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UPDATED

Farrakhan and Jews in the 1990s

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1950

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

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FARRAKHAN AND JEWS IN THE 1990s

Forty thousand people crammed into Atlanta's Georgia Dome on October 18, 1992, to hear Nation of Islam leader Minister Louis Farrakhan. He spoke about black self-help. He spoke about electoral politics. And he spoke about Jews.

Alluding to the Atlanta Jewish leadership's refusal to meet with him, Farrakhan said his differences with Jews were "theological — not political." The 40,000 listened intently while Farrakhan delineated these "theological" differences: "We didn't ask you [Jews] to apologize for helping put our fathers into slavery," he said. "We didn't ask you to apologize for Stepin Fetchit and for giving us Aunt Jemima roles in Hollywood. You have the power but you don't have the power of the god I represent. . . . He'll smash you in the twinkle of an eye. . . . If you're angry and pained because our [black] people in Atlanta have accepted us, get over it."

Farrakhan's comments on Jews garnered the loudest applause of the evening.

This difficult development in black-Jewish relations occurred in Atlanta, Georgia, where black-Jewish relations have always been the best. Throughout this century, the groups have worked together to fight bigotry and end discrimination, to oppose the Ku Klux Klan, and to protect and promote

civil rights. In the home city of Dr. Martin Luther King, each community has relied on the other as an ally in times of crisis. The Atlanta Black-Jewish Coalition is one of America's shining beacons of interethnic cooperation. What will happen in other cities, with less success than Atlanta in black-Jewish relations, when Minister Farrakhan comes to town and asks Jews to "dialogue"?

Farrakhan's appeal to many in the black community follows a long strain of black nationalist and separationist thought. Blacks were brought to this country as slaves, and even a century after slavery ended and a quarter century after the civil rights movement, racism is still endemic. Based on skin color alone, blacks face prejudice and discrimination on a daily basis unfathomable to most other Americans.

Bigotry has always existed. Increased integration has not eradicated prejudice, and Farrakhan argues, with force, that integration alone can never end racism. Rather than pinning black hopes on changes in the white mainstream society, Farrakhan argues that blacks should separate from whites and thus gain control over their own lives. It is a message parallel to one heard from time to time in many ethnic communities that look inward with nationalistic tones in time of perceived crises. Farrakhan has perverted that nationalistic message by injecting hatred as a driving force.

Even though most Jews and blacks reject insular calls as inherently dangerous (the outside forces cannot be ignored), the passion and caring about community that motivate the insular calls are unmistakable. Through fear, hurt, desperation, or resignation, the inward "answer" to outward prejudice connects with our emotions. We may disagree with the wisdom of such logic, but its power is undeniable.

The problem most Jews have with Farrakhan is not so much that we disagree with his insular calls, although most do. It is that his insularity is inherently bigoted and anti-Semitic. From 1984 to today, the Nation of Islam has invested tremendous energy in trying to promote hatred of whites — and especially hatred of Jews — throughout the African-American community. History is replete with the ugly lessons of those who try to teach love of self through hate of others. Farrakhan's message is of that strain — and that is only the beginning of the problem. He takes a hateful tradition to the extreme. As deplorable as his statements are, his actions are worse.

WHO IS LOUIS FARRAKHAN?

Minister Louis Farrakhan, born Louis Eugene Wolcott in the Bronx, New York, in 1933, was a calypso singer in the 1950s when he attended a speech by Elijah Muhammad, founder of the Black Muslim movement. "I was looking for all my life to help the Black man," Farrakhan recalls. "I became instantly converted by the logic of his arguments."

Rising quickly through the movement, Farrakhan became an assistant to Malcolm X at a Boston mosque. When Malcolm X was transferred to the movement's premier Mosque No. 7 in Harlem, Farrakhan was given the ministry at Boston. When Malcolm X broke with Elijah Muhammad, Farrakhan had a key role in keeping the Black Muslim movement intact, partly by strong oratory against his former colleague ("The die is set," he warned, "and Malcolm shall not escape, especially after such evil, foolish talk [about Elijah Muhammad] . . . Such a man is worthy of death."). Following Malcolm X's assassination in 1965, Farrakhan was reassigned to the prestigious Harlem mosque.

Farrakhan's Harlem rallies drew thousands. His Sunday sermons were carried live on radio. By 1975, he was a leading figure in the Black Muslim movement. "He is a better orator than the late Doctor Martin Luther King," wrote Black Muslim author Sterling Hobbs. "He sings better than Marvin Gaye. He is a better writer than Norman Mailer. He dresses better than Walt Frazier. He is more of a diplomat than Henry Kissinger, and he is prettier than Muhammad Ali."

Farrakhan's orations included anti-Semitism. During an April 22, 1972, interview on WABC-TV in New York, Farrakhan complained about an American Jewish Committee report on anti-Semitism in the Black Muslim movement authored by Milton Ellerin, former AJC trends analysis director. "A Jew by the name of Milton Ellerin said that the Black Muslims . . . are a source of anti-Semitism that is infecting the black community," Farrakhan said. "So, I knew from reading that report that this Jew was in control of the media. This man was telling the Jewish community and the white American community that we got to do something about these Black Muslims."

These anti-Semitic attacks continued, frequently through the classic anti-Semitic images of conspiratorial Jews controlling the media and

Hollywood. The mass media is "Jewish controlled," he said in 1974, and black politicians "should not bow to Jewish pressure" because they would become "a pawn of Zionism and Jews in America against the just causes of the Arabs today." Under Louis Farrakhan, Mosque No. 7 was one of the major New York outlets for the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, the nineteenth-century czarist anti-Semitic forgery that fueled many pogroms by promoting the myth of Jewish conspiracy. Farrakhan's mosque sold other anti-Semitic books as well, including a Pakistani book entitled *A History of Jewish Crime*.

Elijah Muhammad died in 1975, and his son, Warid D. (Wallace) Muhammad, took over the Black Muslim movement. Farrakhan was summoned to Chicago to serve as an assistant to the new leader.

Wallace Muhammad changed the movement radically. He abandoned the nationalist-separationist ideology of his father. He supported the American system of government. Whites, previously vilified, were now invited to join. The claim that his father was a "Divine Messenger who had met God" was now gone. The organization's name was changed to the American Muslim Mission.

In 1978, Farrakhan left Wallace Muhammad and formed his own "Nation of Islam." The NOI was to be what the Black Muslims under Elijah Muhammad had been — a separationist, self-help operation. Rigid dress codes and a paramilitary disciplining unit known as the Fruit of Islam were revived. Farrakhan's sermons called for black liberation throughout the world via violent retribution against whites. "The white man is our mortal enemy," he preached. Farrakhan railed against the major civil rights organizations such as the NAACP, the Urban League, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and CORE because their agenda of integration was incompatible with his agenda for separationist black self-help.

1984 to 1989

Minister Louis Farrakhan became known to most Americans during the 1984 presidential campaign. Farrakhan supported Democratic hopeful Jesse Jackson. His Fruit of Islam provided security for the candidate.

On February 13, 1984, the *Washington Post* reported, "In private conversations with reporters, Jackson has referred to Jews as 'Hymie' and to New York as 'Hymietown.'" Jackson eventually apologized for the slurs. Farrakhan, however, lashed out at Milton Coleman, the black reporter who broke the story: "One day soon we will punish you with death." He accused Coleman of being a "Judas" and an "Uncle Tom."

In the controversy that followed, Farrakhan first claimed that Jackson's slur was no slur at all: "Hyman comes from a Hebrew word, *chaim* . . . it means life. . . . New York City is a city where the vital instruments of life are controlled by the Jewish people." Then he spouted a litany of anti-Semitic threats. On February 25, 1984: "I say to the Jewish people who may not like our brother . . . if you harm this brother, I warn you in the name of Allah, this will be the last one you do harm." On March 9, 1984, he claimed that Israel had dispatched "hit squads" to the United States to assassinate Jackson. On March 11, 1984, he said: "Here come the Jews [*sic*] don't like Farrakhan, so they call me a Hitler. Well, that's a good name. Hitler was a very great man. He wasn't great for me as a black person, but he was a great German. He rose [*sic*] Germany up from nothing. Well, in a sense you could say there's similarity in that we are rising our people up from nothing." When asked to clarify his remarks, Farrakhan said that Hitler "was indeed a great man, but also wicked — wickedly great." As further clarification, Farrakhan "explained" that "The Zionists made a deal with Adolf Hitler, the same people that condemn me for saying Hitler was great but wickedly great."

Farrakhan's statements about Jews — beyond being hateful and factually incorrect — were also religiously bigoted. He had a Passover message for Jews in 1984: if Jews did not believe in Jesus, "then may the death angel stop at your door and kill the firstborn of your house." Farrakhan's statements were repudiated by leaders in the black community, including Roger Wilkins, Tony Brown, Kenneth Gibson, Carl Rowan, Vernon Jarret, and many others.

After the 1984 presidential race, Farrakhan's obscurity had ended, and he was frequently quoted in the media. He gave good anti-Semitic copy. On July 30, 1984, for example, he said:

What I represent is truth and America is saying to me what is written that the Jews said to Jesus when they rejected Him. And Jesus

responded "You cannot understand my words because my words have no place in you." The Jews in that day wanted no truth to be told if it conflicted with their selfish desires. They did not care for the truth; they only wanted to hear that which made them comfortable in their web of lies and deceit [The present] Jewish leadership is spiritually blind. If the American government and the Reagan administration allow such lobby which is spiritually blind to have the great power to influence the guidance of this nation then they will guide this nation to its destruction.

On a Sunday radio program, Farrakhan claimed that Jews, who were "chosen to be a light to the gentile nations," were, rather, emitting "a corrupted light to the people and were the father of false religions and false religious practices." He proclaimed that Israel would "never have any peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice, lying and deceit and using the name of God to shield your gutter religion under his holy and righteous name. . . . The presence of a state called Israel," he said, "is an outlaw act." (Farrakhan later claimed he was misquoted, that he had called Judaism a "dirty" religion rather than a "gutter" religion.)

Farrakhan also railed about "powerful Jewish leaders," "Jewish editors," and "Jewish writers," repeating the classic anti-Semitic canards he used over a decade before while in his Harlem pulpit. "As long as Jewish people control the media," he said, "Arabs, Blacks, Muslims will never have a balanced view."

Farrakhan also spread his message to mass audiences, including college students. Anti-Semitism was frequently used, and applauded. In 1984, Farrakhan asked an audience what it thought was the appropriate remedy for black leaders who sought support from Jews. "Kill them!" someone shouted. Questioned by the press, Farrakhan explained, "I didn't say it. I just seconded the motion."

Throughout 1984 and 1985, Farrakhan told his audiences that Jews were responsible for slavery, that they were "sucking the blood of our poor people that [they] might live well," that "Anti-black Jewish schemes [kept] blacks from moving on up," that "Jewish shopkeepers and landlords . . . swarmed the ghetto to prey upon our people . . . like vultures." "I am declaring to the world that [Jews] are not the chosen people of God," he said, and that "Jews know their wickedness, not just Zionism, which is an

outgrowth of Jewish transgression.”

Before 15,000 people in Los Angeles, Farrakhan said: “We will never forget who sold our fathers into slavery. Don’t push your six million down our throats when we lost 100 million.” Before 10,000 in Washington, D.C., Farrakhan “[made] the audience laugh when he mock[ed] the Holocaust,” according to the *Washington Post*.

On September 26, 1985, Farrakhan again told an audience (in Baltimore) what he thought of Judaism: “You cannot tell me your religion is what you profess, your religion is what you practice, and if you practice lying and stealing and cheating and murder and whoremongering then your religion is a dirty religion. . . .”

On October 7, 1985, Farrakhan spoke to 25,000 at New York’s Madison Square Garden. Leading New Yorkers — including the governor, the mayor, and Cardinal O’Connor — denounced the event in advance, as did David Dinkins, who was then city clerk. After the speech, Congressman Charles Rangel and other leading black New Yorkers called for Dinkins to receive police protection — which was provided — because Farrakhan had denounced him as someone who “sold out” and “should pay the price.”

Farrakhan, in a fiery delivery, asked the Madison Square Garden crowd, “Who are the people who are against Farrakhan? Are the people against me righteous? Would you say the Jews against me are righteous people?”

“No!” the audience roared.

After railing about the “Jewish lobby,” and “the power of the Jews,” Farrakhan said:

Jesus had a controversy with the Jews. Farrakhan has a controversy with the Jews. Jesus was hated by the Jews. Farrakhan is hated by the Jews. Jesus was scourged by Jews in their temple. Farrakhan is scourged by Jews in their synagogue. . . . They called him a devil. They call me a devil. . . . The Jews talked about “never again.” I am your last chance too, Jews. I am your last chance. Listen Jews. This little black boy is your last chance because the Scriptures charge your

people with killing the prophets of God. I am not one of the prophets of God. But if you rise up to try to kill me, then Allah promises you that he will bring on this generation the blood of the righteous. All of you will be killed outright. You cannot say "never again" to God, because when He puts you in the oven, "never again" don't mean a thing.

Farrakhan also built alliances with people and groups known for their anti-Semitism. Former Ku Klux Klan leader Tom Metzger — who would later be found responsible, along with his White Aryan Resistance organization, for the brutal skinhead murder of a black Ethiopian immigrant in Portland, Oregon — was a guest at Farrakhan's 1985 Los Angeles speech. Metzger donated \$100 to Farrakhan's organization, and the two created an alliance as their anti-Semitic and separationist agendas dovetailed.

Also in 1985, Farrakhan invited Kwame Toure, formerly known as Stokely Carmichael, to speak to the Nation of Islam's Saviour's Day celebration. Toure preached that "the worldwide criminal Zionists must be uncovered. . . . We must smash Israel and Zionism." Another speaker was Arthur Butz, one of the world's best-known Holocaust deniers, who said that the claim of 6,000,000 Jews killed by the Nazis was a hoax. And, appearing via satellite, was Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi. Qaddafi — whose venomous anti-Semitism is well known — exhorted Farrakhan's followers to "destroy white America." That same year Qaddafi gave the Nation of Islam a \$5 million loan, interest free.

In 1986, Farrakhan and a delegation of Nation of Islam leaders visited Libya to attend the "Second International General Conference for a World Forum to Combat Imperialism, Zionism, Racism, Reaction and Fascism." The trip violated U.S. laws banning travel to Libya. When it was unclear whether Farrakhan would be prosecuted (he was not), his chief spokesman, Khalid Abdul Muhammad, said that if Farrakhan were charged, "the people will burn this country to the ground." He threatened that Nation of Islam members would "walk up to the car where your police officers are taking a break and blow their damn brains out." He said his organization would kill "anything that's white, that ain't right, that's in sight."

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, Farrakhan continued preaching anti-white bigotry and Jew-hatred as part of his message.

In 1988 when Steve Cokely was fired as an assistant to Mayor Sawyer in Chicago for claiming that Jewish doctors were injecting black babies with the AIDS virus, Farrakhan proclaimed that "Cokely spoke the truth. [Jews complained] because the truth hurts. I know this man Cokely. I know if he said it, he got the stuff to back it up."

Writing in the Nation of Islam's paper, the *Final Call*, in 1988, Farrakhan explained:

The reason Jesus is so hated in the scriptures by the Jews is because in Jesus they see the demise of their power and sway over their own Caucasian brethren and over all the darker people of the earth. . . . Practically everywhere I have gone, the Jews have gone in front of me stirring people against me and have come behind me doing the same.

. . . The Caucasian people are made from a thought, or determined idea that is contrary to the idea of Allah (God) in his creation of the Original man. The ideas and ideals that are carried in the white male are the exact opposite to the ideas and ideals of the Original people. Therefore, the Caucasian is by nature to be the enemy of the Original man and ideas, ideals, and laws that rule the Original creation. That is why the Honorable Elijah Muhammad called them a race of "devils." Devil means "opposer to God and good; one who is wicked."

In the same year he also said, "The Jews cannot defeat me. I will grind them and crush them into little bits." And, in 1989, he told high school students in New Jersey that Jews "broke your own covenant, you are out of it today. God chose . . . you failed . . . that's why he chastises you."

Farrakhan dislikes Jews so much that he would even deny them their Jewishness. As he explained to a March 1988 crowd at the University of the District of Columbia:

I respectfully say to my Jewish friends, please don't call me anti-Semitic. Go and study the state of Israel. The Ashkenazi Jews are European Jews who converted to Judaism. They never had any roots in Palestine. They never came from Palestine. These are Europeans who have come into Palestine and now the Falasha Jews and the Black Hebrew Israelites, they are suffering under the rule of the real anti-Semite, who is Yitzhak Shamir.

(As the May 30, 1988, the *New Republic* noted, even though, of course, some Europeans converted to Judaism, "Farrakhan . . . is dead wrong. . . . The Jews of Palestine were expelled by the Romans in 70 A.D. . . . Ashkenazi Jewry was formed . . . by the movement of [the Jews who initially went to Italy] to northern France and Germany, and later eastward, to Central and Eastern Europe.")

Farrakhan's propaganda is why many of his followers (including some rap artists) refer to Jews as "so-called" Jews. Farrakhan not only rewrites black history (slavery) to target Jews, he also rewrites Jewish history. Jews are not really Jews. Judaism preaches evil. Jews had no relationship with the biblical land of Israel. Jews are responsible for slavery. And, most important, Jews are not oppressed but maniacal oppressors.

Speaking to reporters at the *Washington Post* in 1988, Farrakhan excoriated Jews:

We've been loyal to you. We've cleaned your floors and when you asked us, "And you do do windows don't you?" we said "Yes." We left our homes uncleaned to clean yours. We left our children unkempt to clean yours. We give you our talent. You manage us. You get the money. We get the fame and then end up on drugs with no money. You are our managers, you are our agents. . . . You run the institutions quietly behind the scenes. You pull the strings where education is concerned. You're the scriptwriters. You're the Hollywood promoters that promoted us as Little Black Sambo and [unintelligible] with the bug-eyes and Stepin Fetchit.

1989 to Present

Farrakhan's appeal for "dialogue" with Jewish organizations in 1992 was but part of his recent attempt to gain the trappings of legitimacy.

First, between 1988 and 1990, he approached the media. He was interviewed by Phil Donahue, Larry King, *ABC Prime-Time*, *CBS This Morning*, *Newsweek*, the *Washington Times*, and the *Washington Post*.

Then his organization was given awards by the cities of Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and Tacoma for its work against crime in inner-city

neighborhoods. He relished the treatment.

While accepting awards for public works, Farrakhan and his associates kept spreading anti-Semitism. Two days after receiving Tacoma's award, Farrakhan said, "Any black man who stands up for justice will end up like Jesus. . . . The same enemies that hated Jesus hate Farrakhan. Jesus was hated by the Romans, the Babylonians, the Pharisees, and the Jews. I am hated by the same."

In the first years of the 1990s, Farrakhan's organization has been busy on two parallel tracks that explain approaches for dialogue with the Jewish community. On one hand, the Nation of Islam has been seeking support from middle-class and non-Muslim blacks through programs in the inner city fighting crime, drugs, and AIDS. On the other, it has published one of the most sophisticated anti-Semitic tracts since Henry Ford's *International Jew*. The "good works" programs garner mayoral proclamations and government contracts. The anti-Semitic programs give a target for Farrakhan's ideology of hate. A "catch-22" situation is created. If government bodies will honor him, but Jews will not meet with him, then it is easy to paint the Jewish community as unfair (and as having a problem recognizing "black leadership"). And if Jews ever meet with him, then he can paint his anti-Semitism as not so anti-Semitic after all.

The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews

In 1991, the Nation of Islam "Research Department" published a 334-page book entitled *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks And Jews: Volume One*. Presented as a scholarly text (it has 1275 footnotes), the book "chronicles Jewish writings that testify to their involvement in the slave trade and the oppression of Black people" (*Final Call*, May 4, 1992).

Quoting "Jewish sources," the book sports chapters with titles such as "The Jews and the Confederacy," "Jews and the Rape of Black Women," "Jews and the Economics of the Civil War," etc. The book seemingly lists every reference to any Jew involved in the slave trade in one volume. By all but ignoring the infinitely greater role of non-Jews, states, Arabs, blacks, and others in the slave trade, the book repaints slavery as a Jewish enterprise. The fact is, Jews were an insignificant part of the slave trade. Farrakhan paints

Jews as the greatest culprits when, for example, in 1830, of the 12,000 Southern slaveowners who had 50 or more slaves, only 20 were Jewish. That's two-tenths of 1 percent. And Jewish slave merchants accounted for only 10,000 of the 10 million slaves brought to the New World. That's one-tenth of 1 percent.

The intellectual honesty and accuracy is the same as if someone, a hundred years hence, wondered "Who ran America in the last part of the twentieth century," and a twenty-first century David Duke answered: "One can tell who ran America by looking at who ran the largest urban centers, and one can tell who ran the largest urban centers by who was elected mayor. In the 1980s, America's leading cities, among them New York, Los Angeles, Atlanta, Newark, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland and Seattle, had black mayors. Obviously, blacks ran America."

By quoting and misquoting¹ "Jewish sources," and contorting those sources out of any context, Farrakhan's Nation of Islam not only does violence to historical accuracy but also creates a "defense" Farrakhan's followers will believe, which will only further vilify Jews. Interviewed about the book in the *Final Call*, Farrakhan said, "For members of the Jewish community to say this book is slander when it comes from their own pens shows the lengths to which members of the Jewish community will go to hide the truth."

¹ Dr. Harold Brackman illustrates in his excellent book, *Farrakhan's Reign of Historical Error: The Truth Behind "The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews"* (Los Angeles: The Simon Wiesenthal Center, 1992), how the Nation of Islam deceitfully misquoted scholars. For example, Seymour Liebman was quoted in the Nation of Islam book as follows: "Seymour Liebman, for example, stated the unwritten — that 'almost all historians attest that in the seventeenth century in the New World, "Portugese" was synonymous with "Jew"" The cited quote actually read: "Although almost all historians attest that in the seventeenth century in the New World, 'Portugese' was synonymous with 'Jew,' there were non-Jewish Portugese in Venezuela in greater numbers than in any other part of the Spanish colonial empire."

Brackman notes that "Liebman's purpose is to challenge the sweeping equation of 'Portugese' and 'Jew' that was an antisemitic ploy used by Spanish officials and traders to stigmatize non-Spanish economic competitors. *The Secret Relationship* revives the slander for the new purpose of blaming all Portugese involvement in the slave trade and slavery on Jews." (Footnotes omitted.)

The truth is, Farrakhan is willing to falsify and rewrite the history of slavery — the event most central to the American black experience — in order to promote Jew-hatred. “I HAVE BEEN VINDICATED,” proclaims the banner headline of the May 4, 1992, edition of the *Final Call*.

This book has been seized upon by Jew-haters in the black community, and in turn has pulled those haters closer to Farrakhan. A spiteful Brooklyn, New York, publication entitled *Blacks and Jews News* notes that *The Secret Relationship* has been endorsed by anti-Semitic professor Leonard Jeffries (“This is a model for the research that has to be done”), the rap group Public Enemy’s Professor Griff (“I had [the book] two years ago. I used it as a basis to drop the interview that I dropped that ultimately got me ousted from the group”), rap artist Ice Cube (“When they go after our brothers with their b.s., just look to this book”), Steve Cokely, the former Chicago official who accused Jewish doctors of injecting the AIDS virus into black babies, (“I have the truth in my hand”), and the Reverend Al Sharpton (“I have read this book and everybody ought to get this book”).

Blaming Jews for slavery is the ultimate anti-Semitic act in the black community, and that is clearly why Farrakhan is spreading this hate propaganda. This book is the black version of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, blaming Jews for the evils befalling blacks throughout history, just as the *Protocols* blamed Jews for the white world’s problems. It is not surprising that many of the passages in the book (about Columbus as a tool of Jews, about Judaism as a “business,” Jews as war profiteers, Jews as inherently clannish, Jews as oppressors of Gentiles) mirror the other twentieth-century book modeled on the *Protocols*: Henry Ford’s *International Jew*.² Nor is it remarkable that followers of Farrakhan frequently cite Ford’s work.

If the perception that Jews were responsible for slavery can be created, then to many Farrakhan’s “dirty religion” comments would appear justified. Regardless of what Farrakhan may or may not say about Jews, the continued distribution and promotion of this black version of the *Protocols* is one of the most dastardly anti-Semitic acts in American history.

² See *ibid.*, pp. 15-20.

Statements by Spokesmen

The Nation of Islam's book on Jews, and its newspaper, the *Final Call*, are not the only means through which Farrakhan seeks to poison blacks against Jews. His cadre of speakers — frequently heard on college campuses — target the next generation of black leaders.

Abdullah Muhammed, a son of Elijah Muhammed, spoke at Nassau Community College in 1991. Preaching about “the wicked machinations and manipulations” of Jewish leaders, Muhammed asked the audience to name the “biggest enemies” of Louis Farrakhan. The crowd shouted “The Jews!” He responded, “I can't hear you.” The crowd chanted “The Jews! The Jews!” In case anyone in the audience missed his message, Muhammed also said, “It is a known fact that the Jews have been an enemy of Jesus [and] sought to kill the Messiah.”

Khallid Abdul Mohammad frequently speaks to college students. He called American Leon Klinghoffer, who was murdered by the PLO and dumped overboard from the *Achille Lauro*, “some crippled Jew in a wheelchair”; termed Columbia University “Columbia Jew-niversity in the city of Jew York,” and compared the “crimes perpetuated by Hitler against the Jewish people” with “the crimes perpetuated by the Jewish people against Palestinians.” To younger students he is even more explicit. Speaking at Brooklyn Public School 258, he said “Nobody wants to talk about what the Jews did. They are always talking about what Hitler did to the Jews. But what did the Jews do to Hitler?”

Other spokesmen preach Jew-hatred as well. Abdul Wali Muhammad wrote in the *Final Call* in 1988: “I predict that whites will turn on the media and those who control it, for having poisoned them against a man with a message from God, in the same way the Jews poisoned the masses against Jesus.”

Abdul Alim Muhammad said: “You [Jews] are anti-Semitic in Palestine killing the real Semites, the Arabs. The Ashkenazi Jews are European immigrants, not Semitic, and have only been Jews for a few hundred years.”

FUTURE PROSPECTS

Some things seem certain. (1) Farrakhan and his organization will continue to promote hatred against whites in general, and Jews in particular, especially among young blacks; (2) Through the recently formed Nation of Islam Security, Inc., and other programs associated with the Nation of Islam, Farrakhan's followers will work in inner cities targeting crime, drugs, AIDS,³ and other life and death issues facing many poor blacks daily; (3) Jewish groups will be outspoken about any government involvement with the Nation of Islam, viewing proclamations or contracts as either legitimizing or ignoring hatred. (The ADL has opposed security contracts between NOI and the government; AJC has urged the government to monitor these contracts closely [they are in force in Washington, D.C. and elsewhere], in the strong belief that such a hateful organization cannot avoid discrimination in employment, and might otherwise violate laws.) Farrakhan surely recognizes that Jewish opposition to programs perceived as helpful to blacks will add fuel to his anti-Semitic program. To Jews, when governments overlook bigotry and praise or work with a hateful group, there is an obvious, historically proved danger. Many inner-city blacks, and many middle-class blacks deeply concerned with the disastrous conditions inner-city blacks face, cannot understand that historical fear, but only the immediate dangers of crime, drugs, AIDS, hopelessness, and racism that Minister Louis Farrakhan speaks about with passion.

The conditions for misunderstanding and resentment are such that there will be fertile ground on which Farrakhan can further sow the seeds of hatred in black youth. These conditions will persist despite the helpful and courageous statements of black leaders like Michael Meyers of the New York Civil Rights Coalition, Professor Henry Gates, and others condemning Farrakhan's bigotry. But that is not their job alone.

³ Bigotry aside, there are questions about the legitimacy of the Nation of Islam's enterprises. For example, ABC's *Prime Time Live*, on Nov. 12, 1992, aired an investigative report about Dr. Abdul Muhammed's program to counter AIDS in Washington, D.C. It concluded that Dr. Muhammed's program promoted a worthless drug at a 500-percent markup through clinics that told patients to stop taking approved drugs such as AZT. *Prime Time Live* proved that Muhammed was selling the drug, Immulin, at a price five times what it was available for elsewhere.

Farrakhan's requests for "dialogue" will continue (with his full knowledge that Jews will not meet with him), and the controversy generated will have the potential to draw Jews and blacks further apart. Jews and blacks have an historic relationship predicated on the notion that a United States that tolerates racism and anti-Semitism is inherently dangerous. The wedges Farrakhan produces between blacks and Jews can only harm the long-term needs of both groups in particular, and of an increasingly diverse American society in general.

Interviewed by the *Washington Times* on February 27, 1992, Farrakhan said, "We have no hope that we can effect true reconciliation between blacks and whites in this country . . . the answer ultimately is going to be separation." That agenda explains Farrakhan's cooperation with racist, extremist organizations like Tom Metzger's in the past, and why the NOI leadership in Washington, D.C., is working with, and growing ever closer to, the extremist anti-Semitic LaRouche organization. Separationist ideology also explains why Farrakhan dislikes the prospect of Jews and blacks working together to create a truly tolerant and pluralistic America. In a less bigoted America, Farrakhan's message would lose force.

Farrakhan's anti-Semitism is designed to be a stumbling block to the coalitions that are required to confront bigotry in America. It is the task of caring Jews and blacks to avoid the excuse that Farrakhan gives us all to pull apart from each other. There are Jews who will see any black's positive feeling toward any aspect of Farrakhan's agenda as a betrayal. And there are blacks who are so eager to support any strong voice for hope that they will find any excuse to like Farrakhan. In fact, some are actually persuaded by Farrakhan's defense (printed in NOI publications) that he is not an anti-Semite because he claims he termed Judaism a "dirty" religion instead of a "gutter" one!

There are Jews in America who need to understand better the pain in black America today. And there are blacks in American who need better to understand the pain of anti-Semitism and the danger it brings to all Americans, so wisely noted in a 1990 editorial of the *Washington Post*:

Mr. Farrakhan says he is no antisemite, but immediately and repeatedly he falls back on the classic language of antisemitism. . . . ("85 percent of the masses of the people of earth are victimized by

a small clique who use their power and their knowledge to manipulate the masses against the best interest of the people.") He is a purveyor of slander not just against Jews but also against white people generally. . . .

That Mr. Farrakhan is, at the same time, a man capable of the suddenly expressed, occasional sharp insight into the country's social pathology, and a man whose message to blacks has some wise and constructive elements to it, does not mitigate the reckless, cruel burden of his message or render reasonable its flights of fantasy and paranoia. The Louis Farrakhan problem is thus in a way not Mr. Farrakhan at all, but those who refuse to recognize and condemn the destructiveness and the threat to political decency and civility in his message.

Minister Louis Farrakhan did not create the problems that challenge the long-term security and well-being of Jews, blacks, and all Americans. Nor will Minister Farrakhan always be with us. The security of all Americans is dependent upon the discovery of better means to fight hatred against anyone based on perceived differences. That is a mission that can only be successful if blacks and Jews find ways around the obstacles that divide us. One of the obstacles will be Farrakhan's anti-Semitic message, and even more so, his anti-Semitic actions. Blacks and Jews need to work together, but no Jewish group will meet with Farrakhan as long as his message contains anti-Semitism, and his actions include the printing and promotion of *The Secret Relationship*.

FARRAKHAN UPDATE

Since the publication of "Farrakhan and Jews in the 1990s" in 1992, Farrakhan has stepped up his efforts to achieve two seemingly contradictory goals: "mainstreaming" the Nation of Islam, and promotion of hatred against whites, Jews and others. This two-track agenda is a no-lose proposition for him: it keeps media attention on the Nation of Islam, and disrupts — even threatens to pull apart — the civil rights community, whose pluralistic agenda is antithetical to Farrakhan's vision of America.

In September, 1993, Congressman Kweisi Mfume, chair of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), invited Farrakhan to participate in a meeting of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. Mfume said the CBC had entered into a "sacred covenant" with the Nation of Islam. Also in September, Rev. Ben Chavis, the new executive director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), said that it had been a mistake for the organizers of the march commemorating the 30th anniversary of Martin Luther King Jr.'s March on Washington to exclude Farrakhan from that event.

Many members of the Caucus, as well as civil rights groups and Jewish groups, were deeply disappointed. While neither presuming to "tell" friends with whom they should meet, nor oblivious to the desperate conditions in much of black America that, in part, motivated the calls for "black unity," the mainstreaming of a hater was something that could not be ignored. To Jews especially, the reaching out to Farrakhan was the functional equivalent of the nightmare of a Congressional invitation to a David Duke.

While Farrakhan was reaping the success of his calls for black unity, his organization was all-the-while promoting its agenda — hatred of whites, Jews, Catholics, gays and others. On November 29, 1993, Khallid Abdul Muhammad, Farrakhan's chief spokesman, gave his usual campus "stump" speech at Kean College in New Jersey. It was a densely packed performance of across-the-board bigotry. In a talk on "The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews," he said, among other things:

[T]he old no-good Pope — you know that cracker, somebody need to raise that dress up and see what's really under there.

Jesus was right; you're nothing but liars. The book of Revelations is right; you're from the Synagogue of Satan.

Who is it sucking our blood in the black community? A white imposter Arab and a white imposter Jew.

[Y]ou call yourself Mr. Rubenstein, Mr. Goldstein, Mr. Silverstein. Because you been stealing rubies and gold and silver all over the earth. That's [why] we can't even wear a ring or a bracelet or a necklace without calling it JEWelery. . . . You're the rogue that's stealing all over the face of the planet earth. You don't have a home nowhere. No-good bastard.

Everybody always talk about Hitler exterminating six million Jews. But don't nobody ever ask, "What did they do to Hitler? What did they do to them folks?"

[W]hen we gain enough power from God Almighty to take our freedom and independence [in South Africa], we give [whites] 24 hours to get out of town by sundown. That's all. If he don't get out of town before sundown, we kill everything white that ain't right that's in sight in South Africa. We kill the women. We kill the children. We kill the babies. We kill the blind. We kill the cripples. We kill them all. We kill the faggot; we kill the lesbian. We kill 'em all. You say why kill the babies in South Africa? Because they're gonna grow up one day to oppress our babies, so we kill the babies. Why kill the women? Because they lay on their back. They are the military or the army's manufacturing center. They lay on their back and the reinforcements roll out from between their legs. So we kill the women too. You gonna kill the elders too? Kill the old ones, too. Goddamnit if they have a wheelchair, push em off a cliff in Cape Town. How the hell you think they got old? They got old oppressing black people. I say kill the blind; kill the cripple; kill the crazy, Goddamnit, and when you get through killing them all, go to the Goddamn graveyard and dig up the grave and kill em a-goddamn-gain, cause they didn't die hard enough.

In early December, Dr. Edward Goldberg — New Jersey's Chancellor of Higher Education — denounced the hate speech and complained about the institutional silence in the face of bone-chilling bigotry. He also lambasted Kean College for allowing the Nation of Islam to provide the security for the

event. Weeks later the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith printed a full-page ad with excerpts from Muhammad's performance. Leaders, black and white, were shocked by the Nation of Islam's message, as well as by reports that some in the audience had laughed and applauded Muhammad's remarks.⁴ Black leaders, including Jesse Jackson, William Gray III, Ben Chavis and many others denounced the speech. On February 2, 1994, Congressman Mfume called a press conference to reiterate that the Congressional Black Caucus had never actually voted on a "sacred covenant" with Farrakhan, and that the CBC had no plans to move closer to the Nation of Islam.

Farrakhan was under growing pressure to denounce Muhammad. On February 3, 1994, he called a press conference, during which he "disciplined"⁵ Muhammad for the "tone" of his remarks, but reiterated the "truths" that Muhammad spoke.⁶ Holding a copy of *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, Farrakhan commented that Muhammad would not have gotten into trouble if he had only stayed with the "truths" included in the text. What "truths" were these, according to Farrakhan?

Seventy-five percent of the slaves owned in the South were owned by Jewish slaveholders.

Jewish slaveholders used to cut off the hand of those that fought for freedom and gave it to others or sell it to others.

Farrakhan also said:

Zionists [use the term anti-Semitism to] stifle legitimate criticism of

⁴ Not generally reported was the brave black student who stood up to Muhammad at the forum, and was vilified for it.

⁵ Farrakhan's criticism of Muhammad was meaningless, especially since Muhammad continued speaking for the Nation of Islam around the country, even in the days right after Farrakhan's press conference. Muhammad even used many of the same hateful lines as he had in New Jersey — called Jews "bloodsuckers," for example — without comment from Farrakhan.

⁶ Farrakhan also lambasted the ADL, whose advertisement had refocused the spotlight on his organization's hateful agenda.

the errant behavior of Jewish people vis a vis their relationship with the non-Jewish population of the world.

Our warning is to white people. If we make that truth so filled with bitterness and hatred that it becomes repugnant, people may turn a deaf ear and lose their lives.

Even though Farrakhan managed to confuse some with the meaningless criticism of his assistant's "tone," leaders in the black and Jewish communities — who found the issue of Farrakhan distracting them from their important communal and intergroup activities — hoped that the issue had been put to rest for the moment. The next day, however, Rev. Ben Chavis issued a statement not only reiterating the NAACP's desire to work with the Nation of Islam, but also stating that "The NAACP is prepared to believe Minister Farrakhan's statement that he is neither anti-Semitic nor racist." The American Jewish Committee issued an unprecedented press release, noting that "it may mark one of the saddest days in the long American civil rights struggle when a leader of one of the most respected civil rights organizations not only turns a deaf ear to bigotry, but also seeks to rehabilitate the bigot."

On the other hand, Congressman Major Owens released a statement reiterating the need for a "coalition of the caring majority" in order for American's urban agenda to be tackled effectively. This agenda, he argued, cannot include hatemongers, but must include caring people of all backgrounds — noting, among other things, that Jews, far and above any other predominately white group, share voting patterns with blacks. (Owens was among the more than 250 leaders from all walks of life who signed onto an AJC ad repudiating the Nation of Islam's hateful agenda.) Owens reportedly was praised by many of his constituents for his stance, but was surprised when some mentioned his "courage." When he reportedly asked why speaking out against bigotry was courageous, he was told, "because this is the same group that assassinated Malcolm X."

The events of September, 1993, through February, 1994, show that Louis Farrakhan can capture the attention of the media, and make himself a distracting issue for the black and Jewish communities. There is no "downside" to this strategy for him, so it is to be expected that as long as he can achieve some success mainstreaming his image, he can create controversy through his organization's hatemongering.

One problem for the Nation of Islam in the next few years may be its "good works" programs, which have the reputation of being praiseworthy in the African American community, and draw government funds into NOI subsidiaries. The truth is starting to emerge that many of these programs are not working.⁷ Complaints about its Washington-based AIDS programs are growing. And a California contract for security in a housing project was terminated because drugs were rampant. Increasing scrutiny is also likely because of NOI's violation of anti-discrimination laws. For example, when Farrakhan spoke at a public facility in New York in January, 1994, he barred women from attending, and, incredibly, denied that this was discriminatory. The American Jewish Committee has written to Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros, and to Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, asking them to closely scrutinize all Nation of Islam contracts for such violations.

Another potential problem for the Nation of Islam is the incongruity of its anti-violent image and its violent message. A new documentary entitled "Brother Minister, The Assassination of El Hajj-Malik Shabazz Malcolm X" shows a clip of Farrakhan, speaking in Chicago in 1993. "Was Malcolm your traitor or was he ours?" Farrakhan asks. "And if we dealt with him like a nation deals with a traitor, what the hell business is it of yours? You just shut your mouth and stay out of it — because pretty soon we're going to become a nation, and a nation's got to be able to deal with traitors and cutthroats and turncoats . . . there are certain paths you don't cross!"⁸

⁷ At the same time, however, Farrakhan still covets resolutions and other accolades to legitimize his organization's work, and help people forget the revelations of its activities. On April 25, 1994, when Farrakhan spoke to 11,000 men in Dallas, two city council members (one from Dallas, one from Grand Prairie) gave him the "keys to the city," and a proclamation of welcome.

⁸ Even though questions about Farrakhan's involvement with Malcolm X's murder have been raised by filmmakers, African-American ministers in Boston (who wrote him an "open letter" asking him to explain his role), and by Malcolm's widow, Betty Shabazz, the Nation of Islam uses classic anti-Semitism to deflect these questions. In an article in the March 30, 1994, *Final Call*, a columnist claimed that "[this] vicious attack being mounted against us is the result of the realization by a wicked Jewish cabal which seeks to solidify its world rule." Not to be outdone, Farrakhan's chief of staff, Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad, blamed the "Jewish controlled media" for a *New York Post* story which reported Betty Shabazz's remarks.

Less noticed than the Nation of Islam's hate speech⁹ or questionable programs, but perhaps more significant in the long run, has been Farrakhan's focus on the campus and his alliance with those who are constructing an academic-based ideology of black supremacy. Not generally reported from Khallid Abdul Muhammad's speech was his attribution of much of his hateful rantings about black-Jewish relations. "Dr. Tony Martin," he said, has "done much of this research for us." Tony Martin is a professor at Wellesley college who first came to note in 1993 for using *The Secret Relationship* as truthful text in a course, and thereafter published his own anti-Semitic book entitled *The Jewish Onslaught: Despatches from the Wellesley Battlefield* (which is being sold through Nation of Islam outlets). Martin, like his better known colleague Dr. Leonard Jeffries of the City University of New York,¹⁰ and others lesser known, such as Dr. John Henrik Clarke and Dr. Yosef Ben Yochanan, are constructing an academic-sounding, eugenics based, revisionist form of black racism that fits well into Farrakhan's political agenda. Their brand of

⁹ The Nation of Islam's hate speech is not only delivered in addresses to college audiences, but continues to be found weekly in the Nation of Islam's publications. In the April 13, 1994 edition of the *Final Call*, for example, a columnist wrote "I hope nobody wastes time and effort to try and tell me that there are some 'good Jews.' The law of averages says there probably are. God even managed to get three people out of Sodom."

The same edition of the *Final Call* reported on a recent Farrakhan speech at Kean College (to which he had been invited by the same group that had brought Khallid Abdul Muhammad). Farrakhan said, "we too deplore hate speech," and gave examples of what he meant. "When Jews relive their experience in Nazi Germany," he said, "is that hateful speech?" Referring to the Academy Award-winning *Schindler's List*, Farrakhan asked, "And what does that create in the heart of today's Jews for today's German?"

¹⁰ Martin, Jeffries and Khallid Muhammad appeared together at Howard University on April 19, 1994, at a hate rally (most of the audience of 2,000 were not Howard students, however). The most memorable remarks were those of Muhammad, who said, "Colin Ferguson, who killed all those white folks on the Long Island train. I love Colin Ferguson. God spoke to Colin Ferguson and said, 'Catch the train, Colin, catch the train.'" That line met with cheers and applause. Muhammad's ugly words clearly resonate with the Nation of Islam's audience. Applause was also heard in New York months before when Farrakhan spoke at a rally, and the name of Colin Ferguson was mentioned.

Afrocentrism¹¹ defines whites as biologically inferior (because they lived in caves during the Ice Age and/or, according to Farrakhan, they were a genetic mutation created by a black scientist named Yacub 6,600 years ago),¹² and blacks as biologically superior (because of the skin pigmentation melanin). Much like Nazism did with its vision of the Aryan, it rewrites history to define all knowledge as emanating from Africa. Any other contribution — of the Greeks, for example — must have been “stolen” from Africa,¹³ they claim.

The “modern” prong of this black supremacist ideology is the promotion of hatred against gays, women, Catholics, blacks who disagree with the Nation of Islam, and Jews — especially Jews. Blaming Jews for the central

¹¹ The term “Afrocentrism” is one for which there are many definitions. The effort to bring the study of Africa into the respected center of the academic mainstream is an important one, especially since the history of this part of the world has been neglected as a result of, or recast through the lens of, white racism. “Afrocentrism” in this “multicultural” definition is abhorrent to the Nation of Islam, Leonard Jeffries et al. They say that inclusion of this sort is “mental genocide” or a manifestation of “white supremacy.” Since they believe that blacks and black history are superior to white and white history, they demand that a black supremacist point of view — Afrocentrism — must be taught (in colleges and public schools both), because it is “the truth.”

¹² As Khallid Muhammad said in his Kean College speech, “[Y]ou’re not the true Jew, you are Johnny-come-lately Jew who just crawled out of the caves and hills of Europe just over 4,000 years ago.” He also said: “To the whites who are in this audience, why you wouldn’t even be here if it were not for the original black man and the original black woman. We are your mother and we are your father. Not only are we your mother and father biologically and genetically and historically, but we are the father and mother of all the disciplines, all of the sciences, everything that you have built your so-called civilization on.”

Also, the April 27, 1994 edition of the *Final Call* reported on a University of Pennsylvania application for a patent in the field of genetic engineering. The article ended, “The Honorable Elijah Muhammad stated and taught that the white race began through the separation of a brown germ in the original Black man through a 600 year process of birth control. Minister Louis Farrakhan has asked the United States Congress for the opportunity to defend and prove the truth of this teaching through scholarly medical and scientific evidence.”

¹³ When speaking about Africa, extreme Afrocentrists almost exclusively concern themselves with Egypt. By focussing on Egypt — a society of many races for whom skin color was relatively unimportant — to define black history, Farrakhan and the extreme Afrocentrists are unwittingly adopting a European prejudice that defines the greatness of society by what it builds, or the science it creates. A less Eurocentric Afrocentrism would, undoubtedly, bring to the fore the achievements of other parts of the African continent.

horrible experience in black history — slavery — is not only intended to be the largest anti-Semitic canard that can resonate within the Black community, it is also an extension of the Eurocentric premises of anti-Semitism that Farrakhan's group and the extreme Afrocentrists share. For example, in Poland today, where there are almost no Jews, anti-Semitism is still a vital force because people believe in the canard of Jewish control and Jewish conspiracy. The Nation of Islam, sometimes borrowing directly from white anti-Semites, accuses Jews of the same thing.¹⁴ ("The Federal Reserve," according to the Farrakhan-endorsed "truths" of Khallid Abdul Muhammad, "is . . . owned by Jews."¹⁵)

In 1938, Father Charles E. Coughlin, a Nazi apologist, whipped up anti-Semitism in the United States when he explained why Nazi Germany had passed laws discriminating against Jews:

In all countries Jews are in the minority . . . They have no nation of their own. They are a closely woven minority in their racial tendencies; a powerful minority in their influence; a minority endowed with an aggressiveness. . . . It is the belief of the present German government [that Jews] were responsible for the economic and social ills suffered by the Fatherland.

¹⁴ One telling part of Khallid Abdul Muhammad's Kean College speech was the question and answer session, during which one audience member complained that he was having a difficult time running for office in Irvington, New Jersey. The man noted that 70 percent of the citizens were black, and of the other 30 percent, only 7 percent were Jews. But he was afraid of running for office "because . . . the majority of the voters that have the power, in that community, are the Jewish voters."

Muhammad's response was: "Stop for a second. . . . They said they only made up 2 percent of the slave trade. But no matter what percentage they make up, they're always in great influential power. Seven percent in his voting district . . . but that 7 percent voting constituency, as he said, is most potent and powerful, isn't it brother?"

¹⁵ In addition to its regular dose of anti-Semitism, the April 27, 1994 *Final Call* sported a major article entitled "Perspectives: The Secret Sinister Roots of Jewish Economic Power," by Cedric X. Welch, which quoted heavily from publications of the Lyndon LaRouche organization. Welch wrote that "Seven Jewish families own 50 percent of [the] Federal Reserve. . . . Jews, under the cover of Masonry, have dominated the original people of the planet earth economically and are planning to unite under one currency and one world order."

In 1993, Khallid Abdul Muhammad said:

Everybody always talk about Hitler exterminating six million Jews. But don't nobody ever ask, "What did they do to Hitler? What did they do to them folks?" They went in there to Germany, the way they do everywhere they go, and they supplanted, they usurped, they turned around and a German in his own country would almost have to go to a Jew to get money. They had undermined the very fabric of society. . . . [They] are the rogue that's stealing all over the face of the planet earth. [They] don't have a home nowhere. No-good bastard.

The Jewish community did not see Father Coughlin's hatred as a matter of gentile-Jewish relations, but as a matter of bigotry, and approached it as such. Likewise, the day-in, day-out racist and anti-Semitic program of the Nation of Islam is something the Jewish community and others concerned with the spread of bigotry must counteract. The Nation of Islam must be approached primarily as an issue of bigotry, and not of black-Jewish relations. In the years to come, it will take all the political skill of black and Jewish leaders to keep the focus on this truth, and not let Farrakhan disrupt our common aims, or define our communal agendas.

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