotypes based upon media portrayals and previous cultural experiences. At this point, two new influences entered Jewish/Black relations: University Black Studies departments and Louis Farrakhan⁴⁹.

Phase Five: Re-evaluation--"Where Do We Go From Here?"

Three Visions of Jewish/Black Relations

Separation

A certain segment of the black intellectual elite, represented by faculty and students associated with university Black Studies⁵⁰ departments, along with a new figure, Louis Farrakhan, mobilized deep concern among the Jewish community. Farrakhan's rhetoric, often laced with anti-Semitic statements, outraged Jews. In a 1984 radio address, Farrakhan said, "[T]he Jews don't like Farrakhan, so they call me Hitler. Well, that's a good name. Hitler was a very great man." (Kaufman, 1995, p. 231). In 1985 he addressed a packed Madison Square Garden and attacked Israel, Zionism, and Judaism, referring to the last as a "gutter religion." After seeing Farrakhan at Madison Square garden, Julius Lester, (1985, p. 12) a black commentator who had converted to Judaism, wrote: "the way in which he revels in anti-Semitism coupled with the absence of forceful responses by other blacks against it makes Jew-hatred acceptable to blacks, educated and uneducated.... [A]s a Jew I was frightened by what I had witnessed...as a black I was ashamed."

Not to be outdone, in 1986 Kwame Toure, formerly Stokely Carmichael, spoke to a University of Maryland audience and said, "The only good Zionist is a dead Zionist," and "We must take a lesson from Hitler," (Friedman, 1995, pp. 334-335).

Most professors in university Black Studies departments have pursued scholarly investigations of historical and cultural issues relevant to African Americans; however, others have immersed themselves in the ideologies of Marxism, Black Nationalism, and Afrocentrism. Among some, elements of explicit anti-Semitism became part of their public discourse and writings. In a 1991 speech, Leonard Jeffries, former Chair of African American studies at the City University of New York, accused Jews of dominating the Black Slave trade, as well as being largely responsible for the derogatory depiction of blacks in Hollywood movies⁵¹. In a speech he gave in 1994, Tony Martin, professor of Black Studies at Wellesley College, stated that Jews used the Nazi holocaust as an "empowerment tool," and employed Hillel organizations on university campuses as "shock troops" (L. Wolfson, personal communication, December 17, 1994).

The anti-Semitic perspectives of Farrakhan and his followers achieved a degree of intellectual "legitimacy" when Black Studies' departments invited NOI spokesmen to present their views on campuses. In March 1994, C-Span aired a conference held at Howard University where a number of speakers expressed blatantly anti-Semitic views. In November 1993, Khalid Abdul Muhammad, associated with Farrakhan, gave a lecture at Kean College in New Jersey, and stated, "Everybody always talks about Hitler exterminating six million Jews. But nobody ever asks what they did to Hitler...they went in there, in Germany, the way they do everywhere they go, they supplanted, they usurped...they undermined the very fabric of society." Later he stated that Jews control the Federal Reserve System and the White House; that they explicitly demean and persecute blacks; that Jews dominated the slave trade; that they conspired against such black leaders as Jesus, Marcus Garvey and Louis Farrakhan. Finally, he said that Jews were involved in the civil rights movement in order to exploit blacks, and then made the strange point that "the hook-nosed, bagel-eating, lox-eating Jews are not the real Jews but rather the blacks are the true Jews" (Berman, 1994, p. 1-2).

Farrakhan and others from the NOI accused Jewish doctors of infecting blacks with AIDS⁵², Jewish public school teachers of poorly educating black children, and Jewish influences in Hollywood of depicting blacks negatively in media. Some black scholars have suggested that the Talmud, the classic Jewish theological work, as well as the writings of the Jewish philosopher Maimonides⁵³ promote a view of blacks as "less than human," and treat blacks as "cursed" for the biblical sins of Ham⁵⁴. Other black scholars and activists have insisted that

the "holocaust of slavery" -- asserting up to 100 million deaths⁵⁵ -- was worse than the millions of Jews killed by the Nazis⁵⁶. Black activist scholars have expressed anger that the historic suffering of African Americans did not garner the same recognition or compensation as that of the Jews.

The litany of grievances that was directed at Jews by Farrakhan and a segment of the Black Studies movement had the effect of curtailing any Jewish-Black alliance, and, perhaps more significantly, delegitimizing the historical cooperation that had once existed between the two communities, and preventing future reliance by blacks on Jews and the general white community.

Farrakhan's public attacks on Jews provoked outrage and media attention. Some suggested that the attacks were in part motivated to incur these very responses. Professor Henry Louis Gates suggested in 1994 that anti-Semitism was "being whipped up by black demagogues in search of power." Also that year, a national survey of African Americans revealed that 60 to 70 percent of blacks viewed Farrakhan as an "effective leader" who spoke "the Truth" and was "good for the black community" (Cooper & Brackman, 1995). Gates (1994) further pointed out the irony of black-oriented bookstores' buying anti-Semitic publications from the NOI who had bought them from white supremacy groups. A year later, Cornel West (1995) speculated that many in the black community saw attacking the Jews who are perceived as a powerful group as a positive act of "machismo" and male virility.

Two incidents that took place in the nineteen nineties in New York City raised fears that violence against Jews was condoned by members of the larger black community. In 1991, in the Crown Heights section of Brooklyn, a Hasidic Jew named Yankel Rosenbaum was murdered by black youths after his car struck an African American child named Gavin Cato⁵⁷. Over a three-day period, Orthodox Jews in the area were the targets of attack. Goldberg (1996a, p. 306) characterized the event as "the most prolonged, violent assault [on American Jews] in their three-hundred year history, the first organized anti-Semitic riot in American history."⁵⁸ A largely black jury, whose members later were known to celebrate with the defense lawyer, acquitted the identified slayer, one Lemrick Nelson⁵⁹.

Then, in 1995, in Harlem, eight people died in a fire at a Jewish-owned clothing store. Roland Smith, a black street criminal and sometime activist, set the fire. Prior to the blaze weeks of protest that characterized Jewish storekeepers as the "bloodsuckers" of the black community had taken place (Magida, 1996)⁶⁰.

Blacks began to hold a view of a radical separation between the two groups, which corresponded to one in the Jewish community. The *Jewish Press*, the widest circulating newspaper in the New York Orthodox Jewish community, regularly railed against black politicians. In 1992, Arnold Fine, its managing editor, wrote an editorial asserting that "most blacks had come to America as indentured servants and later lost their liberty through financial incompetence" (Goldberg, 1996a, p. 334). In 1994, the Anti-Defamation League and the World Jewish Congress singled out Farrakhan, the NOI, and several Black Studies professors as major exponents -- along with white separatist groups and the Ku Klux Klan -- of anti-Semitism in the United States.

A number of social scientists suggested that the social and political agendas of blacks and Jews had little in common⁶¹. Friedman (1995) concluded a detailed analysis of the history of

Black-Jewish relations with the statement (p. 345) that the "alliance is dead" and that (p. 351) "neither side really trusts the other." With the increase in intermarriage rates, many Jews became concerned about the loss of cultural identity. That and concerns about Israel diminished interest in civil rights issues and concern for the black community (Morris & Rubin, 1994). In addition, the Jewish community may have been less concerned about a deeper coalition with African Americans because of a decrease in anti-Semitism in the United States⁶² (Martire & Clark, 1982). Such changes in attitude, coupled with dramatic economic and social progress on the part of Jews, suggested that the rationale for a Black-Jewish alliance based on mutual needs (discussed in phases 2 and 3), was largely irrelevant to the everyday lives of Jews. In contrast, the same data (Martire & Clark, 1982) that showed a decline in anti-Semitism on the part of white Americans also indicated that blacks, particularly young blacks, increased their negative views of Jews⁶³. Blauner (1994, p. 28) discussed increased anti-Semitism in the younger black generation, and stated that it included "not only streetwise youth of the urban centers, but those college educated blacks who have been influenced by Afro-centric perspectives." Fiebert, Horgan & Perlta (1999) surveyed a sample of African American and Jewish college students with regard to their intergroup perceptions and attitudes. Overall, the African American group responded significantly more negatively toward Jews than the Jewish group responded toward African Americans.

Friedman's (1995, p. 355) conclusion on the question of separation was that blacks and Jews "should simply stay out of each other's way. While blacks appear to understand this option, many Jews do not. Frequently, they (Jews) press for dialogue, assuming that present bad feelings can be cleared up if only Jews and blacks get together and talk things out. Blacks will sometimes indulge Jews in these efforts, but such gestures are at best halfhearted. Black leaders are rightfully more interested in dealing with the here-and-now problems in black slums, grappling with their own sense of alienation, and seeking to strengthen their communities than in dialoging with Jews."

Reconciliation/Renewal

Some Jews and blacks (e.g., Landsberg & Saperstein, 1991; Lerner & West, 1995) believed that the two communities were historically bound to each other and had a profound mission to influence social, psychological and political attitudes in the United States. Both communities, although not fully appreciative of each other's suffering, have had a collective experience of oppression and minority status in a predominately white and Christian society. Both groups have been subjected to demeaning stereotypes; were forced to live in segregated communities; were dispersed from their homeland; were legally restricted in their social, political, educational and occupational opportunities and activities; and were victims of violence (hooks, 1994). Moreover, both groups had to "make and remake themselves as outsiders on the margin of American society and culture" (West, 1995). As outsiders, both Jews and blacks revealed much creative energy, often satirizing the dominant culture, or expressing a tragicomic view of their lives, and incorporating a moral view of life while using themes of sadness, loss and suffering (Lerner & West, 1995).

Rabbi David Saperstein, a member of the NAACP governing board and head of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism stated that, "Focusing on the divisions skews the reality of black-Jewish relations. Every day across this nation blacks and Jews are working together for social Justice, addressing problems of hunger and racism and discrimination and the challenges to education and health care in America. We are clearly joined at the hip...the destiny of America depends on the great coalition of decency that has transformed this

country for the better in the last seventy years, and that has been spearheaded by blacks and Jews" (Goldberg, 1996a, p.336).

This vision of a possible reconciliation and reconnection between blacks and Jews drew upon three broad and interrelated factors. First was an imperative for both groups to continue to fight against bigotry, both anti-Semitism and racism. Secondly, both Jews and African Americans have a deep moral and religious tradition which is infused with a spiritual understanding of suffering and which, in turn, has impelled them to seek social justice for the oppressed. And thirdly, because Jews and blacks have survived and overcome their earlier pariah status they can be, Lerner & West (1995, p.275) wrote, "important agents of healing and transformation for the larger society."⁶⁴

There were a number of attempts in the nineties to rekindle a closer alliance between blacks and Jews. For example, an ambitious program to "fortify and reinforce the historic alliance between synagogues and African-American churches and to foster greater awareness and cooperation between blacks and Jews on the local, national and international levels" was developed by the Kovler Institute for Black-Jewish Relations (Landsberg & Saperstein, 1991, p. 5). At the time, the Institute published a manual which included such topics as interfaith worship, dialogues and conferences, college activities, cultural events and speaker exchanges to assist black and Jewish groups in their attempts to work toward common goals and increase mutual awareness. In 1997, the Institute for Ethnic Understanding (1997) published a report on black/Jewish relations in the United States in which incidents of cooperation were cited. In addition, a journal, *CommonQuest*⁶⁵, jointly published by Howard University and the American Jewish Committee, and was explicitly dedicated to "repairing old bridges and building new ones between Black and Jewish Americans" (Wilgoren, 1996).

A Limited Alliance

The notion of a more limited alliance between Jews and blacks constituted a third view, which, though more optimistic than the first view discussed above, was less idealistic than the second. Here, liberal and pragmatic Jews would continue to cooperate with like-minded African Americans in areas of mutual need⁶⁶. The most likely interface of meeting would be through Democratic Party politics, professional work settings, and any attempts by synagogues, black churches and community organizations to promote understanding and reduce intergroup tensions⁶⁷. The activities of the College Fund (formerly the United Negro College Fund) served as an example in this area. Their primary mission was to support black colleges and black students, but they also sponsored exchange programs with Israeli universities. These were seen as a way to help black and Jewish students "rediscover the spiritual and historical commonalities that [bound]them together" (Bard, 1996).

In 1993, Maulana Karenga took a Black Nationalist, Afro centric, socialist/Marxist perspective that endorsed a circumscribed coalition of blacks with Jews and other white liberals in areas of mutual interest, such as opposition to the KKK and Neo-Nazis. He stated that the common or similar sufferings of African Americans and Jews did not automatically lead to personal harmony or political unity, but rather that any coalition must be built around specific concrete goals and the interests of both communities. At that time, Karenga was not optimistic about a widespread renewal of a black/Jewish alliance. He stated that (p. 341), "Jewish power, wealth, social achievement and status, and white skin privilege objectively give them a different set of priorities and interests than Blacks whose race and general class character assign them to a marginal and subordinate role and status in the social process."

Farrakhan may have attempted to heal the most destructive aspects of tension between Jews and blacks⁶⁸ when on April 14, 1996, he said on *60 Minutes*, "I will not say all Jews are untrustworthy...I am not anti-Semitic...I do not hate Jews. What I hate is evil and exploitation no matter whether a Jew does it, a Black does it or a Muslim does it...I am willing to visit any synagogue and speak to the Jewish people because I don't want Jewish children to believe that there is someone who, if they come to great power, will put them in ovens."⁶⁹

There was an increasing recognition that in the main the true groups lived in different worlds, that although they both desired to reduce bigotry and barriers to upward mobility, core elements of each community were no longer interested in a strong working alliance or close personal relationships with the other⁷⁰. In the Jewish community, the ultra-Orthodox, Hasidic groups, and politically conservative Jews were either opposed to or uninterested in the political and social agendas of the black community.

It was in the political arena that a limited, albeit successful, alliance, between Jews and blacks emerged. In 1984 presidential race, 67% of Jews and 90% of blacks as compared to 35% of whites voted for Walter Mondale. In 1988, 64% of Jews and 86% of blacks as compared to 40% of whites voted for Michael Dukakis. In 1993, 39 African American were elected to the House of Representatives in Congress: 1 Republican, 38 Democrats. Thirty-three were Jewish: 27 Democrats, 6 Republicans. In the Senate one Democrat black, 9 were Jewish, and one Republican was Jewish. Over the years in city elections Jewish votes were critical in mayoral campaigns, including Carl Stokes in Cleveland, Richard Hatcher in Gary, Indiana, Wilson Goode in (Philadelphia, Harold Washington in Chicago, David Dinkins in New York, Tom Bradley in Los Angeles. In Chicago, Harold Washington won 18% of total white vote but 43% of Jewish vote.

In the 1993-1994 session of Congress, Jewish members voted on key issues with the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) 72% of the time compared to 42% of non-minorities in Congress, while the American Jewish community position was supported by CBC members 76% of the time compared to 53% by other members of Congress (Hochbaum & Pelavin, 1994).

A Summary of Tensions between Jews and African Americans

This essay has attempted to isolate five phases of relations between Jews and blacks, place them in an historical context, and examine some of the causes of tension between the two communities. It is also useful to summarize major interrelated psychological and sociological explanations offered for the pervasiveness and intensity of these tensions.

1. As black intellectuals shifted from a individual striving for success to a greater preoccupation with collective identity and group goals, antagonism toward Jews increased. During the civil rights era, both Jews and blacks had shared a vision of integration and assimilation into American society based on merit, but, over the years, they diverged in their strategies for advancement: Jews pursued objective and merit-based selection in education and occupations, whereas, blacks supported affirmative action policies as a way or redressing historical discrimination

2. Class differences between Jews and blacks were and continue to be important. Although

for a fair length of time, Jews have not represented a majority of grocers and slum landlords, their past activities in those positions, and their shared interests with and values of the dominant white population perhaps continue to make them a symbol and focus of resentment by blacks.

3. Over the years, Jews have experienced social and economic success. Their acceptance permitted their open support of Israel's policies. The confluence between the geo-political interests of the United States and the emotional positions of some factions of the American-Jewish community has provided some influence to the latter. Most blacks have been either indifferent to Israel or are direct supporters of the Palestinians. That has been and continues to be a major source of tension between the two groups. Cruse (1967) amplifies this point by stating that tensions between "African-Americans and Jews are a clash of two ideologies--Black Nationalism and Zionism."

4. Some blacks revealed a kind of religious intolerance towards Jews⁷¹ and vice versa. For example, fundamentalist blacks reject Jews as "killers of Christ"⁷², and Muslims view Israel and its American Jewish supporters as enemies of Islam. Fundamentalist Jews and the Orthodox view secular Jews and Gentiles including blacks in negative terms, notwithstanding the group in Israel of black Jews from Ethiopia, and a small black Jewish community⁷³ in America.

5. Because neither blacks nor Jews were willing to repudiate the ethnocentrism of their more extreme members, both became angry: Jews because blacks did not condemn Louis Farrakhan, and blacks because of Jews were unwilling to criticize the right wing policies of Israel. As Friedman (1995, p. 340) wrote, "Neither group has been eager to wash its dirty linen in public; both have been inclined to emphasize unity within the group against the hostility of the outside world."

6. At a psychological level blacks envied Jewish economic success and express resentment toward Jews as "one underdog to another who has made it in America" (Lerner & West, 1995, p. 151)⁷⁴. Jews may have envied African Americans their creativity, prowess in sports, and at times, their moral voice. These feeling may have reflected a form of "sibling rivalry," and like that in families, suggests a certain ambivalence since admiration is embedded in the tension. Each group has believed the other does not honor or respect the uniqueness of their "suffering." Since the Second World War, Jews have been preoccupied with bringing attention to victims of the Nazi Holocaust whereas African Americans have been more concerned with their own victimhood than with the Holocaust,⁷⁵ and have wished to unearth the history of their own Diaspora and genocide, which has gotten less "coverage." Blacks have considered that only Jews who were in concentration camps suffered equally with them. Similarity of experience is not shared experience. Some blacks felt that Jews used their historical suffering to give themselves identity and status as victims, and then used those as a credentials to offer empathy to blacks. (Lester, 1994, p. 173).

7. At another, psychodynamic, level, Cornel West (Lerner & West, 1995, p. 138) speculated that Jews might be associated with the Freudian "Ego"; i.e., the principle of critical intelligence and delay of gratification, while blacks might be associated with the "Id"; i.e., the pleasure-seeking principle. For a successful relationship, each group must acknowledge the qualities of the other.

If one chooses to apply a Jungian analysis, as does this writer, it appears that blacks and Jews,

in their individual and social conflicts, project their "shadow selves" onto the other.

Jews, who in their public relationships -- their "persona," tend to be sober, peaceful, accommodating, law abiding, intelligent and, at times, awkward, view and project onto blacks -- their "shadow" -- behaviors and attitudes which are lawless, wild, menacing, foolish, unintelligent, as well as graceful, athletic and sexual. Blacks, in their public "persona" deal with behaviors and feelings of low self esteem, inferiority, shame, powerlessness, poverty, and intra-group divisiveness and aggression. They project onto Jews the "shadow" qualities of pride, superiority, group wealth, social power and influence, and group solidarity.

This essay has examined the historical aspects and dynamics that underlie conflicts between blacks and Jews. An incisive and pointed metaphor to describe black-Jewish relations was offered in 1995 by Kaufman (p. 268) who quoted the Chinese adage, "We are sleeping in the same bed, dreaming different dreams," is a useful metaphor to describe contemporary Black-Jewish relations. This article has attempted to describe and explain reasons for the "separate dreams" of Jews and blacks in order to develop a more enlightened and constructive relationship may emerge between the two communities.

Notes

1. The precise number of Africans who were enslaved and transported to **North America** between 1619 and 1808 (the year Congress banned the "importation of slaves into the United States") will never be known.

Curtin's (1969) scholarly examination of the Atlantic Slave Trade concludes that "it is extremely unlikely that the ultimate total (of the Atlantic Slave) will turn out to be less than 8 million or more than ten and a half million (p. 87)." The estimate of the number of slaves imported to North America is as follows: 275,000 to British North America to 1790; 70,000 to the United States from 1786-1808; 50,000 to the United States from 1809-1861 (p. 87).

Census data (Bennett, 1993) regarding the number and percent of African Americans within the general population reveal the following:

Year	Total Population	Number of African Americans	Black Percent
1710		50,000*	
1790	3,929,214	747,208**	19.3
1800	5,308,483	1,002,037	18.9
1810	7,239,881	1,377,808	19.0
1820	9,638,453	1,771,656	18.4
1830	12,866,020	2,328,642	18.1
1850	23,191,876	3,638,808	15.7
1860	31,443,790	4,441,830***	14.1
1870	39,818,449	4,880,009	12.7
1890	62,947,714	7,488,676	11.9
1910	93,402,151	9,827,763	10.7
1930	122,775,046	11,891,143	9.7

1950	150,697,361	15,042,286	10.0
1970	203,200,000	22,600,000	11.1
1990	248,709,873	29,987,060	12.1

* Estimate from Bennett (1993, p.46)

** Includes 59,000 Free Blacks (Bennett, 1993, p.77)

*** Includes 488,070 Free Blacks (Bennett, 1993, p. 87)

2. Brackman (1977) examines the early relations between Jews and blacks from the colonial period to 1900 with a particular focus on interactions that took place in New York City. While his scholarly presentation clearly demonstrates that there were significant interactions between members of the two communities before 1900, the extent and intensity of the relationship was relatively low.

3. Bennett (1993, p. 295) indicates that in 1900 90% of blacks lived in the South. The estimates of African American migration northward is as follows: 300,000 between 1910 and 1920; 1,300,000 between 1920 and 1930; 1,500,000 between 1930 and 1940; and 2,500,000 between 1940 and 1950. (Bennett, 1993, p. 344.)

Diner (1977, p. 17) writes that between 1910 and 1920, 454,300 blacks left the South and migrated North.

4. The first wave of Jewish immigration was the Spanish-Portuguese (Sephardic Jews) of the colonial period.

5. Brackman (1977) points out that Luis de Torres accompanied Columbus as an interpreter and became the first Jewish landowner as well as the first Jewish slave holder in the New World (p. 116).

6. Rosenwaitke (1985, p.17) presents estimates of the number of Jews in the United States from 1790 to 1840 as follows:

1790=1,300 1800=2,000 1820=2,650-2,750 1830=4,000 1840=15,000

Engelman (1960, p. 1520) provides following estimates of the Jewish population from 1850 to 1900:

1850=65,000 1880=250,000 1900=1,175,000

Lestshinsky (1960, p. 1539) provides information regarding Jewish immigration:

1840-1880=200,000 1881-1900=675,000* 1901-1914= 1,346,400

*265,088 from Russia and Poland; 353,719 from Austria-Hungary

Diner (1977, 4) writes that from **1881 to 1910** 1,562,800 Jews migrated to America of these 840,260 came from Russia and 130,142 came from Austria-Hungry. In **1915** 136,654 Jews migrated to America.

7. Charleston, South Carolina became the largest Jewish community after the Revolutionary War and remained so until about 1825. However by 1860 only 10% of American Jews lived within the boundaries of the South and the Jews of Charleston were outnumbered forty-to-one by the Jews of New York and six-to-one by the Jews of Philadelphia and Cincinnati (Brackman, 1977, p. 261).

8. Diner (1977, p. 4) reports that Jewish immigrants settled primarily in the cities. For example of the 130,000 Jews who came to America in 1914, 78,000 went to New York City, 15,000 to Philadelphia, and 10,000 to Chicago.

Lipset & Raab (1995, p. 16) report that the time of the Civil War there were 20,000 itinerant traders in the United States and the majority were German Jews.

9. Booker T. Washington writes of his positive identification with Jews: "Ever since I can remember I have had a special and peculiar interest in the history and progress of the Jewish race... As I learned in slavery to compare the condition of the Negro with that of the Jews in bondage in Egypt, so I have frequently, since freedom, have been compelled to compare the prejudice, even persecution, which the Jewish people have to face and overcome in different parts of the world with the disadvantages of the Negro in the United States and elsewhere" (Brackman, 1977, p. 336.)

It might be mentioned that Washington, particularly early in his career, expressed some anti-Semitic views by equating Jews with the economic exploitation of Blacks. As he grew in experience and stature, he changed his perspectives. As Harlan (1981, p. 275) writes, "by the end of his life he had come to understand and appreciate Jews not only as exemplars of self help and mutual help but as companions in travail and striving."

10. After the Civil War, southern Jewish merchants did not turn away black customers and some opened stores in Black neighborhoods. Friedman (1995, p. 32) writes that, "in many towns blacks knew the 'Jew store' would extend credit to them, address them as 'Mr.' and 'Mrs.,' and permit them to try on clothes before buying."

11. Brackman (1994) offers a passionate and scholarly refutation of nine specific charges leveled against Jews that are contained in *the Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*.

In a more recent paper Brackman (1997) examines the distortions concerning Jews as slave traders and the use of such material by a variety of anti-Semitic groups throughout history.

Faber (1994) presents a thoughtful summary of Jewish involvement in the slave trade.

Friedman (1995, pp. 17-41) offers a lucid and balanced narrative of Jewish involvement in slavery and of Jewish-black relations during the Civil War era.

12. Korn (1961, p.26) summarizing Jewish involvement as slave owners in the South writes, "It would seem realistic to conclude that any Jew who could afford to own slaves and had need for their services would do so...Slavery was an axiomatic foundation of the social pattern of the Old South. Jews wanted to acclimate themselves in every way to their environment; in both a social and psychological sense, they needed to be accepted as equals by their fellow-citizens. It was

therefore, only a matter of financial circumstance and familial status whether they were to become slave-owners."

Korn (1961) documents the ill treatment as well as the emancipation of slaves by Jews. He also notes (p. 42) that Jewish slave dealers maintained prominent positions in their communities. Brackman (1977, p. 268) reports that "one in four Southern Jews held slaves--exactly the same proportion that held for all Southern whites. They actively participated in the internal slave trade, owning three of Richmond's seventy, and four of Charleston's forty-four, slave auctioning emporiums."

13. Brackman (1977, p. 312) suggests that social pressures toward conformity in both race relations and politics led Rabbi Raphall and others to become apologists for slavery.

Silverman (1997, p. 76) points out that "no southern Jews were abolitionists" and "no southern Jewish intellectual questioned the justice of slavery."

Even in the 1960s Friedman (1995, p. 278) points out that southern Jews desperately tried to conform to social and cultural mores of the region. In fact, Friedman (1995, p. 289) writes that during the Freedom Rides of the 1960s, southern Jews were more afraid of the out-of-state Jewish civil rights protesters than racists. Specifically, they were afraid that the hostility evoked by northern and western Jews would generalize to them and jeopardize their security.

14. Brackman (1977) reports that "during the 1600s...slave trading in Brazil became a 'Jewish' mercantile specialty in much the same way it had been in early medieval Europe (Brackman, pp. 163-164).

Davis (1997) summarizes Jewish involvement in the Slave trade and states that, "It is a disturbing thought...that many Sephardic Jews, including those who established the first synagogue in Curacao and the first Jewish settlements in North America, found the path to their own liberation and affluence by participating in a system of commerce that subjected another people to contempt, dishonor, coerced labor and degradation." (p. 71)

Davis citing the research of Lovejoy estimates the number of Africans exported to the New World between 1450 and 1900 as 11,698,000.

15. Brackman (1977) reports that around 1750 "an inventory of Surinam's 400 sugar plantations, employing a black labor force of 80,000, revealed that 115 of the plantation owners were Jews" (p. 169).

16. A number of German Jewish immigrants who started as petty traders within a short period of time were quite successful in the fields of merchandising, brokering and banking. There include such names as Seligman & Co., Kuhn, Loeb & Co., Lehman Bros., Blookindale Bros., Adolphe Lewisohn & Sons, and Abraham & Straus (Brackman, p. 249). By the 1880s German Jews controlled 80% of the retail and 90% of the retail clothing business in New York and 75% of both nationally! (Brackman, 1977, p. 251).

17. A number of researchers (e.g., Ginsberg, 1993, Patai and Patai, 1972, and Rothman & Lichter, 1982) have examined Jewish success in America. Specifically, it has been noted that while Jews make up less than 3 percent of the population in the United States they have achieved, particularly since the 1960s, much educational, professional and economic success.

For example:

- a) A survey conducted in 1968 found that Jews made up 20% of faculty at prestigious universities and constituted 30% of the faculty in the social sciences.
- b) During this period Jews made up 20% of the legal profession and 38% of the faculty at elite law schools.
- c) In 1972, Jews were 6.5% of a sample of Who's Who In America while they represented 2.7% of the population.
- d) A quarter of the Washington Press corp in 1976 were Jewish.
- e) As of 1993, half of America's billionaires were Jewish as were 10% of the members of Congress.

Lipset & Raab (1995, p. 26) also cite studies which found that Jewish per capita income is almost double that of non-Jews. Moreover they summarize (p. 27) the findings with regard to Jewish success by stating, "during the last three decades Jews have made up 50% of the top two hundred intellectuals, 40% of American Nobel Prize winner in science and economics, 20% of professors at the leading universities, 21% of high level civil servants, 40% of partners in the leading law firms in New York and Washington, 26% of the reporters, editors and executives of the major print and broadcast media, 59% of the directors, writers, and producers of the fifty top-grossing motion pictures from 1965 to 1982, and 58% of directors, writers, and producers in two or more primetime television series."

Somewhat contradictory to the above citation, it might be mentioned that of the 112 individuals or families who were listed as billionaires in Forbes magazine in 1995, at least 18 (16%) are Jewish (Moment, 11/96, p.35).

Goldberg (1996a) presents an overview and analysis of Jewish influence and in particular the exercise of political power in recent United States history. For example he writes (p. 186) "By the end of the 1970s American Jews had taken on the Nixon and Ford administrations, the Kremlin, big business and even Israel, and beaten them all." Goldberg (1996a, pp. 276-7) also quotes sources which suggest that fifty percent of the campaign funding for the Democratic party comes from Jewish sources while approximately twenty percent of Republican party funding is from Jewish sources.

18. Diner (1977, p. 14) writes that anti-Semitism during these years "pervaded all sectors of American life. Vicious portrayals of Jews abounded in literature, both popular and intellectual. On the stage the stock character of the Jew was shabby peddler or grotesque pawnbroker, depicted with dirty clothes, a thick accent, and an insatiable desire for money...Fashionable resorts and clubs frequently refused admission to Jews, who also faced discrimination in the housing market where restrictive covenants were commonplace. Perhaps most serious, Jews met systematic discrimination in professional and business circles. Jewish doctors had a hard time finding internships...Jewish lawyers were kept out of the most prestigious law firms, and in academia, Jews were repeatedly denied teaching positions."

19. For an excellent summary of Jewish participation in the NAACP see Diner (1977, pp. 118-142).

Friedman (1995, p. 45) writes regarding the founding of the NAACP: "The black-Jewish alliance may be said to have taken institutional shape with the formation of the NAACP in 1909...The NAACP was to become the most important vehicle for racial progress for the next fifty years or more." Friedman (1995, pp. 46-57 summarizes the early history of the NAACP.

While many of the whites who were prominent in the founding of the NAACP were gentiles, a number of Jews, including Rabbi Stephen Wise, were on the planning committee. At the founding NAACP conference a resolution condemning the Czarist expulsion from Kiev was passed. Within a few years of the founding of the NAACP, Lewis (1984, p. 85) writes, "The NAACP had something of the aspect of an adjunct of B'Nai B'rith and the American Jew Committee, with the brothers Joel and Arthur Spingarn serving as board chairman and chief legal counsel, respectively; Herbert Lehman on the executive committee...and Jacob Schiff and Paul Warburg as financial angels."

Joel Spingarn, a close ally and friend of Du Bois, was chosen as NAACP board chairman in 1915 and was elected president from 1919 until his death in 1939. Spingarn's brother, Arthur, succeeded as president until 1966 when Kivie Kaplan was elected and served until 1975 when the first African-American became president of the NAACP (Goldberg, 1996a, p.24).

German-Jews were also important financial supporters of such Black welfare institutions as The Association for the Protection of Colored Women (1905), the Committee for Improving the Industrial Conditions of Negroes in New York (1906), and a group of committees which came together to form the Urban League (Brackman, 1977, p. 458). German-Jews were also strong supporters of Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee Institute (See Harlan, 1982).

20. There is some controversy regarding the motivation of the Jews who were actively involved in working closely with African-Americans during this period (Friedman, 1995, pp. 58-59). Both Lewis (1992) and Cruse (1967) believe that the main motivation of the Jewish elites was to "fight anti-Semitism by remote control."

Hasia Diner (1977), who has focused her research on Black/Jewish relations between 1915 and 1935, suggests that Jewish involvement was motivated to some degree by self interest. However, she concludes that Jewish engagement with the Black community grew out of a deep and special compassion, based on Jewish history and tradition, which contributed to the sensitivity and desire to help alleviate the suffering of Blacks. Diner (1977, p. xiv) writes, "Jewish leaders representing different socioeconomic classes, ideologies, and cultural experiences committed themselves to black betterment and gave time, money and energy to black organizations." She adds (p. xvi) They believed that the essence of the Jewish tradition involved a commitment to human rights and philanthropy."

Weiss (1997, p. 127) also concludes that Jewish "interest in racial justice was rooted in the complex interplay of religious belief, social concern, and pragmatic self interest."

21. Leo Frank, a northern Jew, who married into a prominent family in Atlanta, was tried for the murder of a young white girl, Mary Phagan, based on the testimony of a black janitor, James

Conley. The trial was apparently a chaotic one and aroused strong anti-Semitic sentiments among southern whites as well as created tensions between Blacks and Jews. Frank was convicted of the crime, his death sentence was commuted by the governor, but angry whites lynched him. In 1982, a witness came forward and admitted he had seen Conley with the body of Mary Phagan. The state of Georgia has pardoned Leo Frank (Friedman, 1995, pp. 63-66.)

Diner (1977, p. 101) describes the Leo Frank case as "possibly the most traumatic event in American Jewish history."

22. Lewis (1992) makes the point that the Jewish elite and the Black elite (the "talented tenth") benefited from their alliance. Both had aspiration to assimilate into the mainstream of American society. However he holds that for Jews "the collaboration was extremely beneficial. By assisting in the crusade to prove that Afro-Americans could be decent, conformist, cultured human beings, the civil rights Jews were, in a sense, spared some of the necessity of directly rebutting anti-Semitic stereotypes (p. 31)."

Diner (1977, p. 144) makes the point that by assisting Blacks, Jews were to some degree helping their image with the American public. "By proving how tolerant, broadminded, and non-ethnocentric Jews were,...they hoped they could dispel many ancient and deep seated prejudices and stereotypes of Jews."

23. Bennett (1993, p. 258) reports that between 1878 and 1898 approximately 10,000 blacks were lynched. Bennett (1993) also provides information regarding the number of lynchings of blacks for the following years: 1897=123; 1898=101; 1899=85; 1900=106; 1901=105; 1903=84; 1904=76; 1905=57; 1906=62; 1908=89; 1909=69; 1910=67; 1911=60; 1912=61; 1913=51; 1915=56; 1916=50; 1917=36; 1918=60; 1919=76; 1920=53; 1921=59; 1922=51; 1923=29.

Friedman (1995, p. 50) writes: "from 1889 to 1916, the NAACP (reported) that 3,244 black men and women were lynched and countless others simply disappeared."

24. Friedman (1995, p. 82) cites a figure of \$ 4.36 million dollars and states that, "by the time the program ended, more than one-fourth of all the black children in the South had been educated in Rosenwald schools.

25. By 1900 New York City had approximately half million Jews and 61,000 blacks (Brackman, 1977, p. 390).

26. While Harold Cruse, Spike Lee and others have charged that there was a pattern of Jewish exploitation of black artists, writers and musicians, there appears to be, as Friedman (1995, p. 110) concludes, "very little factual basis" that the relationship was "detrimental to black artists." Moreover, Friedman points out (p. 118) "Jews did open opportunities for talented black artists, writers, and entertainers long before other white Americans were prepared to do so."

The Rosenwald Fund subsidized many Blacks with fellowships. Grant recipients included: Marian Anderson, Kenneth Clark, Ralph Bunche, James Baldwin, Ralph Ellison, Gorden Parks (Friedman, 1995, p. 112).

27. The Yiddish press of this period (1910-1930) portrayed blacks quite sympathetically and consistently as victims of American racism. The Yiddish press also chronicled Negro achievements and sought to present similarities of Jews and blacks, "projecting the image of blacks as America's Jews" (Diner, 1977, p. 35). Diner also notes that of all new events the Scottsboro case received the most attention from the Yiddish press (p. 42). It should be mentioned that black crime also received a great deal of attention from the Yiddish press (Diner, 1977, p. 62).

28. Reddick in 1943 (Salzman, 1992, p. 82) wrote about the "Bronx slave market," where Black domestic workers would compete to sell their services, to white (and mainly Jewish) women, for as little as 15 cents an hour.

Dinnerstein (1994, p. 205-206) also presents information regarding some of the negatives interactions and perceptions between domestic workers and employers.

29. For three nights beginning on March 19, 1935 there were riots in the business district of Harlem. Two hundred stores were destroyed, many of them owned by Jews (Diner, 1977, p. 80).

Marcus Garvey was an early proponent of "Black Power" and the most important voice of the black masses during the 1920s in New York. While he expressed support for Jewish Zionist aspirations, his criticism of Jews and his advocacy of a boycott of Jewish businesses was clearly instrumental in exacerbating a climate of anti-Semitism in Harlem (Friedman, 1995, pp. 78-80).

30. Friedman (1995, p. 84) writes that Jewish labor and political leaders in the mid 1920s helped A. Philip Randolph organize the sleeping car porters. The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters was the most important support for black political causes prior to the civil rights movement of the 1950s.

31. Diner (1977, pp. 199-230) examines the relationship between Jews and Blacks in the labor movement between 1915 and 1935. She writes (p. 203), "Jewish interest in black workers manifested itself in two ways. First, Jewish leaders actively supported black efforts to unionize themselves. Second, Jewish labor unions, especially the ILGWU, developed extensive programs to attract black workers into their ranks." Diner (1977, p. 224) concludes that "the pivotal identity motivating Jewish labor leaders to assist black workers was their Jewishness."

In 1934, David Dubinsky head of the ILGWU, lead his union in an exodus from a meeting in a hotel that he found out discriminated against Blacks and stated, "We are a labor union and do not share in racial prejudices. We are committed to the principle of equality and justice and resistance to oppression" (diner, 1977, p. 220).

Lyons (1982, p. 71) cites research that conclusively demonstrates that the American Communist Party, growing out of a Yiddish-socialist subculture transplanted from Eastern Europe was 40-50 percent Jewish in the 1930s." Lyons (1982, pp. 70-87) also examines the relations between Jewish and Black members of Communist party in Philadelphia from 1936-1956.

Cruse (1967, p. 169) discussing the tension between blacks and Jews in the Communist Party, writes, "In Negro-Jewish relations in the Communist Left there has been an intense undercurrent

of jealousy, enmity and competition...Jewish Communists...gained the political whip of intellectual and theoretical domination of the Negro question."

32. Greenberg (1997) clearly documents the cooperation between blacks and Jews in the Civil Rights movement and states that, "examples of collaboration went far beyond direct or even indirect self interest, as both communities moved toward a sense of the indissoluble nature of equality" (p. 163).

33. Rabbi Stephen Wise and Jacob Schiff, Jewish leaders and NAACP colleagues of Du Bois protested to him regarding anti-Semitic characterizations found in the 1903 edition of the Souls of Black Folk. After the Second World War and the revelations of the Holocaust, Du Bois deleted from the 1953 edition seven specific prejudicial references to Jews. (Dinnerstein, 1994, pp. 200-201). In a 1953 letter to Aptheker, a friend and editor of Du Bois papers, Du Bois wrote, "As I re-read these words today, I see that harm might come if they were allowed to stand at they are." (Aptheker, 1973, p. 41).

Diner (1977, p. 71) quotes Du Bois as saying in a 1923 interview with the newspaper, the Jewish Daily Forward, "the Negro race looks to Jews for sympathy and understanding."

34. In fairness it should be pointed out that some black leaders ambivalently expressed a degree of admiration for Hitler and the Nazi's in the 1930s (Friedman, 1995, pp. 95-98).

35. There are a number of personal relationships between individual Jews and blacks which positively impacted the success of the civil rights movement. Among the most significant were the relationships between Roy Wilkins and Arnold Aronson and Martin Luther King, Jr. and Stanley David Levison. Friedman (1995, pp. 142-143) write of the former, "these two men personified the black-Jewish alliance at its best," and of the latter (1995, p. 163) Levison "would become King's closest white friend and most reliable colleague for the remainder of his life."

36. Friedman (1995, p. 281) tells how the "southern code" of social relations affected the behavior of Martin Luther King, Jr. King and his wife, Coretta, were invited to dinner at Rabbi Jacob Rothchild's house for dinner in Atlanta. The Kings were late and when they arrived King said, that they "had difficulty reading street numbers and asked nearby residents for directions. King assured his hosts that 'we were careful not to embarrass you with your neighbors. I let Coretta go to the door so they'd think we were just coming to serve a party.'"

37. There is disagreement with regard to the timing of the ending of the Black-Jewish alliance. Within the Jewish community three events stand out as critical: the rise of Black Power in the Mid 1960s, anti-Israel sentiments expressed by some Black leaders after the Six Day War in 1967, and the New York City teacher's strike in 1968. Interestingly, interviews with Black leaders suggest that the anti-affirmative action stance taken by major Jewish organizations in the Bakke case in 1978 spelled the end of the alliance for many blacks. (Goldberg, 1996a, p.317).

Friedman (1995, p. 212) believes that the decline of the Black-Jewish alliance began at the Democratic convention in Atlantic City in 1964 where Jewish liberals were opposed by more radical Blacks. He also states (p. 338) that the "civil rights revolution ended with the assassination of Martin Luther King".

Branch (1992) writes that it was the Six-Day War "that ended the psychological bond between blacks and Jews."

Time magazine (1/31/69, pp. 55-59) published a cover study entitled, "The Black and Jew: A Falling Out of Allies," which examined the rise of Black anti-Semitism and the dissolution of the Black-Jewish alliance.

Diner (1977, p. 240) writes that "the Jewish-black alliance had emerged from the almost total weakness of one party. That weakness began to fade as the educational level of blacks rose and as traditional bars to blacks were beginning to fall. The achievement of these goals served to make the alliance obsolete."

38. King was assassinated on April 4, 1968. Friedman (1995, p. 255) writes that his death, "cost the civil rights movement its greatest leader and the black-Jewish alliance its most influential black advocate."

39. Malcolm X is clearly a major figure in the African American experience. However in this examination of Jewish and black relations the significance of his impact was his opposition to the integrationist approach of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. who he derisively labeled "the Reverend Dr. Chicken Wing." (Gates, 1996.)

With regard to Jews, Malcolm in the mid 1960s stated, "In America, the Jews sap the very life-blood of the so called Negroes to maintain the state of Israel, its armies, and its continued aggression against our brothers in the East. This every Black Man resents." (Kaufman, 1995, p. 135.)

Toward the end of his life, Malcolm, in turn, was vilified by the NOI. See Karenga (1993, p. 251-3) for an analysis of the reasons. It might be mentioned that Farrakhan wrote, two months before Malcolm's assassination, "the die is set and Malcolm shall not escape...Such a man as Malcolm is worthy of death" (Gates, 1996, p. 121).

40. It might be mentioned that the Black Panther party, under the leadership of Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver, was also active at this time. Unlike the Black Nationalists they invited, and to some degree exploited, the participation of white radicals and liberals in their efforts.

41. See Carson (1984) and Friedman (1995) for an in-depth discussion of Black Jewish relations during the civil rights era.

42. Friedman (1995, p.213) cites the fact that "between 1964 and 1968 there were 329 riots in 257 cities across the country."

43. With regard the tensions around housing in the 1960s, historian Joseph Boskin (Time, 1969, p. 57) points out "that the Jewish sense of liberalism and fair play sometimes borders on masochism. If you have a fair housing march through a white neighborhood, the Negroes will have their heads torn off. If they go through a Jewish neighborhood, half the population will be joining in, and the other half will be falling on the ground flagellating themselves."

44. As a result of the bitter teacher's strike, the Ford foundation commissioned Harris and associates to study Black Jewish relations in New York City. Data was collected in the Spring,

1969 from a representative sample of 634 Jews and 1,041 Blacks. The findings are interesting and multi-faceted. Of particular note is that fact that a majority of Jews (69%) see a deterioration in Black Jewish relations while only 39% of blacks perceive a worsening of relations. (Harris & Swanson, 1970).

45. Harold Cruse (1967, supported a degree of racial separation and urged blacks to break away from the domination of Jewish intellectuals who he believed played too large a role in influencing Black thought.

A influential group of Jewish intellectuals many who were former liberals, including Norman Podhoretz, Irving Kristol, Midge Decter, Nathan Glazer and Martin Peretz among others, embraced a philosophical approach known as Neoconservatism. In addition in expressing conservative views on social and political issues they were avid supporters of Israel.

46. Hill (1996, p. 93-96) outlines the history of Jewish opposition to affirmative action and concludes (p. 94), "In court and out of court, for more than two decades, Jewish organizations have led the attack against affirmative action, and prominent Jewish leaders, institutions, and publications have engaged in a campaign against affirmative action..."

When the Bakke case went to the Supreme Court in 1978 Goldberg, (1996a, p. 318) writes, "all the major black civil rights organizations filed amicus briefs supporting the university's affirmative action program. The big three Jewish defense agencies all filed briefs supporting Bakke. It was the first direct, public, head-on confrontation between the black and Jewish communities over a basic civil rights issue. The blacks lost."

47. Many blacks were also angered at Israel's support of the apartheid regime in South Africa. Israel and its American Jewish supporters cited the fact that South Africa did not break diplomatic ties with Israel after the Six Day War as other African countries had been pressured to do so by Arab states. Moreover, Israel believed by maintaining relations with South Africa it could assist a sizable South African Jewish community as well as serve its own commercial interests.

48. Jesse Jackson characterized Young's resignation "as a capitulation to Jews" (Friedman, 1995, p. 323).

49. While this essay primarily focuses on Farrakhan as a figure of "fear and loathing" for Jews and quotes some of his most incendiary anti-Semitic remarks, he is certainly a complex and, at times, charming individual. Gates (1996) in his recent essay captures some of the paradoxes of the man. For example he reports (p. 118) that "Farrakhan really does believe that a cabal of Jews secretly control the world; he also suspects, as I learned later in our conversation, that one of his own grandparents was a Portuguese Jew."

50. Black Studies is clearly a viable academic discipline which had attracted serious scholars and has contributed to a body of knowledge regarding African American history and culture (Karenga, 1993). Of particular concern in this essay has been the explicit (and implicit) participation of some Black Studies professors and students in expressing or condoning anti-Semitic statements and attitudes.

51. Jews clearly have had a major influence in Hollywood. Gabler, N. (1988) provides essential historical information while both Medved (1996) and Goldberg (1996b) offer useful contemporary analysis of the Jewish influence in Hollywood. While the relationship of the Jewish impact on American entertainment is a complex one there appears to be little evidence of any systematic attempt, current or past, to portray blacks in a derogatory manner.

52. The accusation that Jewish doctors infected Black babies with Aids has been attributed to Steven Cokely, a "researcher" for the NOI, and former aide of the mayor of Chicago.

53. It might be noted that Moses Maimonides was in charge of the slave trading center in Cairo's Jewish community (Brackman, 1977, p. 46). Maimonides in his Guide for the Perplexed characterizes the Cushites (Blacks) as "irrational beings, and not as human beings; they are below mankind, but above monkeys, since they have the form and shape of man, and a mental faculty above that of the monkey (Brackman, 1977, p. 89). Judah Halevi, who, along with Maimonides is considered one of the greatest thinkers of the medieval Jewish world, also wrote of the biological inferiority of blacks, identifying blacks "as a species of mankind 'fit to receive nothing more than the human form and speech in its least developed form'" (Brackman, 1977, p.88).

While he doesn't deal directly with the statement of Maimonides, Goldberg (1997) carefully examines the charge of anti-black sentiment in rabbinic and talmudic literature and concludes that the rabbinic world was one in which skin color was "irrelevant."

54. There is evidence that suggests that Jews and Blacks were slaves at the same time in Egypt. The bible also indicates that Moses married a Cushite (an Ethiopian black) woman and led a "mixed" group of Jews and blacks out of Egypt (Brackman, 1977, p. 72).

55. Karenga (1993, p. 115) states, "If one objectively calculates the costs to Africa and Africans in terms of the 50 to 100 million lives lost thru mass murder, war, the forcible transfer of populations, and the brutal rigors of the Middle Passage and the enslavement as well as the attendant dehumanization and cultural destruction, one cannot help but conclude that of all holocausts of history, none surpasses this one."

Bennett (1993, p.29) estimates the number of African deaths during the period of slavery at 40 million*. He states (p. 50) that in the "eighteenth century between fifty and one hundred thousand slaves crossed the Atlantic each year." The majority were sent to Spanish colonies in South and Central America and the Caribbean. It has been estimated that five million African slaves were sent to Brazil.

*See Endnote # 2 for Curtin's (1969) more historically accurate and accepted estimation of the number of enslaved persons imported to the Americas.

56. Katz (1996) argues for the uniqueness of the Nazi holocaust by "virtue of the fact that never before has a state set out, as a matter of intentional principle and actualized policy, to annihilate physically every man, woman, and child belong to a specific people" (p. 19).

Descher (1996) compares the similarities and differences of the Nazi Holocaust and the Atlantic slave trade.

57. It is clear that serious tension had existed for a number of years between Hasidic Jews and African-American in Crown Heights. For example, in a 1987 New York Times article the director of the local Jewish Community Council stated, "What is called crime in any other neighborhood is called racial tension here. You know if someone is mugged, you know the person is black. There is no secret about that. When you talk about crime in this neighborhood, it is a one-way street" (Chavez, 1987, p. B6).

58. Goldberg (1996a, p. 308) writes that while the riot apparently began spontaneously it continued for three days because militant Black activists such as the Reverend Al Sharpton and Sonny Carson organized demonstrations and gave speeches laced with anti-Semitic rhetoric.

59. On February 10, 1997, Nelson was found guilty in federal court of violating Yankel Rosenbaum's civil rights. The verdict will likely result in 6 to 20 years in prison. The jury consisted of two Jews, three Blacks, four Latinos and three other whites. (LA Times 1997, A. 13.)

60. Kasinitz & Haynes (1996) examine some of the complexities in the burning of Freddy's.

61. Dinnerstein's (1994, pp. 197-227) somewhat negative examination of African-American attitudes towards Jews from the 1830s to the 1990s provides support for a view that there has long been a significant and pervasive strain of anti-semitism among Blacks. He concludes by stating, "It may take several generations of promoting respect for, and acceptance of Jews, however, before centuries-old beliefs are eradicated."

62. Lipset & Raab (1995, p.78) summarize some of the dramatic shifts in anti-Semitic attitudes in the United States. For example, they report that in 1964 opinion poll 28% of the respondents believed that Jews were less honest than other Americans, while in 1982 this response dropped to 17%. In 1937 only 46% of those polled said they would vote for a presidential candidate who was Jewish while in 1983, 90% indicated they would. In 1940, a survey found that 25% of respondents said they would prefer not to live next to anyone who was Jewish, by 1962, this had dropped to 3%! In 1986, 82% of those polled indicate they had "warm and friendly" feelings toward Jews.

65. There is some controversy regarding the assessment of Black anti-Semitism. Dinnerstein (1987) concludes from his examination of survey data that Blacks are more anti-Semitic than whites. He states that (1987, p. 244) "...since the 1960s a variety of polls have found that younger, militant and better educated individuals are the most antisemitic ..." However, Quinley & Glock (1979, p. 61) reviewing similar data write, "Black Americans are not significantly more anti-Semitic than whites but are clearly more critical of Jewish business practices." While Rubin (1995) also present a review the survey data: "What emerges ...is a complex and volatile picture. No simple generalizations can be made about African-American and Jewish attitudes toward each other. Blacks say Jews have too much influence, but also hold admiring views of them. Jews tend to support blacks on more issues than do other groups, though substantial disagreement remains between them, and to feel moderately close to blacks although they share other groups' negative opinions about them. These attitudes may contradict each, but they coexist" (p. 161).

Okami (1992) presents a theory of referent anti-Semitism to account for the apparent rise of

negative attitudes toward Jews by young, educated African Americans. Okami states that, "referent anti-Semitism is directed against Jews because 1) Jews represent an aversive upward comparison target facilitating the experience of relative deprivation; 2) Jews and African-Americans are in direct competition for specific scarce resources, which leads to realistic group conflict; and 3) as a result of Jews current superior standing vis-a-vis competition for scarce resources, Jews may be perceived by African-Americans as bearing partial responsibility for low justification conditions and low likelihood outcomes" (p. 742).

Okami (1992) clarifies his views regarding referent anti-Semitism and writes, "I assert then that the cluster of affect and cognition characteristic of referent anti-Semitism is directed toward Jews in particular not because Jews are being used as a scapegoat for anger more properly directed against whites, *but because African-Americans identify with Jews and do not identify with whites* (p. 746).

More recently Weiss (1996) personally discusses the growing prominence of Jews in America and is somewhat critical of the survey items that have been used to assess anti-Semitism.

64. Recently, West (1997, p. 413) has become quite discouraged regarding the renewal of a Black-Jewish alliance. He writes that the initial response to his book with Michael Lerner, Jews and Blacks: Let the Healing Begin (1995) was quite positive in Black churches, synagogues and colleges. However he writes, "we received no financial support for our proposed Black-Jewish conference and we were trashed both by visible neoliberal Jewish intellectuals and vociferous progressive black intellectuals. And with the advent of the O.J. verdict and Million Man March, our efforts for Black-Jewish healing were in shambles. Lerner and I continue to agree to disagree, even as our agreements and disagreements grew deeper, but as a twosome we felt more and more isolated." He goes on to restate (p.415) that "Black-Jewish relations--at the symbolic level--are in shambles."

65. It might be mentioned that the tensions that currently divide the Black and Jewish community have also found their way, quite explicitly, in CommonQuest. Cohen (1996, pp. 20-21) points the finger of blame for the deterioration of black Jewish relations, directly at Black anti-Semitism. He is critical of Black leaders including Cornel West, who he states "joins the editorial advisory board of this magazine with the same nonchalance with which he meets Farrakhan." Cohen quotes West as saying, "I respect Farrakhan."

66. Salzman (1997, p. 5) realistically writes, "..there is little indication that the liberal coalition occasionally formed by Blacks and Jews has any real chance of being reestablished... For a while, there was much talk about Black-Jewish dialogue, and groups in various parts of the country would meet to look for 'common ground.' But increasingly, many African-Americans seem to have lost interest in 'dialoging,' in trying to understand what went wrong."

67. From a realistic point of view many of the activities and programs sponsored by the Kovler Institute for Black-Jewish Relations (Landsberg & Saperstein, 1991) would best be described as supporting the framework of a "limited alliance."

68. Edgar Bronfman, the billionaire chairman of Seagram and president of the World Jewish Congress, had dinner with Louis Farrakhan and his wife at Mike Wallace's apartment in New York City in the Spring of 1996. Bronfman later stated that he "agreed to have dinner because

Mike Wallace assured me he was convinced that Farrakhan was sincere in trying to build bridges to the Jewish community." The dinner apparently went well. Wallace, who was present with his wife, said, "It was thoroughly pleasant, very civilized, no holds barred as to questions, skeptical questions, and I thought everyone left on good terms." Apparently the rapprochement broke down when Bronfman became enraged when he found out that Farrakhan compared the current plight of Iraqi children to victims of the Holocaust. Bronfman wrote to Wallace on November 4 and stated, "you'll remember that we forcefully pointed out to Minister Farrakhan at dinner that such references to the Holocaust were unacceptable to the Jewish community" (Kahn, 1996, p. 1, 5.)

69. A somewhat more cynical case could be made that Farrakhan, who parlayed a career, from the Jackson campaign in 1984 to the 1990's, as an outspoken "Jew baiter", believes he has reached the limits of that persona and is now, since the Million Man March, attempting to create an image as a "healer".

70. Rieder (1995, p. 354) looks with a jaundiced and satiric eye at the possibility of contemporary blacks and Jews working out their differences. He writes, "...the penchant for study generates symposia along the lines of 'Whither Black-Jewish Relations?'; beneficial as they often are, such convocations may at times devolve into a ritualized genre which, in tacit coordination with equally stylized African-American rejoinders, produces baroque dramas full of earnest Jewish confessions of a desire to recapture mutuality, black warnings that the time is at hand to 'reevaluate' the black-Jewish relationships, Jewish demands that blacks atone and apologize and repudiate, black displays of autonomy from the white man that elicit reflexive 'say-ons' and 'right-ons' of appreciation, and Judeocentric cries of 'Never again!'"

71. It is Dinnerstein's (1994, p. 197-199) thesis that the roots of Black anti-Semitism can be traced to the fact for several generations most African-Americans lived in the South. He writes, "living in the South they imbibed a white Protestant fundamentalist culture that saw Jews as people who had killed their Savior, who had never accepted the truthfulness of Christianity, and as cunning and exploitative individuals who had ruthlessly amassed fortunes as they allegedly acquired political and economic control of society" (p. 197).

72. Richard Wright, the African-American author, writes of his own upbringing, "All of us Black people hated Jews, not because they exploited us but because we had been taught at home and in Sunday school that Jews were 'Christ killers'" (Friedman, 1995, p. 28).

Friedman (1995, p. 28) quotes a jingle that exemplifies the negative perception of Jews: "Virgin Mary had one son, the cruel Jews had him hung, Bloody Christ killer, never trust a Jew, bloody Christ killer, what won't a Jew do?"

73. See Ben Yehuda, S. (1975) Black Hebrew Israelites: From America to the Promised Land. New York: Vantage Press.

Gelbwasser (1996) presents information regarding the number Black Jews in America and provides a current estimate between 130 and 260 thousand. The latter number is based on the definition that anyone who calls himself or herself a Jew is one. See Gelbwasser, M. (1996) Black Jewish and Proud. The Jewish Advocate, Jewish Boston Online, <http://www.Shamish.org>

74. Kenneth Clark writing in 1946 (Salzman, 1992, pp. 96-98) sought to provide an explanation for Black anti-Semitism and Jewish racism. He suggests that anti-Semitism grows out of "the insecurity and humiliation of the status" of Black people and that by expressing anti-Jewish feeling there is an identification with the dominant white culture. A similar dynamic is used to explain Jewish racism. Jews in a desire to deflect anti-Semitism and accelerate assimilation into larger white culture will express anti-Black sentiments.

75. As an example, one might note the spasm of tension that erupted between Jews and blacks in 1995 when some African American school children in Oakland, California behaved irreverently during a screening of Schindler's List.

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