

Exhibit A

FOIPA COVER SHEET

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION
AND
PRIVACY ACTS**

SUBJECT: (COINTELPRO)

BLACK EXTREMIST

100-448006

SECTION 1



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

SAC, Albany

August 25, 1967

Director, FBI

PERSONAL ATTENTION TO ALL OFFICES

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS
INTERNAL SECURITY

- 1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

Offices receiving copies of this letter are instructed to immediately establish a control file, captioned as above, and to assign responsibility for following and coordinating this new counterintelligence program to an experienced and imaginative Special Agent well versed in investigations relating to black nationalist, hate-type organizations. The field office control file used under this program may be maintained in a pending inactive status until such time as a specific operation or technique is placed under consideration for implementation.

The purpose of this new counterintelligence endeavor is to expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize the activities of black nationalist, hate-type organizations and groupings, their leadership, spokesmen, membership, and supporters, and to counter their propensity for violence and civil disorder. The activities of all such groups of intelligence interest to this Bureau must be followed on a continuous basis so we will be in a position to promptly take advantage of all opportunities for counterintelligence and to inspire action in instances where circumstances warrant. The pernicious background of such groups, their duplicity, and devious maneuvers must be exposed to public scrutiny where such publicity will have a neutralizing effect. Efforts of the various groups

- 2 - Atlanta
- 2 - Baltimore
- 2 - Boston
- 2 - Buffalo
- 2 - Charlotte
- 2 - Chicago
- 2 - Cincinnati
- 2 - Cleveland
- 2 - Detroit
- 2 - Jackson
- 2 - Los Angeles
- 2 - Memphis
- 2 - Newark
- 2 - New Orleans
- 2 - New York

- 2 - Philadelphia
- 2 - Phoenix
- 2 - Pittsburgh
- 2 - Richmond
- 2 - St. Louis
- 2 - San Francisco
- 2 - Washington Field Office

MCT-34
REC 32

X 106

100-448006

19 AUG 29 1967

MAILED 3
AUG 25 1967
COMM-FBI

- Tolson
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE.

56 SEP 19 1967 (53)

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

RYAN

Exhibit A-1

RA

3/4/68

AIRTEL

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - [REDACTED]
- 1 - [REDACTED]

To: SAC, Albany

PERSONAL ATTENTION

REC 18

From: Director, FBI (100-443006) - 17

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-IMATE GROUPS
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

Title is changed to substitute Racial Intelligence for Internal Security for Bureau routing purposes.

PERSONAL ATTENTION FOR ALL THE FOLLOWING SACs

- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| 2 - Atlanta | 2 - Minneapolis |
| 2 - Baltimore | 2 - Mobile |
| 2 - Birmingham | 2 - Newark |
| 2 - Boston | 2 - New Haven |
| 2 - Buffalo | 2 - New Orleans |
| 2 - Charlotte | 2 - New York |
| 2 - Chicago | 2 - Omaha |
| 2 - Cincinnati | 2 - Philadelphia |
| 2 - Cleveland | 2 - Phoenix |
| 2 - Denver | 2 - Pittsburgh |
| 2 - Detroit | 2 - Portland |
| 2 - Houston | 2 - Richmond |
| 2 - Indianapolis | 2 - Sacramento |
| 2 - Jackson | 2 - San Diego |
| 2 - Jacksonville | 2 - San Francisco |
| 2 - Kansas City | 2 - Seattle |
| 2 - Los Angeles | 2 - Springfield |
| 2 - Memphis | 2 - St. Louis |
| 2 - Miami | 2 - Tampa |
| 2 - Milwaukee | 2 - WFO |

MAILED 12
MAR 5 1968
COMM-FBI

clerk

5-11

- Loach
- DeLoach
- Mohr
- Bishop
- Casper
- Callahan
- Conrad
- Felt
- Gale
- Rosen
- Sullivan
- Tavel
- Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Holmes
- Gandy

JJD: rmm (88)

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OTHERWISE.

SEE NOTE PAGE SIX

54 MAR 18 1968

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

✓

TJB

W.C. Sullivan
3/12/68

5-10
65

Airtel to SAC, Albany
 RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

BACKGROUND

By letter dated 8/25/67 the following offices were advised of the beginning of a Counterintelligence Program against militant Black Nationalist-Hate Groups:

Albany	Memphis
Atlanta	Newark
Baltimore	New Orleans
Boston	New York
Buffalo	Philadelphia
Charlotte	Phoenix
Chicago	Pittsburgh
Cincinnati	Richmond
Cleveland	St. Louis
Detroit	San Francisco
Jackson	Washington Field
Los Angeles	

Each of the above offices was to designate a Special Agent to coordinate this program. Replies to this letter indicated an interest in counterintelligence against militant black nationalist groups that foment violence and several offices outlined procedures which had been effective in the past. For example, Washington Field Office had furnished information about a new Nation of Islam (NOI) grade school to appropriate authorities in the District of Columbia who investigated to determine if the school conformed to District regulations for private schools. In the process WFO obtained background information on the parents of each pupil.

The Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a pro-Chinese communist group, was active in Philadelphia, Pa., in the summer of 1967. The Philadelphia Office alerted local police, who then put RAM leaders under close scrutiny. They were arrested on every possible charge until they could no longer make bail. As a result, RAM leaders spent most of the summer in jail and no violence traceable to RAM took place.

The Counterintelligence Program is now being expanded to include 41 offices. Each of the offices added to this program should designate an Agent familiar with black

Airtel to SAC, Albany
 RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
 BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

nationalist activity, and interested in counterintelligence, to coordinate this program. This Agent will be responsible for the periodic progress letters being requested, but each Agent working this type of case should participate in the formulation of counterintelligence operations.

GOALS

For maximum effectiveness of the Counterintelligence Program, and to prevent wasted effort, long-range goals are being set.

1. Prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups. In unity there is strength; a truism that is no less valid for all its triteness. An effective coalition of black nationalist groups might be the first step toward a real "Mau Mau" in America, the beginning of a true black revolution.
2. Prevent the rise of a "messiah" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement. Malcolm X might have been such a "messiah;" he is the martyr of the movement today. Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael and Elijah Muhammed all aspire to this position. Elijah Muhammed is less of a threat because of his age. King could be a very real contender for this position should he abandon his supposed "obedience" to "white, liberal doctrines" (nonviolence) and embrace black nationalism. Carmichael has the necessary charisma to be a real threat in this way.
3. Prevent violence on the part of black nationalist groups. This is of primary importance, and is, of course, a goal of our investigative activity; it should also be a goal of the Counterintelligence Program. Through counterintelligence it should be possible to pinpoint potential troublemakers and neutralize them before they exercise their potential for violence.
4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining respectability, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community. The goal of discrediting black nationalists must be handled tactically in three ways. You must discredit these groups and individuals to, first, the responsible Negro community. Second, they must be discredited to the white community.

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

both the responsible community and to "liberals" who have vestiges of sympathy for militant black nationalist simply because they are Negroes. Third, these groups must be discredited in the eyes of Negro radicals, the followers of the movement. This last area requires entirely different tactics from the first two. Publicity about violent tendencies and radical statements merely enhances black nationalists to the last group; it adds "respectability" in a different way.

5. A final goal should be to prevent the long-range growth of militant black nationalist organizations, especially among youth. Specific tactics to prevent these groups from converting young people must be developed.

Besides these five goals counterintelligence is a valuable part of our regular investigative program as it often produces positive information.

TARGETS

Primary targets of the Counterintelligence Program, Black Nationalist-Hate Groups, should be the most violent and radical groups and their leaders. We should emphasize those leaders and organizations that are nationwide in scope and are most capable of disrupting this country. These targets should include the radical and violence-prone leaders, members, and followers of the:

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC),
Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC),
Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM),
Nation of Islam (NOI)

Offices handling these cases and those of Stokely Carmichael of SNCC, H. Rap Brown of SNCC, Martin Luther King of SCLC, Maxwell Stanford of RAM, and Elijah Muhammed of NOI, should be alert for counterintelligence suggestions.

INSTRUCTIONS

Within 30 days of the date of this letter each office should:

1. Advise the Bureau of the identity of the Special Agent assigned to coordinate this program.

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

2. Submit a very succinct summary of the black nationalist movement in the field office territory. Include name, number of members and degree of activity of each black nationalist group. Also state your estimate of each group's propensity for violence. This is for target evaluation only, not for record purposes. Second, list Rabble-Rouser Index subjects who are militant black nationalists and any other militant black nationalist leaders who might be future targets of counterintelligence action because of their propensity for violence. Include a minimum of background information on each person listed; a few descriptive sentences should suffice.

3. List those organizations and individuals you consider of such potential danger as to be considered for current counterintelligence action. Briefly justify each target.

4. Submit any suggestion you have for overall counterintelligence action or the administration of this program. Suggestions for action against any specific target should be submitted by separate letter.

5. Submit, by separate letter, suggestions for counterintelligence action against the targets previously listed as field-wide. These should not be general, such as "publicize Stokely Carmichael's travel to communist countries," but should be specific as to target, what is to be done, what contacts are to be used, and all other information needed for the Bureau to approve a counterintelligence operation.

Thereafter, on a ninety-day-basis, each office is to submit a progress letter summarizing counterintelligence operations proposed during the period, operations effected, and tangible results. Any changes in the overall black nationalist movement should be summarized in this letter. This should include new organizations, new leaders, and any changes in data listed under number two above. Suggestions for counterintelligence operations should not be set out in this progress letter. Use the following captions:

1. Operations Under Consideration, 2. Operations Being Effected, 3. Tangible Results, and 4. Developments of Counterintelligence Interest. These 90-day progress letters are due at the Bureau the first day of March, June, September, and December, excepting March, 1968.

Airtel to SAC, Albany
RE: COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
BLACK NATIONALIST-HATE GROUPS

The effectiveness of counterintelligence depends on the quality and quantity of positive information available regarding the target and on the imagination and initiative of Agents working the program. The response of the field to the Counterintelligence Program against the Communist Party, USA, indicates that a superb job can be done by the field on counterintelligence.

Counterintelligence operations must be approved by the Bureau. Because of the nature of this program each operation must be designed to protect the Bureau's interest so that there is no possibility of embarrassment to the Bureau. Beyond this the Bureau will give every possible consideration to your proposals.

NOTE:

See memorandum G. C. Moore to Mr. W. C. Sullivan captioned as above dated 2/29/68, prepared by TJD:rmm.

Exhibit B

A24

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 1970

READY FRIDAY

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- HENRY STREET — 1 PRINCE STREET
- NEW YORK — 245 FULTON AVENUE
- GREAT NECK — 1525 MIDDLE NECK ROAD
- HUNTINGTON — 325 MAIN STREET
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F.B.I. Chief Says Capitol Bombing Resembles Other Blasts

By LESLIE NAITLAND WERNER

Special to the Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 10 — William H. Webster, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, said today that "a number of individuals and organizations" were under investigation in the bombing of the Capitol but added, "We don't know who did it."

In a meeting with reporters, Mr. Webster said the Monday night explosion outside the Senate chamber involved three to four pounds of dynamite equipped with a "blast fuzing mechanism." He said the device resembled those used in other recent bombings of Federal buildings.

Mr. Webster said the bureau had no "basis for concluding that all 10 or 11 bombings that have occurred since 1961 are from the same source" and was still attempting to decide whether "it's the same people doing the same thing, or different people getting explosive from the same source, or a teacher teaching a number of people how to do it."

A group calling itself the Armed Resistance Unit claimed responsibility for the Capitol explosion and for the bombing of the National War College building here in April, but Mr. Webster said the name could be one "of convenience" for a general group whose active members changed.

Narcotics "No. 1 Freshet"

He said those who bombed the Capitol "haven't asked for anything" but were opposed to American involvement in El Salvador, Lebanon and Greece.

"It's important," he said, "to have a wide-ranging discussion of issues involving the F.B.I., the Director said, because representation in the United States, and he said the members of the F.B.I. M. Mallen Jr. as Administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration, Mr. Mallen, formerly an Executive

Assistant Director of the F.B.I., has served as Acting Administrator since 1961. He was sworn in today in a ceremony at the Justice Department.

Mr. Webster said the F.B.I. had just a "few loose ends" left in its inquiry into how 180 Reagan campaign officials obtained campaign material prepared for President Carter.

"I certainly hope we have obtained all the information the House has gained on its own," Mr. Webster said, adding that the bureau had been providing information for a House subcommittee that was simultaneously investigating the matter.

He said the bureau would soon submit a report to the Justice Department and would recommend whether any foreign campaign officials should be asked to take lie-detector, or polygraph, tests.

On the subject of espionage, Mr. Webster said that "there has been an increasing Soviet presence here for some time" and that the discovery of double agents within the top ranks of the British Intelligence Service had led him to question whether "we have an obligation to use more care" in screening applicants and monitoring agents.

For some months, he said, he has been

reviewing F.B.I. policies on the use of the polygraph.

"I, for one, have not been a big advocate of using it in the courts," said Mr. Webster, a former Federal judge. He said that if the bureau did start using the polygraph on a more routine basis for agents with access to highly classified information, he would want to avoid "life-style questions" and "razz-dazzle" of private lives as much as possible.

"Anyone who works in a national security area should be prepared for more intensive" scrutiny, he said, adding that he had taken a lie-detector test

himself to ascertain how "damaging or stressful" it would be and to start "how they frame the question."

"It's measurable," he said of the experience. "It certainly focuses the mind." He recalled the questions as including "Have you ever done anything you're ashamed of?" and "Have you done anything that someone could use to blackmail you?"

But the follow-up questions of "What?" had not been asked, he said. Mr. Webster added that the test could cause some "emotional pain" because everyone was bound to think of something they were ashamed of, if only "telling off his mother 30 years ago."

DO YOU BELIEVE THAT ANY JEW SHOULD SUPPORT THIS MAN? SHOULD ANY DECENT AMERICAN?



WE BELIEVE THAT JESSE JACKSON IS A DANGER TO AMERICAN JEWS, TO THE STATE OF ISRAEL AND TO AMERICA ITSELF, AND WE ARE APPALLED AT THE ABSOLUTE SILENCE OF THE LIBERAL COMMUNITY AND, MOST IMPORTANTLY, OF JEWISH LEADERS AND ORGANIZATIONS!

Consider this:
• When it came to the division of power we did not get from the Jews the slice of cake we deserved... the Jews do not share with us control of wealth, broadcasting stations and other centers of power!
(Jesse Jackson on CBS, *Sixty Minutes*, Sep. 16, 1970)

• The conflict (with the Jews) began when we started our quest for power. Jews were willing to share democracy but not power.
(Jesse Jackson in *The NY Times*, Aug. 19, 1970)

• "One who does not think (Yasir) Arafat is a true hero does not read the situation correctly."
(Jesse Jackson in *Israel*, as quoted in *Israel's largest newspaper, Matri*, September 27, 1970)

• Arafat is educated, urbane, reasonable. I think his commitment to justice is an absolute one."
(Jesse Jackson in *Penetration* magazine, Feb. 1961)

• "Jesse Jackson blames Israel for tying the hands of the U.S. and endangering her national and economic interests... He warned against a development of anti-Semitism if Israel continued to erode American interests."
(*Matri*, September 25, 1970)

In light of these outrageous statements against Jews and Israel, and in view of Jackson's support of the PLO and its acts of murder of women and children, we ask:

HOW CAN JEWISH LEADERSHIP BE SO UTTERLY SILENT? HAD JESSE JACKSON BEEN WHITE, WOULD THE LIBERAL ESTABLISHMENT AND JEWISH LEADERSHIP BE SO CRAVINGLY TIMID?

We believe that Jesse Jackson is far more powerful than most think. We believe that he is successfully leading a coalition of malcontents who will be a disaster for Jews, for Israel, for America, for the free world. We believe that he is successfully moving to a position of power within the Democratic party. He is afraid and we intend to act.

WE ARE FORMING CHAPTERS OF JEWS AGAINST JACKSON in every community for the purpose of alerting Jews and non-Jews alike, to the very real threat this man represents. We intend to pressure national and local political leaders to openly condemn Jesse Jackson and cut all political ties and funds to him. WE WILL EXPOSE JESSE JACKSON FOR THE DANGER HE REALLY IS. RUN, JESSE, RUN.

As Jews and as Americans you have a deep obligation to join us and DO. The Jackson machine is more powerful than you know and we must stop it. YOU CAN STOP IT.

TODAY, fill out the coupon below and help us with the desperately needed funds to make this a nationwide campaign of success. OCCASION INVOLVED: Help set up a local Jews Against Jackson group in your neighborhood NOW.

JESSE JACKSON IS NO GOOD FOR JEWS, FOR ISRAEL OR FOR AMERICA. STOP THEM. RUN JESSE, NOW!

I, too, am afraid of Jesse Jackson's threat and want to join in stopping him.
\$_____ is my contribution of \$_____
I want to start a local chapter of Jews Against Jackson in my community. Please contact me.

NAME _____ PHONE _____
ADDRESS _____
Please to make check payable to Jews Against Jackson and mail to: 1916 Kings Highway, Roselle, N.J. 07068. Attn: Fern Rabinowitz-Director



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- Carle Place Southbound
- Huntington (Half mile North of Jackson Ave.)
- Queens
- Westport
- Nanuet
- Rt. 59 & Middletown Rd. (Opposite Nanuet Mall)

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Exhibit C

Jackson Reports 311 Threats

UPI

Dec. 29, 1984



See the article in its original context from
December 29, 1984, Section 1, Page 14 Buy Reprints

[VIEW ON TIMESMACHINE](#)

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Occasionally the digitization process introduces transcription errors or other problems; we are continuing to work to improve these archived versions.

The Rev. Jesse Jackson said today that one of the lows of his unsuccessful campaign for the Presidency was the 311 threats against his life recorded by the Secret Service.

But one of the high points, he said, was the registering of more than two million new voters.

Mr. Jackson, a Democrat, used his appearance on the NBC "Today" television program in part to make an appeal for donations to help pay off a \$500,000 debt run up by his campaign.

Asked about the highs and lows of his candidacy, Mr. Jackson mentioned bringing home from Syria a Navy flier who had been shot down; his speech at the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco and watching new people run for office and win.

"I suppose the low was we would get constant reports about threats," Mr. Jackson said. "I received 311 threats officially, according to the Secret Service, more than anyone who has ever run before. Once the 14th person had actually been arrested there came a point where my staff had to convene members of my family and I had to face my children face to face about the implications of operating on a journey so dangerous and so treacherous."

Jack Smith, a Secret Service spokesman, said it was the agency's policy not to discuss threats made against those the service was assigned to protect. He did say, however, that agency records indicated that 9 people, not 14, had been arrested because of threats against Mr. Jackson.

A version of this article appears in print on , Section 1, Page 14 of the National edition with the headline: Jackson Reports 311 Threats

Exhibit D

CAMPAIGN NOTES

CAMPAIGN NOTES; 2 Held in Firebombing Of Jesse Jackson Office

AP

March 2, 1984



See the article in its original context from March 2, 1984, Section A, Page 14 Buy Reprints

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Two youths accused of taking a \$15 dare have been arrested in the firebombing of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's Presidential campaign office here, the police said today.

Bryan Strong and Steven L. Decareau, both 18, of Garden Grove, were arrested Tuesday in a burglary investigation, according to Sgt. Scott Jordan.

Mr. Strong was booked for investigation of arson and possessing a firebomb with intent to burn and Mr. Decareau was booked for investigation of criminal conspiracy and manufacturing a firebomb, Sergeant Jordan said.

"Strong and Decareau are acquaintances," the sergeant went on. "Strong owes Decareau \$15. Decareau says he will erase this debt if Strong throws a Molotov cocktail at the headquarters."

The vandalism was discovered Monday. A firebomb struck the sidewalk outside the front door.

A version of this article appears in print on , Section A, Page 14 of the National edition with the headline: CAMPAIGN NOTES; 2 Held in Firebombing Of Jesse Jackson Office

Exhibit E

1984_02_24 FULL STATEMENT-RALLY FOR REVEREND JACKSON

February 24, 1984

MINISTER LOUIS FARRAKHAN

Rally for Reverend Jackson

I'm saying to the Jewish people who may not like our brother, it is not Jesse Jackson that you are attacking. Remember this now. You're not attacking an individual. Jesse's gone past that now. When you attack him, you attack the millions that are lining up with him. You're attacking all of us. That's not intelligent. That's not an intelligent thing to do. That's not wise. We know that Blacks and Jews have had a good relationship in the past. We've gotten along well, because you're a suffering people and so are we. But my dear Jewish friends, you must understand that everything comes of age. We cannot define our self interest in terms of your self interest. And because our self-interests differ because we've come of age, why dislike us? Why attack our champion? Why hurl stones at him?

“I say to you as intelligent people, sit down and talk with Rev. Jackson. Sit down Jewish leaders and talk with us. We are ready to talk with you. Sit down and talk like intelligent people who have a future at stake. But if you harm this brother, I warn you in the name of Allah, this will be the last one you harm. We are not making any idle threats, we have no weapons, we [don't] carry so much as a pen knife.

Exhibit F

Talk With Farrakhan

By J. J. Goldberg

Oct. 31, 1995



See the article in its original context from October 31, 1995, Section A, Page 27 Buy Reprints

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The leaders of American Jewish groups should drop their failed boycott of Louis Farrakhan and take up his offer of dialogue.

The reason is not that he is less dangerous than Jewish organizations have claimed over the years. It is that he is far more dangerous.

Mr. Farrakhan has called for a dialogue several times, most recently at his Million Man March in Washington. The Jewish groups' position, reaffirmed in a post-march conference call among officials of major organizations, is that he is not a fit partner for dialogue because he has not repudiated his anti-Jewish comments.

The cold-shoulder approach once made sense as a way of keeping Mr. Farrakhan from the national stage. But he is there now. For more than a decade, Jewish leaders, together with non-Jewish political allies, have tried to marginalize Mr. Farrakhan by depicting him as a person of flawed character. They have warned of his bigotry, as shown by his many anti-Jewish, anti-white, sexist and homophobic comments. They have pressured black civil rights leaders to distance themselves from him and his views.

This strategy has failed. Many in the black community are turning to Mr. Farrakhan because he seems to offer solutions to real crises in African-American life. No other leader matches his ability to reach disaffected youth with a message of personal responsibility.

Mr. Farrakhan's foes have trivialized the case against him by making it a matter of his distasteful comments and imperfect character.

The real problem is not his personal expressions of bigotry. It is that the Nation of Islam, his multimillion-dollar organization, is waging a campaign to demonize and dehumanize Jews in the eyes of African-Americans. The campaign is conducted in print and in public gatherings, in black neighborhoods and on campuses. It is beginning to yield disturbing results.

The Nation of Islam peddles copies of "The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion," a fraudulent document that purports to be a blueprint of a Jewish plan to enslave the world.

Mr. Farrakhan's research department has made its own contribution to the literature of bigotry in "The Secret History of the Black-Jewish Relationship," a pseudo-scholarly attempt to prove, using selective documentation and shoddy analysis, that Jews were largely responsible for the Atlantic slave trade.

A mixture of uplift and anti-Jewish invective fills The Final Call, his newspaper.

Opinion: Talk With Farrakhan | The New York Times

Polls show that most African-Americans do not hold anti-Semitic views. Yet a startling willingness has emerged, particularly among black academics and other intellectuals, to defend the expression of anti-Semitism as reasonable.

Mr. Farrakhan could put an end to this -- or at least to the substantial part of it for which the Nation of Islam is responsible. His calls for dialogue suggest he may be willing to change his behavior, whether his motives are tactical or not. This possibility should be explored.

Talking with an enemy is not surrender; it is a way to begin solving problems. It took years of informal dialogue between the Palestine Liberation Organization and individual Jews before Yasir Arafat renounced terror and recognized Israel.

Mr. Farrakhan can do considerable damage to Jews -- and he is doing it. It is time to sit down with him and find out what it will take to make him stop.

A version of this article appears in print on , Section A, Page 27 of the National edition with the headline: Talk With Farrakhan

Exhibit F-1



Foxman says calls for meeting by Farrakhan a 'gimmick'

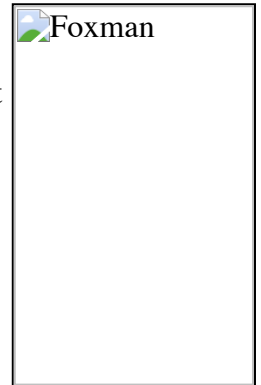
Aired October 13 at 8:35 a.m. EDT

Transcript of interview on Early Edition

October 13, 1995

Web posted at: 11:30 a.m. EDT

ANDREA ARCENEUX, Anchor: Well, the Million Man March is not without controversy, and joining us now from New York to talk about the Million Man March is Abraham Foxman, national director of the Anti-Defamation League. Mr. Foxman is a leader in the fight against anti-Semitism and a recognized authority on the Holocaust.



Mr. Foxman, we thank you for joining us this morning.

ABRAHAM FOXMAN, Anti-Defamation League: Thank you. Good morning.

ANDREA ARCENEUX: What are your concerns regarding the Million Man March that's going to take place Monday?

ABRAHAM FOXMAN: Our concern is that the march is being led by a flawed, tainted individual. I'm sorry to hear that Congressman Payne didn't illustrate the difference between the march of 30 years ago. The march 30 years ago was led by a moral, upstanding, tolerant leader. This march is being called, unfortunately, by a racist and an anti-Semite, and good people who will stand to be heard and be counted unfortunately are unwilling to separate themselves from the message of hate and bigotry and anti-Semitism.

ANDREA ARCENEUX: But Congressman Payne just said that the message and the purpose behind this march is one of unity and he also said that it's - send a message that we don't have to think alike. What do you respond to in terms of that stated purpose?

ABRAHAM FOXMAN: There's no - I'm all for unity and I'm all for dissent and different views, but a march which its stated purpose is atonement and reconciliation, whose avowed purpose is to stand against racism, is a hollow message if it's led by someone who is unwilling to rid himself or purge himself of racism and bigotry and anti-Semitism. It undermines the moral fiber and nature of that unity, which America needs and certainly the African-American community needs.

ANDREA ARCENEUX: Did - We understand that you received a letter from the Nation of Islam requesting a meeting with you to discuss divisive issues between the Jewish community and the black community. Did you, in fact, receive such a letter?

ABRAHAM FOXMAN: Yes, I received a faxed letter yesterday from the son-in-law of Minister Farrakhan. It's not the first time. The last time there was an issue with Khalid Muhammad and his bigotry, the public relations gimmick was, 'Let's meet.' There really is nothing to meet about. Minister Farrakhan knows exactly what his words mean. There's no reason for us to dialogue. What am I going to dialogue about - how guilty I am in slavery, how guilty the Jewish community is for the ills of - that beset the African-American community? The

answer is very simple. Minister Farrakhan knows that the words that he uses are hateful, knows that they are painful, knows that they are full of anti-Semitism and bigotry.

There's no reason to meet. If he wants to reverse the course, a public statement, a specific statement and consistency in no longer attacking Jews, whites, Catholics, gays, and to stop selling a library of anti-Semitic books, which the Nation of Islam peddles throughout this country.

ANDREA ARCENEUX: And, so you're saying that you won't meet?

ABRAHAM FOXMAN: There's no-

[crosstalk]

ANDREA ARCENEUX: Do you think at any time in the future you will be able to sit down - you and the Nation of Islam leadership - and resolve any kind of divisive issues that you may have between you?

ABRAHAM FOXMAN: The answer is, in the future, absolutely, but as a prerequisite, the leader of the Nation of Islam must give up, must purge himself from racism, bigotry and anti-Semitism. There's nothing really to meet about, to debate. As he says, he's not a racist, he's not an anti-Semite, he tells the truth. David Duke says he tells the truth. Hitler said he told the truth. All bigots, all racists, say it's the truth. He knows it's not the truth. And if he stops, there's nothing really that separates us and we can march together for unity in terms of the fight that we need to stand together on, which is racism.

ANDREA ARCENEUX: There are a number of prominent African-American leaders, besides Congressman Donald Payne, that are associated or supporting this march. One is the Reverend Jesse Jackson, and I understand that you spoke with him. What did you have to say to him?

ABRAHAM FOXMAN: Well, he reached out to us, asked us that we refrain from being critical, and I've indicated to him, as some of us did, that the Jewish community, probably more than any other community, understands the pain and the anguish of the African-American community, but at the same time, I think we've earned the right to have a sensitivity to our pain. There's been a deafening silence from the good people who are joining the march. Congressman Payne and the Black Caucus that endorsed the march, which is their sovereign right, their American freedom right, made a caveat. The caveat was that they were disturbed that women weren't there. I was waiting- waiting for the other caveat, that yes, they will march because there is a crisis; yes, they will be there because there is a need. However, just like women should be there and it shouldn't be sexist, they reject, or they stand aside from the racism and anti-Semitism. There was deafening silence.

Reverend Jackson said that he spoke to Reverend Farrakhan about that. Well, private meetings and private discussions is not what it's all about. We don't have the luxury to silently talk about bigotry and prejudice. We need to have the courage and the conviction to stand up, even in a- certainly in a moment of crisis, to say, 'Yes, there is a crisis, but, at the same time, we reject racism and anti-Semitism and bigotry of whoever it is that engages in it.'

ANDREA ARCENEUX: Abraham Foxman, and we thank you for joining us this morning on Early Edition.

ABRAHAM FOXMAN: Thank you.

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| [CONTENTS](#) | [SEARCH](#) | [CNN HOME PAGE](#) | [MAIN U.S. NEWS PAGE](#) |

Exhibit G



Minister Louis Farrakhan
NATIONAL REPRESENTATIVE OF THE HONORABLE ELIJAH MUHAMMAD
AND
THE NATION OF ISLAM

**IN THE NAME OF ALLAH, THE BENEFICENT, THE MERCIFUL.
I BEAR WITNESS THAT THERE IS NO GOD BUT ALLAH AND I BEAR
WITNESS THAT MUHAMMAD IS HIS MESSENGER**

June 24, 2010

President Abraham Foxman
Anti-Defamation League
605 Third Avenue
New York, New York 10017

Dear Mr. Foxman,

Please accept these two books enclosed from our Historical Research Department.

The charge of anti-Semitism has been leveled against the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam for many years. For twenty-five of the thirty-three years of my rebuilding of the Nation of Islam, I and we, in the Nation of Islam have suffered under the charge of “anti-Semitism” because I have dared to be critical of what I and many others feel is Jewish behavior that has ill-affected Black people and others.

Our Nation of Islam Historical Research Team was motivated by these false charges to study the works of Jewish scholars, historians, and Rabbis, being very careful to omit any words written or spoken, no matter how truthful, by those who are considered “anti-Semitic.”

We can now present to our people and the world a *true*, undeniable record of the relationship between Blacks and Jews from their own mouths and pens. These scholars, Rabbis and historians have given to us an undeniable record of Jewish anti-Black behavior, starting with the horror of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, plantation slavery, Jim Crow, sharecropping, the labor movement of the North and South, the unions and the misuse of our people that continues to this very moment.

As you have constantly labeled me and done everything within your power to hinder me and us from the civilizing work that Allah (God) has given to The Honorable Elijah Muhammad and myself to do, I ask you to find one act committed by me or those who follow me that has injured one Jewish person, stopped Jews from doing business, hindered their education, injured their families, sullied or desecrated their synagogues. You will not find one. So, except for our willingness to tell the truth and our unwillingness to apologize to you for telling the truth, on what basis do you charge me and us as being “anti-Semitic”?

Armed with this knowledge from the pens of Jewish scholars, Rabbis, and historians, we could now charge you with the most vehement anti-Black behavior in the annals of our history in America and the world. We could charge you with being the most deceitful so-called friend, while your history with us shows you have been our worst enemy.

Page 2

I do not write this with vitriol, hatred, bitterness, or a spirit of vengeance, because One greater than you and me has permitted this for His own wise purposes.

However, what is done is done. We cannot change the past. You and I, your children and mine, your people and mine are living in the present. Your present reality is sitting on top of the world in power, with riches and influence, while the masses of my people here in America, in the Caribbean, Central and South America and elsewhere in the world are in the worst condition of any member of the human family.

I have pleaded with you over the years for a sensible, intelligent dialogue. You have rejected me, and some Rabbis have given me terms for friendship that any self-respecting person could never accept. So with this truth in our hands and yours, and soon in the hands of tens of thousands, I again ask you for a dialogue.

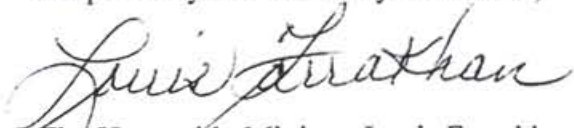
You are in a position to help me in the civilizing work that The Honorable Elijah Muhammad was given to do by Allah (God), whose burden and Mission -Allah and He -has made me to share. With this historical research in your hands, you may either gather your forces for an all-out struggle against me, the Nation of Islam, and the truth that I and we speak and write, or as an intelligent and civilized people, we can sit down and carve out a way forward that can obliterate the stain of the past and render us, Jews and Blacks-before Allah (God) and the world- in a new, honorable, and mutually respectful relationship.

This is an offer asking you and the gentiles whom you influence to help me in the repair of my people from the damage that has been done by your ancestors to mine. This is a wonderful way of the present generation of Jews to escape the Judgment of Allah (God) by aiding in the repair of His people.

However, should you choose to make our struggle to civilize our people more difficult, then I respectfully warn you, in the Name of Allah (God) and His Messiah, The Honorable Elijah Muhammad, that the more you fight and oppose me rather than help me to lift my people from their degraded state, Allah (God) and His Messiah will bring you and your people to disgrace and ruin and destroy your power and influence here and throughout the world.

I pray that you will make the wise and best choice.

Respectfully and Sincerely Submitted,



The Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan
Servant to the Lost-Found
Nation of Islam in the West

Cc: Chairman Alan Solow, American Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations
President William Hess, American Zionist Movement
President Bob Elman, American Jewish Committee
President Dennis W. Click, B'Nai B'Rith International
President Richard S. Gordon, American Jewish Congress
President Rabbi Moshe Kletenik, Rabbinical Council of America

Page 3

President Rabbi Ellen Weinburg Dreyfus, Central Conference of American Rabbis
Executive Director Jerry Silverman, Jewish Federation of North America
President Stephen J. Savitsky, Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
Executive Director Martin Schwartz, Jewish Labor Committee
President Lee Rosenberg, American Israel Public Affairs Committee
President Wayne Firestone, Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus Life
National Executive Director Herb Rosenbleeth, Jewish War Veterans of the United States of America
President Morton Klein, Zionist Organization of America
Executive Director Jeremy Ben-Ami, J Street

Enclosures

Exhibit H

Immigration & Ethnic
History Society



UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS PRESS

Black and Jewish Responses to Japanese Internment

Author(s): Cheryl Greenberg

Source: *Journal of American Ethnic History*, Winter, 1995, Vol. 14, No. 2 (Winter, 1995), pp. 3-37

Published by: University of Illinois Press on behalf of the Immigration & Ethnic History Society

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27500003>

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Immigration & Ethnic History Society and *University of Illinois Press* are collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Journal of American Ethnic History*

tant to challenge the government on behalf of Japanese Americans. First (and less important), Jews, like blacks, faced accusations of disloyalty despite the intensity of Jewish commitment to the war. According to ADL's Ben Epstein, "There were charges that Jews were trying to evade military service."³⁴ Certainly the need to demonstrate Jews' loyalty lay behind the NCJW president's reluctance to question claims that internment was a military necessity.

More important in Jewish motivation, though, was the ferocity of Jewish commitment to the Allied effort. Because of American isolationist sentiment and general anti-Semitism, many Jews feared that Americans would offer only weak support for the Allies which would slow the struggle against Hitler and fascism in Europe. Therefore, for Jewish organizations, wartime's central domestic problem was the dissemination of Axis propaganda by foreign nationals, which helped justify to them the government's concern over Japanese loyalty to the United States. The ADL used undercover "informants" to gather information about pro-Axis speakers and freely shared this information with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

On 10 April 1942, Arnold Forster wrote to New York FBI's assistant director P. Foxworth about a "colored gentleman" named Miles Duncan who told his lawyer "(who is our informant)" that he had been "approached recently by some Japanese people with the request that he, Duncan, go to Peterson [a community leader] to persuade the latter to deliver public speeches among the colored people in behalf of the Japanese." Duncan refused. The letter concludes, "Your office might visit Duncan and ascertain the identities of these Japanese persons."

Other ADL memoranda and correspondence report similar concerns about American (particularly African American) loyalty to the Allied cause, and exhibit a similar willingness to overlook the niceties of civil liberties for the sake of the war. A.B. Kapplin of ADL's Fact Finding Department wrote the Chicago office of the FBI about a black candidate for committeeman who referred in his election literature to "'the hard-hitting Japanese.' This is a vicious communication apparently going out to many Negro voters, which attempts to foment race hatreds, and which is definitely subversive when it calls the enemy 'hard-hitting Japanese.' I know you will want to make further investigation, and if our office can be of any further service, please call on us." A "Negro employed by us [ADL]" proved "quite instrumental" in an FBI raid on the Temple of Islam for alleged pro-Japanese activities which resulted in 82 arrests. The NCJW's decision to delete the section of its resolution proclaiming

Exhibit I

REGIONAL OFFICES OF
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
315 LEXINGTON AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

(212) MU 9-7400

CENTRAL PACIFIC REGIONAL OFFICE
40 First Street, Third Floor
San Francisco, California 94105

CONNECTICUT REGIONAL OFFICE
1184 Chapel Street, Suite 3
New Haven, Connecticut 06511

D.C. - MARYLAND REGIONAL OFFICE
1640 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

DALLAS REGIONAL OFFICE
908 Praetorium Building
Dallas, Texas 75201

FLORIDA REGIONAL OFFICE
907 Seybold Building
Miami, Florida 33132

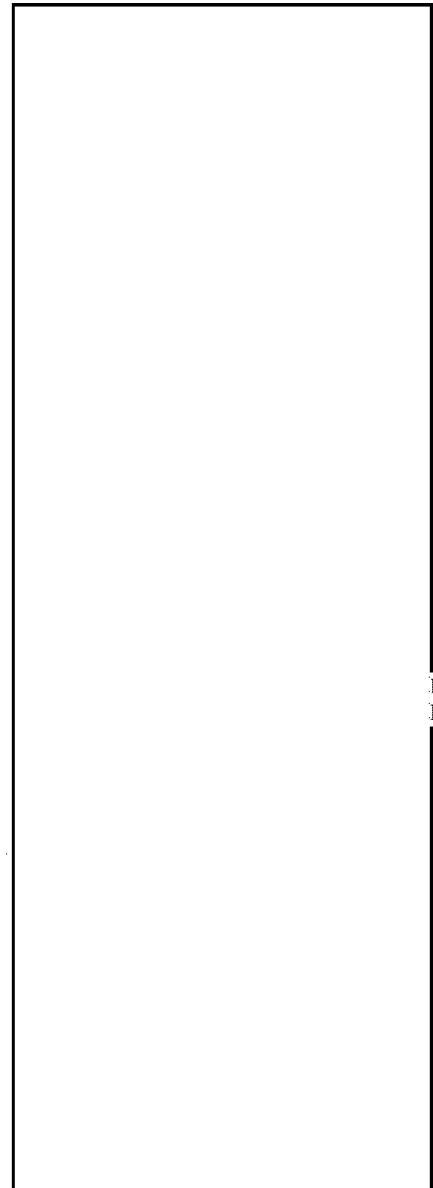
HOUSTON REGIONAL OFFICE
1513 Melrose Building
Houston, Texas 77002

INDIANA REGIONAL OFFICE
108 East Washington Street
Indianapolis, Indiana 46204

MICHIGAN REGIONAL OFFICE
163 Madison Avenue, Suite 120
Detroit, Michigan 48226

MIDWEST REGIONAL OFFICE
222 West Adams Street,
Chicago, Illinois 60606

MINNESOTA -- DAKOTAS REGIONAL OFFICE
303 Gorham Building
635 Second Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55403



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RE: REGIONAL OFFICES OF ANTI-DEFAMATION
LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

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721 Olive Street, Room 1525
St. Louis; Missouri 63101

MOUNTAIN STATES REGIONAL OFFICE
623 Empire Building
Denver, Colorado 80202

NEW ENGLAND REGIONAL OFFICE
72 Franklin Street, Suite 504
Boston, Massachusetts 02110

NEW JERSEY REGIONAL OFFICE
24 Commerce Street, Suite 929-930
Newark, New Jersey 07102

NEW YORK REGIONAL OFFICE
315 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016

NORTH CAROLINA - VIRGINIA REGIONAL OFFICE
700 East Main Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

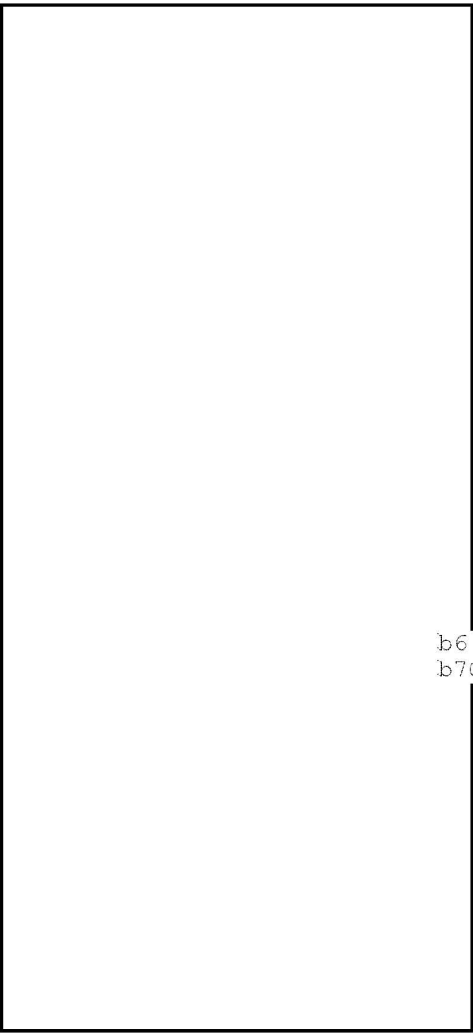
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82 North High Street, Suite 610
Columbus, Ohio 43215

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590 North Vermont Avenue,
Los Angeles, California 90004

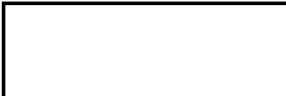
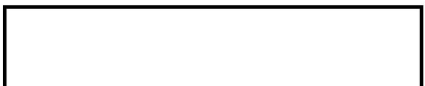
PACIFIC NORTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE
1718 Smith Tower, Seattle, Washington 98104

PENNSYLVANIA - WEST VIRGINIA - DELAWARE REGIONAL
OFFICE
225 South 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
19102

PLAINS STATES REGIONAL OFFICE
537 Securities Building
Omaha, Nebraska 68102



b6
b7c



RE: REGIONAL OFFICES OF ANTI-DEFAMATION
LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH

SOUTH CENTRAL REGIONAL OFFICE
535 Gravier Street, Suite 806
New Orleans, Louisiana 70130

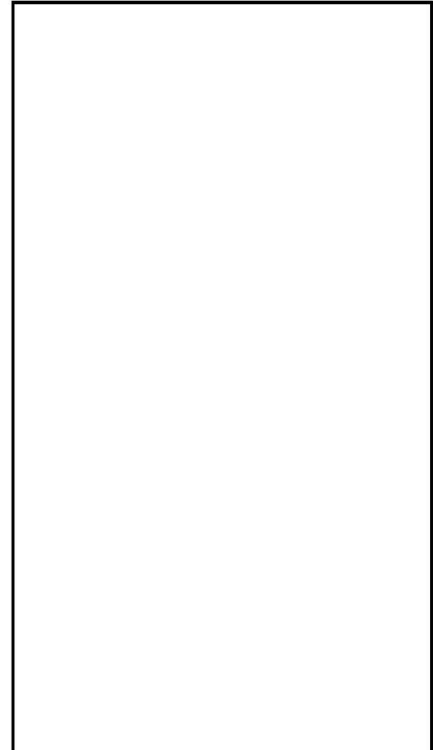
SOUTHERN REGIONAL OFFICE
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

WESTCHESTER COUNTY REGIONAL OFFICE
199 Main Street, Room 318,
White Plains, New York 10106

WESTERN NEW YORK STATE REGIONAL OFFICE
291 Delaware Avenue, Suite 201
Buffalo, New York 14202

WISCONSIN - UPPER MIDWEST REGIONAL OFFICE
623 North Second Street
Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53203

COOPERATING OFFICE, B'NAI B'RITH DISTRICT #22
Toronto Regional Office
825 Elinton Avenue, West
Toronto 10, Ontario, Canada



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b7c

0-9 (Rev. 5-22-64)

F B I

Date: 1/17/68

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(Type in plaintext or code)

Via airtel _____
(Priority)

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 Birmingham (Enclosure)
 Boston (Enclosure)
 Buffalo (Enclosure)
 Chicago (Enclosure)
 Cincinnati (Enclosure)
 Dallas (Enclosure)
 Denver (Enclosure)
 Detroit (Enclosure)
 Houston (Enclosure)
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 Los Angeles (Enclosure)
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 Seattle (Enclosure)
 Springfield (Enclosure)
 WFO (Enclosure)

From: Director, FBI

~~LIASON WITH THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
 OF B'NAI B'RITH
 INFORMATION CONCERNING
 (INTERNAL SECURITY)~~

100-10164-2
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 SERIALIZED FILED
 FBI - INDIANAPOLIS
 JAN 22 1968

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Sent Via _____
of: Per _____
MI Per _____

Airtel to SAC, Atlanta
RE: LIAISON WITH THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH

The Anti-Defamation League, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York City, maintains regional offices throughout the United States. As you know, this organization, like the Bureau, is opposed to groups and individuals espousing bigotry, prejudice and extremism. It seeks to bring the true facts concerning such groups and individuals to light.

In the furtherance of these worthy objectives, the Anti-Defamation League receives considerable information of interest to this Bureau and has been very cooperative in the past in referring such data to us. You are to immediately make certain that you have established liaison with the head of the Anti-Defamation League regional office in your territory and explained the jurisdiction and interests of this Bureau. For your information, there is attached a list of Anti-Defamation League regional offices.

You should, of course, review your office indices prior to making contact. Advise the Bureau if contact is not deemed advisable.

If liaison has already been established, you should review the relationship and submit to the Bureau the names of any individuals connected with the Anti-Defamation League who have not been cooperative.

Director, FBI

1/25/68

SAC, Indianapolis (100-16164) (RUC)

LIAISON WITH THE ANTI-DEFAMATION
LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ReBuairtel 1/17/68.

Indianapolis has had liaison with Anti-Defamation League, Indiana, for past ten years. [redacted] Indiana Regional Office Director, as well as his office staff, have been most cooperative with this office on all matters.

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2-Bureau (RM)
1-Indianapolis
PJF/sjr
(3)

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Serialized.....
Indexed.....
Filed.....

[Handwritten signature]

100-16164-3

Exhibit I-1

James B. Comey
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Anti-Defamation League National Leadership Summit
Washington, D.C.
May 8, 2017

The FBI and the ADL: Working Together to Fight Hate

Remarks prepared for delivery.

I first met with you in the spring of 2014, when I was relatively new on the job—just seven months in.

I sang your praises as an organization that fights for inclusivity and diversity, equality and justice. An organization that works with us to fight hate crime and terrorism, to educate law enforcement, and to build bridges with underrepresented communities.

I labeled that last speech a love letter to the ADL. Three years later I can say, from the perspective of the FBI, we're still in love with you.

But while we are really fond of you folks, I've got to be honest. We've spent more time with you of late than we would like. I think we'd all be happy if our meetings were few and far between—if we had no need to investigate hate crime, no need to share information about pending terrorist threats, no need to educate kids or community leaders or cops about bigotry and prejudice.

Instead, we've confronted bomb threats targeting Jewish community centers and schools. The vandalism of Jewish cemeteries. The racially motivated shooting of two Indian immigrants. Swastikas spray-painted on synagogues and subway signs. A transgender woman attacked in her own home. A noose sent in the mail to an African-American attorney.

In your line of work, and ours, we confront people who are filled with hate. Some of these individuals will sit quietly, simmering in their own bitterness. Some will shout about it to anyone who will listen, ever hopeful that just as like attracts like, hate will attract hate.

And while we can try to educate and illuminate our way out of that darkness, some will always be trapped in that "starless midnight" Martin Luther King wrote of so many years ago.

We have to ask ourselves: Are people emboldened by divisive rhetoric? Are there simply more opportunities to instill fear and intimidation than ever before?

Do the ways in which we now communicate—often anonymously or from a great distance—offer license to say whatever you want, whenever you want, no matter how hateful or discriminatory?

I'm on Twitter. I have to be, to hear what everyone's saying about me. And it's a depressing place. It's like being in every dive bar in America, and you can hear everybody screaming at the television.

But that's free speech. We don't have to like it. We don't have to agree with it. But we will protect it. Because it's one of the greatest tenets of this country. That we can believe and say what we want, no matter how distasteful or disruptive.

But there are others more worrisome to everyone in this room. The ones who stop talking about who and what they hate so much, and start acting on it.

You know all too well that in a heartbeat, words can turn to violence. Because hate doesn't remain static. An opinion, a dislike, a prejudice—it foment. It festers. It can grow into something far more dangerous. Sometimes, too often, hate becomes hate crime.

So we must do everything in our power to stop these individuals who move from hating to hurting.

Yes, we must do everything we can to educate people about diversity and the strength that comes from our differences.

But we must do everything in our power to bring those who act on such hatred to justice.

Hate crime is different from other crime. It strikes at the heart of one's identity. It strikes at our sense of self, our sense of belonging. The end result is loss—loss of trust. Loss of dignity. And in the worst case, loss of life.

Hate crime hurts more than just the victim. It harms the whole community. Because an attack on one of us because of who and what we are, what we believe, or what we look like is an attack on all of us.

And we must each accept the responsibility to speak up and stop it. Because, eventually—if we don't—it will come for all of us.

* * *

I want to talk about how you help us. I believe the Holocaust is the most significant event in human history. And I mean significant in two different ways.

It is, of course, significant because it was the most horrific display of inhumanity—one that simply defies words and challenges meaning.

How could such a thing happen?

How is it consistent with the concept of a loving God?

How could there be meaning in life, when so many lives were snuffed out in such a way?

I asked those same questions standing in the pit at Ground Zero in early 2002 and studying the history of slavery in America. I have asked those questions many times as I have confronted unimaginable suffering and loss.

And standing here today, I know I am in good company.

The answer is, I don't know. We don't know.

But we do know that it is our duty, our obligation, to make sure some good comes from unimaginable bad. This is our duty regardless of race or religion or ideology. It is our obligation to refuse to let darkness win. To refuse to let evil hold the field.

There are so many ways to fight this darkness. This room is full of them. For you have made that fight your entire life.

I also believe the Holocaust was the most significant event in history not just because it was a display of inhumanity, but because it was also the most horrific display of our humanity—our true capacity for evil and for moral surrender.

And that second significance is the reason we require every new FBI special agent and intelligence analyst in training to visit the Holocaust Museum. We want them to learn about abuse of

Exhibit I-2

Christopher Wray

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Anti-Defamation League (ADL) Never Is Now Summit
New York, New York
November 10, 2022

Director Wray Addresses ADL at Never Is Now Summit

Remarks as prepared for delivery.

My thanks to the entire ADL for inviting me here today.

I've been in this line of work for a long time now, starting out as a prosecutor in the '90s and then in various roles in the Justice Department, which included time overseeing what was then the Office of Special Investigations—or as they were more commonly known, the Nazi hunters—whose particularly rewarding work demonstrated to the world—and anyone who might contemplate heinous crimes against the Jewish people—that we'll hunt murderers right to their dying days.

I'm proud to say we helped the U.S. track down, denaturalize, and deport more Nazis than all other countries combined. And much like the work we're doing together today, that effort both required and benefitted from a close partnership with the Jewish community.

The main reason I took this job was my belief in the FBI's core values and mission – to protect the American people and uphold the Constitution. And I think our mission gels very well with yours: "To stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all."

That's one of the reasons we've been such great partners in fighting to stamp out the recent uptick in hate crimes in the U.S., I think, because both of our organizations understand what can happen when hate is allowed to fester and grow.

At the Bureau, we confront that reality from the moment we bring someone new onboard. And I want to thank the ADL today for your support in conducting the training that all of our new special agents and intelligence analysts participate in at the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum.

Because of your work, our new agents and analysts confront the reality of just how widespread antisemitism, and the willingness to turn hate to action, really are. Your work reminds them what's at stake; why we all—particularly those of us in law enforcement—must aggressively counter antisemitic violence everywhere it appears.

Our FBI historian recently pulled the course evaluations written by the first new agent class to visit the Holocaust Museum, more than 20 years ago. I found one of them particularly striking. That new agent wrote:

"The part that lingers in my memory is the photo of the police officer and the German SS officer standing side by side, and the police officer was failing to protect his own citizens."

That observation gets to the heart of why standing up to hate is an active pursuit. And it applies now every bit as much as it did back then. It reflects what we stand for and the values we aspire to at the FBI— to protect Americans from harm with unwavering resolve.

Hate Crimes and Extremism

Unfortunately, as Jonathan outlined, antisemitism remains a pervasive and present fact. And we at the FBI see—up close, day in and day out—the actions that hatred drives. Jewish people continue to face repeated violence and very real threats, from all kinds of actors, simply for being who they are.

A full 63% of religious hate crimes are motivated by antisemitism—targeting a group that makes up just 2.4% of our population. Foreign terrorist organizations like ISIS have promoted antisemitic violent extremism for decades. They continue to target Jewish Americans in their attack plots. But we also confront the threat of people here, on our soil, whose hateful views—often paraded online—boil over into acts of violence.

There are too many grim examples to choose from, but consider the members of the Jewish community in Poway, California, whose synagogue was the target of domestic terrorism in 2019. The gunman in that attack, in a vile act driven by hatred, murdered one member of the congregation and wounded three others, including a rabbi.

Thanks to the investigative work of our San Diego Field Office, he's now serving a life sentence without parole, plus an additional 30 years. But his victims, their loved ones, and their communities have to live with the trauma of what he did for the rest of their lives, too.

The attack at the synagogue in Colleyville, Texas, earlier this year was another tragic example. It happened almost three years later and over a thousand miles away from Poway by a perpetrator who cloaked himself in a different motivation—he referenced violent Jihad. But it demonstrates the tragic reality that the Jewish community uniquely ends up on the receiving end of hate-fueled attacks from all sides. And I'd venture to say no community feels more threatened by that boiling over into violence than yours.

FBI Efforts

The threats may be coming from all sides, but we're hitting back at them full-force. And from multiple FBI programs—our Criminal and Counterterrorism Divisions—that right now are laser-focused on the problem.

On the criminal side, we've designated civil rights, specifically including hate crimes, as a national threat priority. That means we've surged more agents and analysts to work those cases across the country. And on the counterterrorism front, with the Joint Terrorism Task Forces we run out of all 56 of our field offices, we have nearly 4,500 agents and state and local law enforcement partners working counterterrorism.

And in 2019, we established the Domestic Terrorism-Hate Crimes Fusion Cell, bringing together experts on both. That team addresses the intersection of domestic terrorism and hate crimes, and they share information and resources with our partners in real time. And the fusion cell's efforts are bearing fruit.

Just last year, in 2021, Richard Holzer was convicted on both hate crime and explosives charges for plotting to bomb the Temple Emanuel Synagogue in Pueblo, Colorado. Holzer told undercover agents he wanted to do something that would tell Jewish people in the community they weren't welcome in the town.

But thanks to the work of our fusion cell, instead, we disrupted his plot before it occurred, and for the first time in recent history made a proactive arrest on a hate crimes charge.

So whether we're confronting the threat through a hate crime or counterterrorism lens—or both—our focus is on preventing violent attacks. And within the bounds of the law, we're creative in how we do that.

When tragedy does strike, we move heaven and earth to find those responsible and to help heal the victims, their families, and their community, much like we did four years ago this October, after the horrific attack on the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh. We raced our SWAT team, Lab, explosives experts, crisis negotiators, and more to the scene.

We also remain a fixture for those affected afterward. In the way our Victim Services Response Team provided food and clothing, grief counseling, financial assistance, and one-stop shopping for federal resources, but also in our continued engagement with the Pittsburgh Jewish community.

When I visited Tree of Life and saw the scene firsthand, I was struck not just by the evil done to individuals that day but by the depth of the wound to that community. It made me angry. It left me feeling the steel in our commitment to battle hate-fueled violence everywhere it touches Jewish Americans. And it once again left me grateful for your help in bringing our new folks to the

Exhibit J

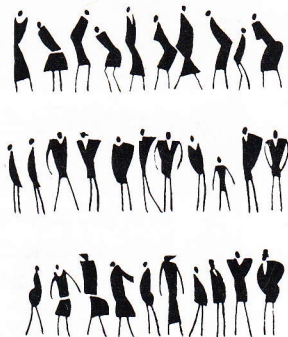
ADL SPY CASE

CovertAction

QUARTERLY



- GLOBAL LINKS TO SOUTH AFRICA'S RACE WAR AND HANI ASSASSINATION
- NAZI ECHO: GERMANY FOR THE GERMANS
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- ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE: CIVIL RIGHTS AND WRONGS
- THE CRIME OF PUNISHMENT AT PELICAN BAY MAXIMUM SECURITY PRISON
- BLACK YOUTH IN POLICE CROSSHAIRS
- INTERVIEW: FRED WEIR IN RUSSIA
- PROFITEERS FUEL THE WAR IN ANGOLA
- GUEST EDITORIAL: BENJAMIN F. CHAVIS, JR.



USAND, TWO HUNDRED SLAIN BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS

ADL

The Anti-Defamation League: Civil Rights and Wrongs

Abdeen Jabara

For decades, the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith has run a private nationwide spy network — a systematic, long-term, professionally organized political espionage operation complete with informers, infiltrators, money laundering, code names, wiretapping, and secret meetings. While it is not unusual for private political groups to gather information, the ADL spying is different. It is not only the scale which sets it apart — files on 950 organizations and nearly 10,000 individuals — but the focus. The ADL spied on groups which opposed its stated goals as well as those which supported its principles. More disturbing, however, is the League's collaboration with state, federal, and foreign intelligence gathering entities. This sharing of often confidential information and resources is not only illegal, but a violation of trust, a threat to civil liberties, and an infringement on the right to privacy.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has won a long-standing public reputation as an opponent of anti-Semitism, defender of minority rights, and promoter of racial justice. In January 1993, a less benign dimension of ADL surfaced. San Francisco newspapers broke the story of 24-year police officer Tom Gerard, who kept computerized files on thousands of Arab-Americans, 36 Arab organizations, 33 anti-apartheid organizations, 412 "pinko" organizations, 349 right-wing organizations, and 35 skinhead groups.

Gerard worked closely with Roy Bullock, a full-time salaried undercover investigator for ADL for the past 32 years. Bullock's records were even more extensive than Gerard's, with files on 77 Arab organizations, 647 "pinko"

and anti-apartheid organizations, 612 right-wing organizations and 27 skinhead groups.

The spy network to which Gerard and Bullock belonged is headquartered in the ADL's New York office under ADL director of "fact-finding," Irwin Suall, and his deputy, Thomas Halpern. As the League's chief West Coast undercover operative, Bullock maintained numerous contacts with law enforcement and federal officials, recruited informers, and worked with ADL operatives in other cities.

The ADL, which has a \$34 million annual budget has openly acknowledged compiling files on "extremist hate groups" and supplying reports on them to law enforcement agencies. Richard Hirschhaut, executive director of the ADL Central Pacific Region, also admitted that "the ADL does keep files on Arab-American groups or individuals who espouse anti-Jewish views or take credit for anti-Jewish acts."¹

Abdeen Jabara is an attorney in Michigan. He is a former president and current national vice-chair of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC). He won a 12-year battle against FBI surveillance and forced the Bureau to destroy its files and admit that he had violated no laws and had merely exercised his constitutional rights. Reprints of this article from: ADC, 4201 Connecticut Ave., NW, #500, Washington, D.C. 20008.

1. Garth Wolkoff, "ADL Denies Wrongdoing in SFPD in Files-For-Sale Case," *Jewish Bulletin of Northern California*, January 22, 1993.

Exhibit K

Anti-Defamation League Accused of Spying

By The Associated Press

Oct. 24, 1993



See the article in its original context from
October 24, 1993, Section 1, Page 25 Buy Reprints

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A lawsuit filed this week charges that the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith deviated from its civil rights work by conspiring with police agencies to spy, harass and intimidate several political groups.

The suit, filed in Federal District Court in Los Angeles, accuses the defense league and its longtime San Francisco-based investigator, Roy Bullock, of obtaining confidential files about political activists from the San Francisco police and from sheriff's officers in Los Angeles and San Diego.

"An organization that has done important civil rights work is being charged with violating civil rights," said Albert Mokhiber, president of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, a plaintiff in the suit. "We are not here to put the A.D.L. out of business. We are here to put the A.D.L. back into the business of protecting civil rights." 12 Organizations in Suit

The suit also accuses the law-enforcement agencies of illegally collecting and distributing information about the political activities and personal lives of members of the 12 organizations in the suit.

The defense league was founded in 1913 to combat anti-Semitism. Revelations this year of files maintained by Mr. Bullock and his San Francisco police contact, former Inspector Tom Gerard, have fueled allegations that the A.D.L. has waged a secret campaign to repress political dissent.

The suit charges that the A.D.L. maintains a "wide-ranging network of unlawful surveillance," directed at Arab-Americans and other supporters of Palestinian rights, opponents of South African apartheid and critics of United States policy in Central America, among others.

Mark Van Der Hout, who is participating in the suit as a member of the National Lawyers Guild, said that thousands of law-abiding people "have been spied upon, their mail looked through, their confidential police records given to A.D.L., their lives disrupted."

The league did not respond to specific allegations in the suit but issued a statement saying it "has been respectful of the law and the Constitution at all times." Misrepresentation Charged

The league also said the suit "mischaracterizes A.D.L.'s relationship to law enforcement and others, and misrepresents A.D.L.'s information-gathering activities." The statement added that the "conspiracy theories" outlined in the suit "are completely false and serve only to highlight the plaintiffs' political paranoia."

The suit seeks court orders prohibiting the league and police agencies from spying on the organizations while they engage in legal political activity or from maintaining records unrelated to legitimate law enforcement.

A similar suit was filed in April in San Francisco Superior Court by 19 Arab-Americans and others who said the A.D.L. had spied on them.

The authorities have already seized 12,000 files from Mr. Bullock, a San Francisco art dealer, and Mr. Gerard, a 25-year police veteran and self-described former C.I.A. agent. San Francisco prosecutors said the files contained personal information on people from neo-Nazi skinheads to opponents of apartheid.

Mr. Bullock has been quoted as telling the police that he and Mr. Gerard sold information to the Government of South Africa, a claim that Mr. Gerard has denied.

Mr. Gerard, the only person so far to face criminal charges as a result of his association with the A.D.L., has pleaded not guilty to charges of conspiracy and concealing government documents.

Former Representative Mervyn Dymally, a Los Angeles Democrat who described himself as a longtime supporter of the A.D.L., Israel and Palestinian self-determination, said he was shocked to learn he had been a target of surveillance by the A.D.L. and the police.

"The use of police powers in conjunction with a so-called anti-defamation group to violate the constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly is a dangerous precedent and must be stopped," Mr. Dymally said in a statement.

A version of this article appears in print on , Section 1, Page 25 of the National edition with the headline: Anti-Defamation League Accused of Spying

Exhibit L

TO OUR BELOVED COMMUNITY:

**THE ADL IS
NOT AN ALLY.**

*Why communities say NO to
the Anti-Defamation League in
our schools, coalitions, and
movements.*

#DropTheADL

TO OUR BELOVED COMMUNITY: THE ADL IS NOT AN ALLY

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has branded itself as a civil rights organization in ways that conceal and legitimize its right-wing activities undermining the rights of Black, immigrant, queer, Muslim, Arab, and other marginalized communities.

Many progressive individuals and organizations partner with the ADL not knowing its ongoing legacy of supporting racist policing, surveillance, colonialism, and the silencing of social justice activism. Misinformation about the ADL’s work, and its credibility in progressive circles, are what allows the ADL to continue harming social justice movements.

The following primer was compiled by organizations across the US working in coalition for freedom, justice, and equality. We hope it can be helpful in strengthening all of our social justice movements in resisting repression and advancing a vision of liberation for all. Many conflicts between the ADL and our movements are not covered in this primer. Community efforts to resist the ADL are also not covered here. For additional information and updates, visit DropTheADL.org.

THIS PRIMER WAS PUT TOGETHER BY THE DROP THE ADL WORKING GROUP WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THE FOLLOWING ORGANIZATIONS:

American Friends Service Committee, American Muslims for Palestine, Arab Resource and Organizing Center, #DropTheADL, Friends of Sabeel - North America, International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network, Jewish Voice for Peace Deadly Exchange Campaign, Jews Against Anti-Muslim Racism, Network Against Islamophobia, Palestine Legal, Queers Against Israeli Apartheid, St. Louis Jewish Voice for Peace, US Campaign for Palestinian Rights, US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel.

August 2020



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ADL RESEARCH REPORT

Louis Farrakhan: The Campaign to Manipulate Public Opinion

A Study in the Packaging of Bigotry





Anti-Defamation League

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Louis Farrakhan: The Campaign to Manipulate Public Opinion

Introduction

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

One of Farrakhan's frequent accusations is that the news media have distorted his statements, taking them out of context. However, in recent months Farrakhan has been accorded a new level of prominence by the media. He has been granted access to many of the top-rated television network programs—including Phil Donahue (NBC), Larry King (CNN), ABC Prime-Time and CBS This Morning—and been given lavish coverage and editorial attention in the major print media, including the *Washington Post*, the *Washington Times*, and *Newsweek*. This coverage—both by its scope and by its tone—has implicitly granted Farrakhan a new legitimacy. There has crept into public discourse toward Farrakhan the notion that while he may be “wrong” about Jews, his overall social and economic prescriptions for the black community are constructive.

Yet a careful examination of Farrakhan's speeches and statements suggests just the opposite: that Farrakhan's social message is a “candy coating” for his obsessive concerns about Jews and whites. Like many radicals before him, Farrakhan has a rationale and a program in which to clothe his other purposes.

This closer look at Farrakhan's recent statements (followed by a review of his public record of previous years) reveals an unreconstructed ideologue of racism and anti-Semitic bigotry.

Part 1. A Barrage of Activity: 1989-90

The period of late 1989 and early 1990 saw a barrage of activity on the part of Louis Farrakhan.

—On October 25, 1989, the District of Columbia approved without debate (but with two abstentions) a resolution extolling the work of Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam for shutting down a drug market at an apartment complex. Council member Harry Thomas Sr., chief author of the resolution, presented the resolution to a beaming Farrakhan during the latter's address to a crowd of 10,000 at the D.C. Armory.

A public controversy ensued and dragged on for four weeks, resulting in nationwide media attention. ADL's Washington, D.C. regional office called on Council members to "rescind the Farrakhan resolution, yank it from the record and make a clear statement as to why it must be erased." However, the resolution was not withdrawn.

—In April, 1990, Farrakhan received a similar honor from the city of Philadelphia, which he accepted before a crowd of 17,000 at the Civic Center.

—On January 26, 1990, the city of Tacoma, Washington granted honorary citizenship to Farrakhan, who spoke on that day before a standing-room-only audience of 3,000 at the city's Public Theater.

—Two days later, Farrakhan journeyed to Oakland, CA. Presenting himself as a messianic figure, he asserted: "Any black man who stands up for justice will end up like Jesus. . . . I'm telling you I'm following 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."

—On February 2, 1990 Farrakhan addressed a crowd of 16,500 at the Sports Arena in Los Angeles. In addition to its extensive news coverage, the Los Angeles *Times* featured an interview with Farrakhan. Again expressing anti-Semitism, he told the *Times*: "Jews have never been upset over any black person. They usually have great control over black people. But here's one they don't control. . . ."

Writing of the *Times*' coverage of Farrakhan, ADL's Los Angeles regional director David A. Lehrer noted that "Over the past few months the Los Angeles *Times* has focused on Farrakhan on several occasions, in each instance emphasizing the Nation of Islam's ostensible policies while essentially ignoring the incendiary rhetoric that is an inseparable part of the Farrakhan program."

—On February 12, Farrakhan continued his scapegoating of Jews in an address before an audience of 1,200 in Phoenix, Arizona. He said, "You Jews who are here tonight look at me as an anti-Semite. I am hated by Jews. If I were Jewish, would I want Farrakhan to live?" Farrakhan went on to state that his enemies would "be removed from the face of the earth" not by Farrakhan, "but by a power bigger than I am."

"Sucking the Blood"

Farrakhan accused the Jews of "sucking the blood of the black community" in a speech to 4,000 at Michigan State University on February 18. He attacked Jews for their leader-

ship positions in movie studios and book publishing: "You wrote us up in scripts as clowns and buffoons," he said. "Some Jews did that to black people. You would not forgive Jesse Jackson! Your own Jewish Encyclopedia says that some Jews owned some of the slave ships that brought black people to America. You have a role that you played, but you have never apologized to black people. What the hell do you have to tell me that I have to apologize to you?"

Media Saturation in Washington, D.C.

In late February Farrakhan held separate meetings with editors and reporters of the two major Washington newspapers, the *Washington Post* and the *Washington Times*, resulting in an extraordinary amount of attention focused on Farrakhan. Farrakhan first met with the editorial staff of the *Washington Times* on February 27. The *Times* published extensive news stories and a partial transcript of the interview, in which Farrakhan presented the case for his separatist philosophy: "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." He said he was preparing for the creation of a separate nation in Africa for millions of American blacks.

Attempting to "explain" his previous remark that Judaism was a "dirty religion," Farrakhan again stated:

I said that the state of Israel has not had peace and will not have peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice, lying, thievery, murder and using God's name as a shield for your dirty religion.

Several days later, The *Washington Post* prominently featured two long news stories about the interview in its March 1 issue and an extensive transcript of the interview, as well as a column in praise of Farrakhan by Dorothy Gilliam. The *Post* reported that Farrakhan claimed that the government had hatched a plot to kill him. It also reported that Farrakhan said he wished to end the antagonistic relationship between himself and Jews. Farrakhan was quoted as saying:

If you take the whole Jewish-Farrakhan question and put it in context, then you will see that it was not Farrakhan who started this. It was the Jews who started this. And everytime Farrakhan goes someplace, I'm not even speaking, Jews come out even calling for my death. . . .

The *Post* reported, "Farrakhan frequently alluded to Jews, once saying they are part of a small clique who use their power and their knowledge to manipulate the masses against the best interests of the people." Calling for reparations to the black community, Farrakhan commented, "I'm suggesting that rather than kill off our people, let them go and help them. Since we built this country, give us reparations."

Conspiracies and Spaceships

Referring to the “government plot” to kill him, the *Post* wrote that Farrakhan said he learned more about the alleged government conspiracy in a September 1985 vision, in which he was taken up into a gigantic “wheel” that he likened to a spaceship. He said that former Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad, who died in 1975, told him in the dream of various schemes by high-level government officials. The *Post* noted that the account of the spaceship incident was “strikingly similar to an account by Muhammad in his book. Muhammad referred to a ‘wheel-shaped plane,’ which he said is a ‘small human planet made for the purpose of destroying the present enemies of Allah.’ ”

The Washington *Post*’s transcript of the interview contained an amplified statement by Farrakhan about “the wheel”:

You know, Louis Farrakhan. . . is not known to be a nut and is not known to be insane. . . The Hon. Elijah Muhammad taught us for nearly sixty years that these planes exist. You call them Unidentified Flying Objects, they’re not that to us. They’re referred to in the writings of Ezekiel the Prophet as the wheel within a wheel that was seen by Ezekiel in a vision, an experience where I was carried up into not just the little wheel but into the major wheel which is, as the Hon. Elijah Muhammad taught us, a half a mile by half a mile, a hugh, mechanical object that is above our heads. . . Now you say, of course, Elijah Muhammad’s dead, how could you hear him, you know, on a wheel this is incredible, the boy’s a nut . . .

Reactions to the “Post” Interview

In her Washington *Post* column discussing Farrakhan’s proposal for the creation of a separate nation in Africa for blacks, Dorothy Gilliam wrote:

Whether Farrakhan’s idea has any viability remains to be seen. While it is easy to dismiss him—certainly not the most popular man among some groups—he is right when he says something is seriously wrong in America. The man and the issues he raises—especially his assertions that the national will is not strong enough for true black-white reconciliation—deserve attention.

In a separate editorial entitled “The Farrakhan Interview” (March 3, 1990) The Washington *Post* commented:

Mr. Farrakhan says he is no antisemite [sic], but immediately and repeatedly he falls back on the classic language of antisemitism. He says he met a Jewish man who described to him the small clique of which he is a member and which cleverly manipulates opinion all over the world (“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 interests of the people.”) He is a purveyor of slander not just against Jews but also against white people generally who he suggests are involved in murderous plots and deceptions, poisonings and infections with deliberate genocidal intent.

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.

In an article about the *Washington Post* and the *Washington Times* interviews, *The New York Times* (3/2/90) noted that Farrakhan claimed he wanted to end the longtime bitterness between himself and the Jewish community. The *Times* wrote: “But in those interviews. . . Mr. Farrakhan continued to make uncomplimentary remarks about Israel and ‘some Jews.’” The *Times* also quoted David C. Friedman, ADL Washington regional director, as stating: “His record of anti-Semitic statements is very clear, and his attempts to rewrite are not going to fool anybody. This is a man who has a negative fixation about Jews.”

Reassessing Farrakhan—Several Views

Major media coverage of Farrakhan, much of it positive, continued on March 2. Columnist William Raspberry, who in the past has expressed criticism of Farrakhan, devoted a column to “evenhandedly” assessing “this bold, charming, and, yes, disturbing man.” Raspberry’s column is representative of a “reassessment” of Farrakhan by the media, by which he is acknowledged to have a seriousness of purpose and a responsible economic agenda.

Even Farrakhan’s anti-Semitism was granted some validity by Raspberry, who went on to write that “Farrakhan says what so many black people believe but have learned not to say in public: for instance that some Jews wield tremendous influence in the news and entertainment media. . . . Few of us doubt the disproportionate influence of Jews—for good or ill—on what we see on television or in the movies. . . . Nor do blacks doubt the disproportionate influence of Jews on American foreign policy, particularly with regard to political and economic support of Israel.”

Raspberry granted that Farrakhan “does overstate,” and wrote that, “he has to know that these gratuitous references will be interpreted as antisemitism. Perhaps he really is more anti-semitic than he imagines; perhaps he is simply more concerned with the adulation of blacks than with the sensitivity of Jews.”

On March 6, the *Washington Times* published an article about Farrakhan’s growing

acceptability, entitled, "Farrakhan Gaining More Admirers For Urging Self-Criticism By Blacks." The article quoted Detroit City Councilman Keith Butler as stating: "Farrakhan is talking about taking control of our own destiny and holding our own leaders accountable." The article went on to quote Butler as stating: "Sure he talks about racism and about Jews, but a lot of the things he says are right."

Another political figure, Kweisi Mfume, a Democratic congressman from Baltimore, is quoted as stating: "Farrakhan has been able to develop a message of economic development. His basic premise is we have to learn to do for ourselves. Most people I talk to find he has a lot to bring to us."

Another view was expressed by *Washington Post* columnist Richard Cohen (March 2, 1990), who protested that "Reading the *Post's* account, it was hard to tell" that Farrakhan was "a racist and antisemite.[sic]" Cohen wrote:

We learned [from the *Post's* account] that Farrakhan wants to establish a homeland for American blacks in Africa, that he seeks monetary reparations for American blacks, that the government has 'hatched a plot to kill him' and that most of his controversial statements regarding Jews and whites amount to media distortions.

Cohen went on to ask: "How did antisemitism and racism come to be considered relatively unimportant, an 18th-paragraph item of interest to only the most persevering? Why is a message predicated on bigotry and paranoia not recognized for what it is? . . ."

Commenting on the new media treatment of Farrakhan, columnist Tony Brown in the *New York Voice* (March 17, 1990), a black-community newspaper, noted that "just as Farrakhan's position as a pariah was assured, the White establishment press reversed itself on the leader of the Nation of Islam. The *Washington Post*, for example, has respectfully rediscovered him as an emerged [sic] Black leader with 'a larger role in U.S. politics.'" Brown continued: "In a very conspicuous, and most peculiar, treatment reserved for heads of state, the *Washington Times* and the *Washington Post* gave elaborate space on the same day. . . . Why is he [Farrakhan] getting treatment reserved for only one other black, Jesse Jackson? . . ."

In a column in the *New York Post* (March 16, 1990) entitled "A Would-Be Hitler Escapes Scrutiny," former New York City Mayor Ed Koch also criticized the *Washington Post* for its treatment of Farrakhan: "The effect is wide publicity for Farrakhan without any real scrutiny of his vile philosophy." Koch continued:

In the *Washington Post* interview, Farrakhan offers a number of outrageous anti-Semitic claims. He blames the Jews for black slavery, for example. . . . His most striking anti-Semitic slander takes the form of an attempt to revive the myth of an international Jewish conspiracy to achieve world dominance—along the lines of the Protocols of Zion.

The “Positive Side” of an Anti-Semite

On March 19, 1990 *Newsweek* published an article that stressed the supposedly positive side of Farrakhan. Continuing the upbeat tone characteristic of much recent media coverage, the article stated that “while much of what he has to say is still offensive, particularly to Jews, Farrakhan’s underlying message is hard to ignore. In a nutshell, Farrakhan is saying that drugs and the war on drugs are destroying the very fabric of black America—and he may be right.” The article concludes:

... south central L.A. . . . is nearly unanimous in its support for the Nation of Islam. Minister Farrakhan and his disciples are a force for good with the community’s young men, many neighborhood leaders say, and the police must somehow learn to coexist with the zealous young men in their suits and bow ties. It may well be that suspicion on both sides, fueled in part by Farrakhan’s separatist ideology, has made it difficult for the police and the Muslims to find common ground. But the truly sad fact is that both sides essentially want the same thing—to put an end to the drug anarchy that has laid waste to so many lives.

Salem Muwakkil, a black journalist on the political left, wrote of Farrakhan’s growing acceptability both with the black community and with the American media in an article in the Chicago-based democratic Socialist newspaper, *In These Times* (March 21-27, 1990). Muwakkil wrote that Farrakhan’s “soaring rhetoric has become a staple sample in the rap music subculture,” and that he was being viewed seriously by “increasing numbers of African-Americans.” He wrote that Farrakhan “is a hit with the young.”

The article noted that in addition, Farrakhan was beginning “to strike some responsive chords in mainstream America.” The article noted favorable coverage as well in *Newsweek*, and commented that “such generous assessments of his message would have been unimaginable only two years ago.”

Summing Up the “New” Farrakhan

In a New York *Times* article (March 29, 1990) Walter Goodman assessed “Farrakhan’s Soft New Voice And Same Message” in television appearances on “Prime Time Live” (ABC), “Donahue” (NBC), “CBS This Morning” and “Larry King Live” (CNN). Goodman asked: “Can this media blitz improve the man’s image outside his own congregation? . . . Mr. Farrakhan scored repeatedly in these jousts with the mass media.” Goodman continued:

The Donahue and King shows, with their audience participation and somewhat giddy spirit, are made for such a guest. Fans are inured to all manner of far-out theories. He [Farrakhan] told Mr. King that AIDS, which he called “a manufactured virus,” was the latest attempt by white America to extirpate other races by spreading viruses and drugs. . . . To Mr. Farrakhan’s evident exasperation, all his interrogators brought up his 1984 comment

about Israel's "gutter religion." He explained repeatedly that he had been referring not to Judaism but to Israel's treatment of the Palestinians. Even if one accepts that distinction, Mr. Farrakhan seemed unable to avoid bringing Jews into his presentations, often in a questionably complimentary way that left a sour aftertaste. . . .

However plausibly phrased, however quietly delivered, his sermon can appeal only to blacks and whites who despair of one another. But people of both races, including a lot of television watchers, who would like to live together will have as much difficulty finding hope in this season's Louis Farrakhan as in the other one.

Another Noteworthy Development

On May 4, 1990, following on the heels of this widespread media attention, a national spokesman for Louis Farrakhan announced that he would enter a Congressional District race in Maryland. Two other members of the Nation of Islam said they would run for office as well. A legal adviser for the Dopebusters (a group of Muslims who have fought drug trafficking in the Washington, D.C. area) said he, too, would run for a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives. Another Farrakhan follower, a Washington, D.C. school teacher, announced he would run for the District school board.

On May 5, Louis Farrakhan launched a scathing attack on local political leaders, stating that they were morally corrupt and needed to be replaced by Muslims who would be more accountable to their constituents. Farrakhan said, "We have watched corrupt leadership. We have watched politicians use the people to get what they want, then forget to serve the people." He hailed the new candidates, saying that they marked the start of a new chapter for blacks disenchanted with the white establishment and old guard leadership. "There is not going to be any backroom smoking and drinking," he said. "And you can't serve them any drugs."

Black officials reacted with anger to Farrakhan's critical remarks. Lawrence Guyot, a supporter of Mayor Marion Barry told the *Washington Post* (May 7, 1990) that Farrakhan's criticism "is dangerous, it's inaccurate and it's something that should not be done." Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.) stated that "I don't think anyone can go around and make a blanket indictment of black leadership. These people who are so apt to question black leadership, where were they 25 years ago when we marched across the bridge in Selma? Where were they when we sat at lunch counters?"

Such electoral activity represents a new level of political participation for the Nation of Islam. Before his support for Jesse Jackson's 1984 Presidential campaign, Farrakhan had generally eschewed such participation in "the system." Even as he expressed approval of Jackson's effort, he stated (March 11, 1984):

I don't want you to think that Farrakhan is enamored of the political system of white people. . . I don't want you to get the wrong impression. I joined you to speed up the process of hastening on the conclusion of this process. I know that this country won't tolerate a black president. I know

this country don't want a black man to lead. . . I know that there's much good that can be gained from our entrance into politics, but it is so far from what Allah wills for us. Allah. . . don't care two cents for this system. Allah's not so happy over Reverend Jackson being President of this wickedness. He raised the brother up for another reason entirely. . .to show you what is hiding in the hearts and in the marrow of the bones of Caucasian people of hatred for you.

(For further background on Farrakhan and the Jackson campaign, see p. 22.)

Part 2. Farrakhan 1988-89: Threats and Taunts

In the 16-month period prior to the latest Farrakhan media blitz, Farrakhan's public speeches and pronouncements consistently reflected his obsessive anti-Semitism. Speaking at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois on May 30, 1988, for example, Farrakhan followed the pattern of other recent speeches, claiming to be offering conciliation but at the most emotionally-charged moments of his speech, challenging, taunting and threatening Jews. The *Evanston Review* (June 2, 1988) reported that "He risked inflaming feelings again with his characterization of the Holocaust as a punishment visited on Jews for failing to keep a special covenant."

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

Farrakhan stated—in an effort to "explain" his notorious "Hitler was a great man" statement—that during his involvement in the Jesse Jackson presidential campaign of 1984, Jackson had been getting death threats and Farrakhan was tired of "feeding black leaders to whites." Accordingly, Farrakhan said, he had stated then that "if you touch this man [Jackson] he will be the last one." According to Farrakhan, "the next day I was being called the new black Hitler."

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

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

Continuing this theme in a speech in Atlantic City in September, 1988, Farrakhan stated: "I don't hate Jewish people, but I hate what some Jewish people have done to me and my people." He blamed Jews for financing Hollywood films that portrayed blacks as backward.

The Cokely Affair

Earlier in 1988, a major controversy had erupted in Chicago involving Steve Cokely, a Farrakhan sympathizer and city official who expressed vicious anti-Semitism. Cokely had given a series of lectures to followers of Farrakhan from 1985 to 1987, tape-recorded

at Farrakhan's Chicago headquarters, in which he said that Jews engaged in an international conspiracy to take over the world. According to the *Chicago Tribune* (May 2, 1988), Cokely also suggested that Jewish doctors have deliberately injected black children with the AIDS virus. In late 1987, Cokely had been appointed as a community liaison on the staff of Chicago's then-mayor, Eugene Sawyer. ADL representatives met with Sawyer and presented the mayor with a partial transcript of Cokely's remarks.

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

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

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

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

Two black community organizers had spoken out against Cokely; so did Monsignor John Egan, a well-known Catholic figure.

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

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

In the ensuing months, Farrakhan's newspaper, *The Final Call*, continued to express support for Cokely's anti-Semitic conspiracy theories. An editorial in the *Final Call* (May 27, 1988) asserted:

Brother Steve [Cokely], in rare form, dug up and presented an intriguing array of articles, reports, even Jewish newspapers, which put in context every one of his statements which the media under the direction of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League (ADL) attempted to distort and label anti-Semitic or anti-Christian.

Instead, evidence revealed incontrovertible realities of vile plots being hatched against Black people by clandestine organizations dominated by Jewish interests, including the South Africa apartheid system, which was helped to be formed by Jewish doctors.

Louis Farrakhan was quoted by the newspaper on the subject:

It seems to me that when . . . the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith brought these charges to the mayor, the proper thing to do was to have the accuser face the accused; to ask Steve to defend his remarks, if he said them . . . According to the mayor, there were several names on the ADL list that they suspected of being "anti-Semitic." Was the mayor given a hit list?

Only Jews could do that and get away with it, without ever having to face the man that they accused. . . .

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

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

An Evening of Scapegoating

An evening of racism and anti-Semitism was staged by Farrakhan in Plainfield, New Jersey on October 29, 1988, at the local high school. The introductory speaker, a local Muslim leader introduced as Abdul Kareem Muhammad, set the tone when he asked the audience: "What is it with the Jews. . . wanting to threaten Farrakhan bodily harm. . . he is not threatening them. Farrakhan is our champion. . . what do you think we will do if you touch a hair on him? If you murder ours, we will murder yours. . ."

In his speech, Farrakhan singled out Kitty Dukakis, the wife of 1988 Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis, as a Jew and said, "When he [Dukakis] goes to the Jews, he puts on his yarmulke." Farrakhan mimicked Dukakis in the act of placing a skullcap on his head. He added: "Four hundred members of the Congress are honorary members of the Knesset of Israel. . . If you speak out, they will work to get you out of office. . ." Addressing the Jews, he stated: "You broke your own covenant, you are out of it today. God chose. . . you failed. . . that's why he chastises you. . ."

Farrakhan as "Honorary Citizen"

In the first of what would become a pattern of similar events, the mayor of Prairie View, Texas, Ron Leverett, presented an honorary citizenship pin to Farrakhan on December

1, 1988, and proclaimed the occasion "Nation of Islam Day" in Prairie View. Farrakhan had come to the town to speak before 1,000 black students at Prairie View A and M University.

The ADL's Southwest Regional Board wrote to Leverett, stating they were appalled the mayor could bestow such an honor on "an avowed racist and anti-Semite. We expect much better from the mayor of Prairie View and believe that an apology is in order."

Mayor Leverett told the *Houston Chronicle* (12-30-88): "I don't see how I could owe anybody an apology. Farrakhan was basically telling black people how they could become better." The city's proclamation called Farrakhan "a role model" and "an inspiring source of true uplift for black people for well over 33 years."

1989 Campus Activities: A "Moderate" Farrakhan

Farrakhan addressed a capacity crowd of 1,600 students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst on February 2, 1989. In one of a long series of campus appearances during this period, he said he had not come there to pit blacks against Jews, but he maintained that blacks learned how to hate from the hatred that had been directed at them. He asserted, "Your people [the Jews] taught us to hate ourselves for years, and you have a hell of a nerve to see me today and call me a hater."

Addressing Jewish students in the audience, Farrakhan charged: "You all are calling for my death. Who do you want? Farrakhan. How do you want him? Dead! . . ."

Distorting Jewish political criticism of Jesse Jackson as a threat, Farrakhan stated: "Even if you criticize him, you've got to do it with respect for what he represents. But because you don't have no respect for no black leader, that's why you act the way you act. So I was warning you, listen good. And don't I have a right to warn you? Hell, you hear the thunder before you see the lightning. The thunder's letting you know that a storm is coming, fool. Get out of the rain! I said we're tired of feeding our leaders to America like you feed raw meat to wild beasts. And I said if this one is killed, he will be the last one. . . ."

Jewish groups on campus responded to Farrakhan's visit with a candlelight vigil.

Farrakhan went on to speak at the University of Wisconsin on February 16, 1989 before an audience of 6,500 students. Apparently seeking to tone down his past rhetoric, he again offered explanations for some of his most controversial statements, maintaining that his earlier remarks were taken out of context.

He explained that when he called Hitler "great," he meant only that he was "wickedly great"—with the emphasis on the word wicked. He claimed he had never "advocated any harm to any one Jewish person," or used offensive slang about Jews "in private conversation." Farrakhan also sought to dismiss the controversy over Jesse Jackson's 1984 reference to New York City as "Hymietown," claiming that the term was benign slang meant to describe the Jewish community's financial success and political clout.

Farrakhan again addressed Jews in the audience, complaining: "I pleaded to [sic] the Jewish leadership about Jackson. . . but when blacks talk to your leaders we have to act like we're walking on eggshells because we're accused of being anti-Semitic or anti-white."

Controversy Swirls in Maryland

Farrakhan sought to strike a “moderate” note in speaking at the University of Maryland on April 6, but despite his disclaimers his remarks continued to reflect anti-Semitic and racist stereotyping. Addressing Jews, he stated:

But you have some strings with CBS, ABC and NBC. You can write scripts and plays and have money to back what’s on TV. Black folks can write, too, but we don’t have money. You can tell your story of suffering, and we will sit and cry with you. But I say don’t push that down my throat. If you don’t think blacks are worth anything, then we shouldn’t be concerned with your loss. Is it not reasonable that we should weep more for our suffering? Who will weep for us?

Farrakhan also asserted:

I’m as interested in your people’s survival as my own. You will never hear me tell one to paint a swastika on a Jewish synagogue. I respect the house of God. But white people find it hard to accept taking wisdom from a black person. If you can’t stand to see a black man teaching you, then you’re going to lose your life. I’m not here to get you all to hate each other. But the old relationship is dead. I didn’t say Hitler was a wickedly great man to antagonize Jews. But if you have control over Rev. Jackson, how far can he take us? Farrakhan cannot be controlled.

Farrakhan’s appearance evoked a storm of controversy at the university, with more than 400 students demonstrating against his visit. His address particularly angered students who thought the university might be financing part of the costs. Later, Vice Chancellor of Student Affairs William Thomas released a statement indicating that no university funds would be used to pay for Farrakhan’s appearance.

Writing of the controversy, the Baltimore *Jewish Times* noted that, “For more than a month, faculty members and administrators were embroiled in a debate over the controversial speaker’s scheduled appearance, which was sponsored by the campus’s Black Student Union and the student branch of the NAACP. Most people who attended last week’s speech and protests agreed that the event came dangerously close to turning into a riot reminiscent of the anti-war demonstrations of the 1960s.” The Baltimore *Sun* reported that security officers “separated several groups of Jewish and black students engaged in shouting and shoving matches. . .”

Interviewed by the Nation of Islam newspaper, *The Final Call*, about the demonstrations, Farrakhan said “This was one of the most vicious attempts to date by the Jews and the Government of the United States to use police as a means to draw the innocent blood of our people.”

On to Cornell

Farrakhan next brought his message to Cornell University in April, 1989 (during Passover week). Speaking to about 800 students, Farrakhan said he had come to examine the causes of racism and hatred. "I am not an advocate of violence," he said. "But I advocate whatever the situation calls for." One hundred student protesters demonstrated outside the hall where Farrakhan spoke.

In an article about the Cornell visit (May 17, 1989) *The Chronicle of Higher Education* noted:

The scene at Cornell is one that has been repeated on more than a dozen campuses during the past year: Black students, who find Mr. Farrakhan inspirational, invite him to speak about his vision of a future in which black people control their own destiny. And Jewish students, who believe Mr. Farrakhan is anti-Semitic, become enraged. . . .

The article mentioned that Dorothy Cotton, director of student activities at Cornell, said that inviting Farrakhan to speak on the campus during Passover was "inappropriate," but she did not think black students had knowingly planned the event to coincide with the religious observance. The article noted: "Like administrators at Massachusetts and Maryland, where Mr. Farrakhan spoke earlier this academic year, Ms. Cotton and other Cornell administrators hope to head off conflicts before his future appearances by working with black and Jewish student groups. . . ."

Surprise Speaker—Conspiratorial Theme

Farrakhan's respectability was enhanced when he appeared as a surprise keynote speaker at the African-American "summit" on April 23, 1989 in New Orleans. According to the *Washington Post* Farrakhan "repeatedly brought delegates. . . to their feet today with a speech accusing the government of conspiring to decimate Central Africa with AIDS and black U.S. neighborhoods with cocaine and crack." The newspaper said that Farrakhan addressed "an enthusiastic and cheering audience" of 1,000 delegates. Farrakhan proposed that black prisoners in the United States be relocated to Africa. He asked the delegates not to be "angry with me" for stating that "we've got a greater right to Africa than the Jews have to Palestine."

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

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

One fascinating aspect of the three-day affair was the crowd's reaction to the Farrakhan issue. Because of the overwhelmingly negative media coverage he has received, it seemed safe to assume Farrakhan was not very

popular among the middle-class activists who made up the bulk of the delegates.

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

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

Recognition from "Blacks in Government"

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

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

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

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

Writing of this event, *The Final Call* (September 11, 1989) reported that "Min. Farrakhan, the main speaker for the conference's closing session, drew ovation after ovation in his analysis of how the U.S. government has destroyed Black leadership." The speech was carried on C-SPAN cable television.

Howard Ervin, conference chairman and head of the BIG Pentagon chapter, told *The*

Final Call that it was a “great privilege” to have Farrakhan speak: “We are Black and we have a responsibility to give something back to the Black community.” Ervin said the decision to invite Minister Farrakhan materialized because, “They don’t own us, and we have to make the statement that they don’t own and control us.” Mr. Ervin did not identify who he meant by “they.”

A New Cultural Sidelight: “Public Enemy” and Farrakhan

Public Enemy is a rap-music group widely criticized for the anti-Semitic remarks of its spokesman, Professor Griff, in May and June, 1989. Griff had told the *Washington Times*: “The Jews are wicked. And we can prove this.” He held the Jews responsible for “the majority of wickedness that goes on across the globe.” On June 29, 1989 Public Enemy announced that it had disbanded. (Shortly before, the group said it had fired Professor Griff. The breakup would prove to be shortlived; Public Enemy began performing again with Professor Griff shortly afterwards.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

... On Public Enemy’s first two albums, Mr. [“Chuck D”] Ridenhour has praised the Rev. Louis Farrakhan—the Nation of Islam leader who has called Judaism a ‘gutter religion’—as a “prophet” in one song, and in another denounced Federal Bureau of Investigation infiltrators of the Black Panther Party as “grafted devils.” The phrase refers to Black Muslim racial theories that say whites were produced by demonic genetic experiments. . . .

“Dear Brother Qaddhafi”

In the area of foreign affairs, the Nation of Islam leader has been especially supportive of Libya, as well as of the PLO. Reflecting Farrakhan’s congenial and long-time relationship with the dictator of Libya, the Nation of Islam’s newspaper *The Final Call* (9/11/89) ran a picture of Farrakhan with Colonel Muammar Khaddafi during Farrakhan’s first trip to Libya in the early 1980s and a full-page open letter to Khaddafi on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of “the great Al-Fateh Revolution.” In the letter, Farrakhan stated he was “very honored” to have been invited to be a special guest in Libya for the celebration. He wrote:

During these 20 years of your guidance and instruction to the Libyan people, we have watched you grow, and we have grown with you.
... The ruin, the disgrace, the destruction that has been planned for you, Allah is bringing it swiftly upon your enemies.
... It is clear from the many attempts of the CIA, MOSSAD and intelligence institutions of other nations whose sole aim was to destroy Muammar Al-Qaddhafi and the great Al-Fateh Revolution, that all of their efforts have been, are and shall by Allah’s help continue to be a dismal failure, as Allah exalts you and the Revolution to greater and greater heights with each passing day. . . .

(For more on Farrakhan’s relationship with Khaddafi, see p. 31.)

August 1989: The Unvarnished Farrakhan

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

... The other night I woke up, oh, about three in the morning. And these words looked like they had grown to be block letters, in my brain. They were from the Koran, ... and these words were: AND THE JEWS PLANNED. And they planned that ... a fight would break out over who would be the real heir to Elijah Muhammad’s work. They felt that this would tear the nation up. ... And the Jews planned. But the Koran did not stop there. It says, ‘And Allah also planned.’ And the Koran also says, And Allah is the best of planners.
... For not only could the Jews plan, But God and the Messenger planned also.
.... I have become Public Enemy Number One. And the Jews

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

Conclusion

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

The message has become all the more troubling because of the large crowds and extraordinary media attention he has drawn, and because of the support and sympathy for Farrakhan expressed by some respected elements in the black community—implying a degree of legitimacy and acceptance for a philosophy infected by the poison of hate. In view of this recent pattern of events, Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam remain of serious concern because of the dangers inherent in public appeals to bigotry and racism.

APPENDIX A.

Farrakhan's Earlier History

Louis Farrakhan first came to national attention in 1984, when he became prominently involved in the Rev. Jesse Jackson's presidential primary campaign. Much of the attention centered around statements by Farrakhan containing anti-Semitism, black racism and the language of intimidation.

Prior to that, Farrakhan was known as the leader of the smaller of two factions of the American Black Muslim movement, the Nation of Islam. The movement was founded during the 1930s by Elijah Muhammad, the former Elijah Poole of Georgia. Elijah Muhammad taught that in 1930 he had been inspired by Allah in human form in the person of W. D. Fard, an Arab immigrant to the U.S., and that Fard had appointed him as special prophet. Fard's birthday (February 26) is still celebrated by the Farrakhan group as "Saviour's Day." The other faction, now called the American Muslim Mission, is headed by Wallace Deen Muhammad, son of the founder. This faction publishes *Muslim Journal*, a weekly newspaper.

Split in Movement Follows Elijah's Death

The schism in the Black Muslim movement developed in the period following Elijah Muhammad's death in 1975. Inheriting the leadership mantle from his father, Wallace Deen Muhammad instituted significant changes, including turning toward Orthodox Islamic teachings, opening the movement to cooperation with whites, selling many of the organization's business and property holdings (widely reported to be worth millions of dollars) and disbanding the security force known as the "Fruit of Islam."

By the late 1970s, Black Muslim membership suffered a substantial decline. Around that time, Farrakhan formed a separate group, which he saw as reaffirming the doctrines of Elijah Muhammad and his vision of the Nation of Islam. These doctrines include the belief that whites are "devils," that blacks are superior and are God's chosen people, and that blacks should have a separate nation within the United States.

Personal Background

Louis Farrakhan, the former Louis Eugene Wolcott, was born in New York in 1933 and raised in Boston. He graduated with honors from Boston English High School, where he was also a track star as well as a violinist in the school orchestra. After two years of study at Winston-Salem Teachers College in North Carolina, Farrakhan dropped out of school and began a career as a singer of calypso and country songs.

In 1955, Farrakhan turned from show business to religious faith as his primary pursuit when Malcolm X (the former Malcolm Little), a charismatic and militant follower of Elijah Muhammad, recruited him to the Nation of Islam. Farrakhan served under Malcolm X at the Nation of Islam's Harlem Mosque for nine months before being assigned to direct

the group's Boston unit. Early in 1964, Malcolm X broke with Elijah Muhammad and spent much of that year on a pilgrimage to Mecca, Saudi Arabia, studying traditional Islamic doctrine.

In late 1964, Malcolm denounced "Elijah Muhammad's racist philosophy, which he has labeled 'Islam' only to fool and misuse gullible people." Malcolm announced plans to start his own organization, but in February, 1965, he was shot to death as he addressed a rally in upper Manhattan. In April, 1966, three men identified at their trial as Black Muslims were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment for the murder. (Elijah Muhammad repeatedly denied any involvement by his organization in the crime.)

Greater Role for Farrakhan

Following the assassination, Farrakhan became head of the main Harlem mosque (which was destroyed by a fire the day after Malcolm's assassination and rebuilt under Farrakhan's leadership several years later) and guided its educational program, called the University of Islam. He served in this position for about ten years before transferring to the Nation of Islam's headquarters in Chicago, at a point when Elijah's son Wallace Deen Muhammad, was consolidating his own leadership of the organization.

In that period (1965-75) his stature and influence in the organization had risen steadily. By 1971, for example, Farrakhan was identified in Nation of Islam literature as "the Honorable Elijah Muhammad's National Spokesman"—a title he retains today. During these years he also gained a reputation in the wider black community as a strong proponent of black separatism, economic self-help and strict self-discipline according to Islamic precepts.

In 1972, the Harlem mosque was the scene of a violent incident in which New York City police, responding to an anonymous emergency call for assistance from an officer "in trouble" at the mosque, were prevented from searching the premises. In the ensuing disturbance, two policemen were shot, one fatally. Farrakhan, who helped calm a large, hostile crowd outside the mosque, later charged that the police action was a premeditated attack. A member of the sect was later acquitted of the police officer's murder.

Farrakhan, the Jews and the 1984 Jesse Jackson Campaign

Louis Farrakhan's rhetoric (as well as certain remarks by Jesse Jackson) during the race for the 1984 Democratic Presidential nomination represented the most serious injection of anti-Semitism into a national American political campaign in recent memory.

When Farrakhan publicly endorsed Rev. Jackson's Presidential candidacy, he registered to vote for the first time and encouraged his followers to do so as well. In the period just before the Secret Service began guarding Jackson as a presidential candidate, the Farrakhan organization's security force, the Fruit of Islam, provided protection for Jackson.

The "Hymie" Incident

What steadily mushroomed into the most controversial and troubling incident of the 1984 Presidential primary campaign began with a brief reference in a February 13, 1984

Washington *Post* article on the relationship between Jesse Jackson and the American Jewish community. The article stated at one point: "In private conversations with reporters, Jackson has referred to Jews as 'Hymie' and to New York as 'Hymietown.' "

Jackson at first denied making these remarks, then claimed he could not recall them, and then finally admitted to them and apologized. In the meantime, however, he was strongly criticized in many quarters, ranging from newspaper editorials, to Jewish community leaders, to a number of prominent blacks. The *Washington Post* itself editorialized that these ethnic slurs were "degrading and disgusting."

Farrakhan's Controversial Reaction

Reacting to these criticisms of Jackson and his handling of the subsequent outcry, Farrakhan made several threatening and vituperative statements in a March 11 radio broadcast about black journalists in general, and in particular about Milton Coleman, a black reporter for the *Washington Post* who had been the source of the "Hymie" revelation:

I talked to about seventy reporters, black reporters, this week in New York City. Many of our young reporters are so sick they've forgotten how they got where they are. I said, "Why did you not all rise up and censure this Judas, Uncle Tom member of your class?" I said, "I know the reason you won't do it is because the same rottenness that's in his heart is also in your own."

I said that we're going to make an example of Milton Coleman. I'm going to stay on his case until we make him a fit example for the rest of them. "What do you intend to do to Milton Coleman?" At this point, no physical harm. But at this point we're going to keep on going until we make it so that he cannot enter in on any black people. . . .

One day soon we will punish you with death. You're saying, "When is that?" In sufficient time. We will come to power right inside this country one day soon. And the white man is not going to stop us from executing the law of God on all of you who fall under our jurisdiction.

These remarks ignited another storm of protest, including strong criticism from many black journalists and calls from Jackson supporters and others for Jackson to dissociate himself from Farrakhan. This Jackson refused to do, although he labeled Farrakhan's threat of violence against Coleman "wrong." Farrakhan himself later repeatedly insisted that the news media had taken his remarks out of context and misrepresented his meaning. However, Coleman himself later commented:

I took Minister Farrakhan's words seriously as a threat against myself and my family that could lead to harassment, intimidation, physical violence or death. They gave public license to such acts—not necessarily at his direction, but by anyone who heard his words or read them in the newspaper. . . .

People who want to do harm do not argue over context, syntax or semantics. They hear what they want to hear and do what they want to do.

The Justice Department initiated an investigation of the incident to determine whether there were grounds for prosecuting Farrakhan for broadcasting a death threat. On May 3, 1984 the U.S. Attorney in Chicago announced that his office had determined that there was "insufficient evidence to prove within a reasonable doubt. . .the requisite criminal intent necessary" to convict Farrakhan.

Excusing the "Hymie" Remark

A further reaction by Farrakhan to the "Hymie" incident was his denial that the term was a slur at all. In an April 11, 1984 press conference held in Washington, D.C.—his first such session in twelve years—Farrakhan asserted that the term "Hymie" was in fact a positive, even complimentary one:

I think with all due respect to all that has been said, most Jewish persons had never heard that remark before, never really knew what it meant or the context out of which it came. In our research, the word "Hymie" or Hyman comes from a Hebrew root word, "Chaim," and "Chaim" means life, and Jewish people name their children Hyman, and the Jewish people call their children, lovingly, "Hymie."

Farrakhan did not clarify the sources and nature of his "research," nor did he reconcile the apparent contradiction inherent in claiming that most Jewish persons had never heard or known the meaning of the "Hymie" remark while asserting at the same time that Jews commonly and lovingly call their children "Hymie."

More Threats and Accusations

Farrakhan made a general threat against the Jewish community as those who allegedly jeopardized Jesse Jackson's life and the safety of his campaign. Introducing Jackson at a Nation of Islam meeting in Chicago on February 25, 1984, Farrakhan had said, "I say to the Jewish people who may not like our brother, when you attack him you attack the millions who are lining up with him. You are attacking all of us. If you harm this brother, I warn you in the name of Allah, this will be the last one you do harm."

It should be noted that the handful of Jewish activists who had indeed harassed the Jackson campaign had been clearly and publicly repudiated by virtually all responsible American Jewish leaders. Yet Farrakhan continued to issue threatening and accusatory statements about the general Jewish community—in effect, a deliberate pattern of scapegoating. In the May 14, 1984 issue of *New York Magazine*, Michael Kramer reported that Farrakhan "told Jews celebrating Passover that unless they believed in Jesus 'then maybe the death angel will stop at your door and kill the firstborn out of your house.' "

Promoting Other Anti-Semitic Charges

In Philadelphia on March 9, 1984, Farrakhan alleged that according to “reports” he had heard, “Israeli hit squads” had been sent to the United States to assassinate Jackson. The Israeli consul general in Philadelphia quickly and vigorously denied the charges, denouncing them as “outrageous.”

In another anti-Semitic reference, Farrakhan suggested that his critics in the black community were acting at the direction of Jews. He told New York’s *Village Voice*:

... I am somewhat heartened at the fact that Caucasians have been able only to get some of my Muslim brothers and sisters to attack me, while many blacks—who you would think would attack me based on instigation by Jewish persons who don’t understand me and have always been able to get certain blacks to attack people they don’t like—have not been able to find that many surrogates to stand up and plead their cause and down a fellow black struggler for freedom.

“Hitler was a great man”

In his March 11, 1984 broadcast, Farrakhan criticized others in the black community who, in his view, “allowed” him to be characterized as a “Hitler” by unnamed members of the Jewish community: “When you can allow the enemy to call your leaders anything they want to and get away with it, then you’re selling yourself again into slavery.”

Farrakhan went on to assert his own views on Hitler, generating yet another public controversy. He stated:

Here come [sic] the Jews don’t like Farrakhan, so they call me Hitler. Well, that’s a good name. Hitler was a very great man. He wasn’t great for me as a black person, but he was a great German. 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.

Farrakhan later expanded upon this response to his unnamed Jewish critics, adding a more ominous note and conjuring up the ancient deicide myth:

What is it about Hitler that you love to call every black man who rises up with strength a Hitler? What have I done? Who have I killed? I warn you, be careful, be careful. You’re putting yourself in dangerous, dangerous shoes. You have been the killer of all the prophets. Now, if you seek my life, you only show that you are no better than your fathers.

At his April 11, 1984 press conference in Washington, Farrakhan was questioned about the Hitler references. His response did not diminish the controversy:

I don't think you would be talking about Adolf Hitler 40 years after the fact if he was some miniscule crackpot that jumped up on the European continent. He was indeed a great man, but also wicked—wickedly great.

Widespread Outcry

Farrakhan's remarks led to expressions of editorial outrage in many newspapers around the country. Jackson's rivals for the 1984 Democratic presidential nomination, former Vice-President Walter Mondale and Sen. Gary Hart, condemned the Farrakhan statements, as did Vice-President George Bush, who denounced "the intrusions of anti-Semitism into the American political process." Jackson emphasized his disagreement with Farrakhan about the latter's characterization of Hitler, but declined to dissociate himself from Farrakhan personally.

Black journalists and others in the black community criticized Farrakhan's remarks. Among them were Carl Rowan; Vernon Jarrett; Roger Wilkins; Tony Brown; representatives of the American Muslim Mission; New York's *Amsterdam News*; and Mervin Aubespin, president of the National Association of Black Journalists. Among the strongest reactions was that of Kenneth Gibson, then-mayor of Newark, New Jersey, who wrote in a letter to ADL's then-national director Nathan Perlmutter:

I'm sure you realize that Black people are able to think for themselves and the great majority of us do not subscribe to negative ethnic, racial or religious references and speeches. Therefore, the implied threats by Muslim Minister Farrakhan do not represent the thinking of myself or other Blacks who know the difference between righteousness and rhetoric.

Media Attention

Farrakhan began to receive increased media attention during this period, with frequent coverage in major newspapers and magazines. He appeared on network TV programs such as "Donahue" and NBC's "Summer Sunday." On August 20, 1984, he was the featured speaker at a meeting of the UN Correspondents Club in New York. Further symbolizing his status as a rising media "star" was the invitation to Farrakhan to be the chief luncheon speaker at the National Press Club on July 30, 1984. In his speech, Farrakhan defended his black separatist views and his "dirty religion" statement and criticized perceived political pressures exerted upon the Democratic Party by "powerful Jewish leaders." He stated:

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 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.

Blaming the Press

Farrakhan repeatedly blamed the news media for deliberately distorting his statements. In his April 11, 1984 press conference in Washington, D.C., he complained that what he apparently considered a disclaimer of violence against Milton Coleman (“At this point, no physical harm”) “was ignored by most of you to further your own purposes.” Farrakhan also accused the press of deliberately distorting his subsequent controversial references to Hitler.

In the April 29, 1984 *Boston Globe* he stated that such distortions were “an attempt to further exacerbate the tensions that exist between the Jews and Jesse Jackson. Naturally, my statements would be used to do that.” Asked by a *Globe* reporter whether he wished he had phrased his remarks differently, he replied, “No, of course not. What I wish is that the press would have phrased theirs differently, because if my words were left intact as I said them. . . it would never have come out that way.”

Given another opportunity, on the May 8, 1984 CBS television program “The American Parade,” to rephrase his remarks about Hitler, Farrakhan demurred, stating “I stand by those words now,” and he again criticized what he called “the wickedness of the press.”

An Old Canard: The “Jewish-Controlled Media”

Farrakhan’s criticisms of the news media were laced with anti-Semitism. In his March 11, 1984 broadcast, Farrakhan said: “Don’t tell me nothing about you are a reporter. You’re a nigger in the eyes of white people. . . You already know what you want to write of me so it don’t really make any difference what I say.

“You already have a picture. Your editors have a picture of what they want Farrakhan to look like, especially your Jewish editors and Jewish writers.”

Early Anti-Semitism

As far back as 1972 Farrakhan made public statements reflecting anti-Semitic conspiracy theories about the media. On April 22, 1972, on the WABC-TV program “Like It Is,” and on April 23, on the WNBC-TV program “Positively Black,” Farrakhan stated that Jews were “in control of the media.”

Soon after, in the May 12, 1972 issue of *Muhammad Speaks* (the movement’s weekly publication of that period), Farrakhan wrote: “Since the Jews are in control of the mass media, newspaper, television, radio, we knew then that we could begin to look for a concerted attack on the Nation of Islam through the mass media.”

Such anti-Semitism was then, as now, a propaganda staple of the group. During Farrakhan’s tenure at mosque number 7 in Harlem—the largest and most influential institution in the organization, except for its Chicago headquarters—the Nation of Islam reflected considerable hostility toward Jews and Israel. As noted in the 1974 ADL book *The New Anti-Semitism* (New York: McGraw-Hill), the book shop at the Nation of Islam’s main New York City mosque displayed and sold copies of “The Protocols of the Elders of Zion” during

1972 and 1973. One edition of this infamous anti-Semitic forgery being sold by the Muslim group was published by long-time hatemonger Gerald L. K. Smith (now deceased) and bore the name of his Christian Nationalist Crusade. Also on sale at the mosque were an edition of the "Protocols" published by the "Social Reform Society" of Kuwait, and *A History of Jewish Crimes*, a virulently anti-Semitic book published in Pakistan.

During the early 1970s the attitude of the original Nation of Islam toward Jews and Israel was clearly conveyed by *Muhammad Speaks*, which frequently published anti-Semitic articles in the now-familiar form of "anti-Zionism." The following headlines from that period illustrate the content and tenor of such articles: "Vatican-Zionist-racist conspiracy against Africa" (October 22, 1971); "Israel grants sanctuary to white Jewish crooks" (February 4, 1972); "When the blood flows, the money flows—Zionism is big business" (March 10, 1972).

Another "anti-Zionist" article, employing traditional anti-Semitic conspiracy themes, appeared in the July 28, 1972 issue, headed "How Israel banks on U.S. Zionists." It charged that big business monopolies and banks in the United States were behind "international Zionism" and were financing and inspiring "Israeli aggression against Arab countries." The article asserted that "Zionist millionaires" had come "together by the common exploitative essence of capital, by their common hatred of progress and freedom of the peoples." Accompanying the article was a cartoon depicting a human scarecrow behind a barbed-wire fence with a Star of David on its breast pocket and a rifle labeled "U.S.A." under its arm.

1984-86: Growing Legitimacy in the Black Community

Following upon his anti-Semitism during the 1984 Presidential campaign and its attendant publicity, an aspect of Farrakhan's activities in 1984-86 worth noting was the indication of growing acceptance, legitimacy and outright support granted to Farrakhan by elements in the black community, including some of that community's political and campus leadership. Indeed, as Juan Williams noted in the March 4, 1985 *Washington Post*, "[B]lack audiences around the nation are cheering and turning out—in increasing numbers and with increasing passion—for Farrakhan."

Farrakhan's numerous well received speeches across the country in black communities during this period included the following:

On August 18, 1984 he spoke to an audience of several thousand persons in a Washington, D.C. park named for the murdered black Muslim leader Malcolm X. He told the crowd:

"We are at war and we never stop fighting for justice. You must have force. . . don't drop your gun and don't forget to squeeze.

"If we get a good leader, don't look to Jews to support them, you support them. . ."

According to the Associated Press, when Farrakhan asked the crowd what should be done with black leaders who seek Jewish support, someone shouted: "Kill them."

Farrakhan replied, "I didn't say it. I just seconded the motion."

Farrakhan visited Detroit on July 23, 1984 to address a crowd of 4,000 at the Little Rock Missionary Baptist Church. The church's minister introduced him as "the new conscience of America" and asserted that blacks would "no longer allow others to interpret what our leaders say to us." In statements repeated more recently, Farrakhan blamed Jews for the colonial slave trade, and for "sucking the blood of our poor people."

In a July 1985 address to 10,000 people at the Washington, D.C. Convention Center, Farrakhan declared: "Jews know their wickedness, not just Zionism, which is an outgrowth of Jewish transgression." According to the *Washington Post*, Farrakhan "even makes the audience laugh when he mocks the Holocaust."

Moving on to California, Farrakhan spoke to nearly 15,000 people in Los Angeles on September 15, 1985. He stated that some black leaders had bowed to pressure from Jews to repudiate him. Then he added: "We will never forget who sold our fathers into slavery. Don't push your six million down our throats when we lost 100 million" in slavery.

At another point, he said, "I have a problem with Jewish people and it is not because I am hateful of Jewish people, not at all. But I have a problem because I am declaring to the world that they are not the chosen people of God. I am declaring to the world that you, the black people of America and the Western Hemisphere" [are the chosen people].

Support from a White Racist

Attending the Los Angeles speech was white racist Tom Metzger. Metzger told the *Washington Post* that "People should not be surprised" that he attended the speech. "I've always supported black nationalists and separatists," he said. "They're the black counterpart of us." Metzger, once a leader of the California Ku Klux Klan, said his organization, the White American Political Association, supported the "desire of cultural and ethnic groups for territorial claims," and agreed with Farrakhan "in that whites and blacks should build and live in separate nations. . . . The enlightened view of other nationalist white groups believe there might be some agreement on common points with Farrakhan."

According to Metzger, representatives of Farrakhan invited him and members of his group several days before the speech. Metzger said 10 members of the White American Political Association attended and afterward donated \$100. [Metzger's group is now known as White Aryan Resistance (WAR).]

On September 30, 1985, the *Washington Times* reported that Farrakhan and Metzger had formed an alliance to promote their separatist, anti-Jewish and anti-government doctrines. Metzger said that the rally was not the first time that members of the Nation of Islam and his whites-only political association had worked together. He said the two groups had shared intelligence, "mostly information about extremist Jewish organizations." Metzger asserted: "Louis Farrakhan is an honest black man who is not embarrassed or ashamed to stand up and say what he feels. I like what I hear."

A Key to the City of Compton

Amid a storm of controversy over his remarks in Los Angeles, the city of Compton, California presented Farrakhan with the key to the city and proclaimed a "Louis Farrakhan

Day." Dr. Walter Tucker, Compton's mayor, told the Associated Press that the Farrakhan speech contained "quite a bit of good and truth."

Campus Appearances

It was also during this period that Farrakhan began to make well attended appearances on college campuses around the country. In 1984 and 1985 he spoke at San Diego State University, Temple University, Northern Illinois University, Lincoln University in Pennsylvania, the University of Kansas, Boston's Northeastern University, State University of New York at Old Westbury, Wesleyan University, and the University of Houston, where he was presented with an official medallion of the city of Houston.

On September 26, 1985, Farrakhan told a cheering, mostly black, overflow audience at Baltimore's Morgan State University that (as he has often proclaimed) Israel had not been at peace since its creation because "there can never be any peace structured on injustice, thievery, lying, deceit and using God's name to shield your dirty religion. . .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 November 14, 1985 Farrakhan spoke at the University of Pittsburgh. Here he issued what has become his standard "explanation" of why he called Hitler a great man: "I did say Hitler was a great man and I would say it again today. But great doesn't mean good. I said he [Hitler] was a wickedly great man."

He went on to justify again his remark that Judaism was a "dirty religion."

The Madison Square Garden Speech

On October 7, 1985 Farrakhan came to New York City to speak in Madison Square Garden before a crowd of 25,000 people. He was denounced in advance by many leading New York politicians including Mayor Ed Koch, Governor Mario Cuomo, and City Clerk David Dinkins (now New York's mayor), as well as John Cardinal O'Connor. Dinkins had said of Farrakhan: "I find his blatantly anti-Semitic remarks offensive and I condemn them. . .his opinions express racial prejudice and bigotry and we cannot be silent, for in this climate, silence can often suggest assent. A call for power and pride couched in terms of racial and religious bigotry can never offer true hope."

"Who," Farrakhan asked during his speech, "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 crowd thundered.

Farrakhan returned again and again to his tirade against the Jews. "The germ of murder is already sowed into the hearts of Jews in this country," he said. "Some person is going to think they're doing God a favor and seek my death. . .The Jewish lobby has a stranglehold on government. . .I will not bend my knees to the power of the Jews." Farrakhan continued: "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.

". . .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 said that David Dinkins had "sold out" and "should pay a price." He asked: "Do you think the leader should sell out and then live?" Several black leaders and journalists, including Rep. Charles Rangel and Wilbert Tatum, publisher of the *Amsterdam News*, saw Farrakhan's remarks about Dinkins as a "veiled threat" and called for his protection. On October 10, 1985 the *New York Times* reported that police protection had been ordered for Dinkins.

1985: Khaddafi as Keynoter

In February 1985, Libyan dictator Muammar Khaddafi delivered the major address of the Nation of Islam's 1985 Saviour's Day meeting. Khaddafi's speech, introduced by Farrakhan, was presented by means of an international satellite TV hookup from Libya. During his half-hour address to the audience of 13,000, Khaddafi called upon black members of the United States armed forces to desert and form their own army "to defeat your enemy," and to "destroy white America." Calling upon blacks to create a separate state within the United States, Khaddafi promised, "We support you." Libya's dictator described the United States as "the castle of imperialism" surrounded by increasingly successful revolutionary forces in Central America, and he advised American blacks to "fight together to defeat the colonialization, racism, imperialism, to get rid of exploitation and oppression."

According to the *Chicago Sun-Times* of February 25, 1985, "Farrakhan led many bursts of applause for the Libyan colonel, whom he introduced as 'a man the world cannot understand' because he has often been 'purposefully misrepresented to the peoples of the Earth.'"

Khaddafi's call to sedition was met with immediate and vociferous criticism around the country, and particularly from the black community—even among some Farrakhan supporters. A statement from the White House, as well as editorials in many major newspapers, condemned the speech. Several important black journalists in Chicago subsequently wrote columns highly critical of Farrakhan, Khaddafi, or both.

Clarence Page in the *Chicago Tribune* of February 27 described Khaddafi as "a well known megalomaniac and exporter of terrorism [who] would seem to be an odd companion for Farrakhan, who calls himself a man of peace." *Chicago Sun-Times* columnist Vernon Jarrett (February 27) criticized Farrakhan's black separatist philosophy and described the Nation of Islam leader as "a man with a message delivered at the wrong time and probably to the wrong audience. . . under the wrong circumstances." The *Sun-Times* also carried articles reporting statements by black servicemen and veterans roundly rejecting Khaddafi's call to defect.

An editorial in the *Chicago Tribune* commented on Khaddafi's Saviour's Day message by noting that:

It appears Minister Farrakhan recognizes in the Libyan colonel a potentially generous donor to the Black Muslim financial empire the Muslim minister is attempting to rebuild. . . .

An international pain in the neck, Col. Khaddafi is not a new problem. Minister Farrakhan only adds a new twist by offering the Libyan leader an opportunity to establish a beachhead with an extreme element of black leadership.

The validity of the *Tribune's* observation was borne out a few months after Saviour's Day. Farrakhan, speaking on May 1, 1985 before 3,000 followers at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C., announced that Muammar Khaddafi was giving the Nation of Islam a \$5 million interest-free loan.

Other Saviour's Day Speakers

A major symposium at the 1985 convention dealt with "International Zionism." One featured speaker was Professor Arthur Butz of Northwestern University, whose book *The Hoax of the 20th Century*—alleging the falsity of the facts and figures concerning the Nazi murder of 6 million European Jews—is one of the most widely circulated documents in anti-Semitic circles around the world today. Butz made an extensive presentation of his Holocaust-denial thesis. After the presentation, the moderator praised Butz for the quality of his research.

Another participant was Kwame Toure, the former Stokely Carmichael, the long-time radical black activist and head of the virulently anti-Zionist All-African People's Revolutionary Party. Toure stated, "The worldwide criminal Zionists must be uncovered. . . . We must smash Israel and Zionism."

1986: Support for Khaddafi, Again

Farrakhan traveled to Libya with a delegation from the Nation of Islam in March, 1986 to attend the "Second International General Conference for a World Forum to Combat Imperialism, Zionism, Racism, Reaction and Fascism." As he had promised, Farrakhan defied the U.S. government ban on travel to Libya to attend the event, which the *New York Times* described as "a convention of opposition, underground and revolutionary organizations." According to the *Washington Times*, "several training seminars featured weapons and explosives." Libya's official news agency reported that Farrakhan introduced Khaddafi's speech to the conference.

Khallid Abdul Muhammad, Farrakhan's chief spokesman, spoke out in April 1986 against the reported possibility that Farrakhan would be prosecuted by the government for defying the United States ban on travel to Libya. (He was not prosecuted.) "If you attempt to lock our leader up and fine him. . . or ban him from the country. . . or kill him. . . the people will burn this country to the ground," Muhammad said. Flanked by security guards from the Nation of Islam, he said that if Farrakhan were harmed, angry organization members would "walk up to the car where your police officers are taking

a break and blow their damn brains out." Mr. Muhammad referred to Leon Klinghoffer, the elderly Jewish man whom PLO terrorists murdered and tossed into the sea from the hijacked cruise ship Achille Lauro, as "some crippled Jew in a wheelchair." Mr. Muhammad added that if Farrakhan were hurt, his organization would kill "anything that's white, that ain't right, that's in sight."

The relationship between Farrakhan's Nation of Islam and the Libyan dictator is of considerable duration. Khaddafi loaned the original Black Muslim organization headed by Elijah Muhammad millions of dollars in the early 1970s, and in April 1983, two Farrakhan representatives had attended Khaddafi's annual "Green Book" conference in Libya (named for the published volume of the Libyan leader's writings).

1987: Praise and Condemnation from the Black Community

During the first half of 1987, Farrakhan continued to command large audiences in speaking engagements in Detroit and the Atlanta Civic Center in January, the Convention Hall Civic Center in Philadelphia in February, and at a church in Memphis in April. He also spoke at the University of Houston and the University of Kansas. His rhetoric maintained its anti-Semitic focus cloaked in religious symbolism, innuendo and threats.

While Farrakhan continued to gain a sympathetic and even enthusiastic hearing in the black community, there were many clear repudiations of his bigotry in the black community as well. Those criticizing him during this period included Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP; the late civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, chairman of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles; John Jacob, head of the National Urban League; former heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali; journalist Tony Brown; syndicated columnist Carl Rowan; Michael Meyers, executive director of the Roy Wilkins Memorial Foundation; former Urban League head Vernon Jordan; Ohio Congressman Louis Stokes; the then New York City Police Commissioner Benjamin Ward, as well as many other black religious leaders and political officials.

Yet Farrakhan continued spreading his message of bigotry. Speaking at SUNY at Old Westbury, New York, in April 1987, Farrakhan charged Jews with threatening Jesse Jackson's life and killing Jesus Christ and said they would be "punished and die" for those acts.

In a speech to 1,500 students at Northeastern University in Boston, he said: "Those people who call themselves Jews, you have failed in your covenant. Jews have not been in bondage in any place called Egypt under any king named Pharoah. It's not a real story. You [Jews] are hurting yourselves. You're blinded by your own arrogance, you will bring on yourselves what you dread. Don't be too pushy or you'll stir what's really in the hearts of those who play like they love you."

Farrakhan returned to Washington, D.C. in August, 1987 to speak before 8,000 people at the Washington Convention Center. "What [the Jews] said I said in the press I never said," he declared. "I will not apologize. I'm not going to bow down to you. You're going to have to destroy me. . . . I'm not running from you but running to you."

In Los Angeles, Farrakhan spoke before 9,500 people at the Convention Center on September 28, 1987. He criticized Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and other black political

leaders as "black managers of a white man's store." (Bradley had publicly condemned Farrakhan's bigotry.) He denounced the City Council, which had adopted a resolution in July saying that he promoted hate and divisiveness. "It will go down in the history of Los Angeles that Farrakhan is a hater, bigot, an anti-Semite," he said. "No! No! No! No! You will not lynch me in no back room with no puppet Negroes. God gave me a backbone. . . ."

Farrakhan's aide, Abdullah Allah Muhammad, attacked the black leaders who had criticized Farrakhan: "We warn you that there is a new class of leadership that is rising up to replace you, and they will replace you no matter what means they have to use to get you out of the way."

Anti-Semitism in "The Final Call": 1987-88

The anti-Semitic themes employed by Farrakhan continued to be echoed in the pages of his newspaper, *The Final Call*, during 1987 and 1988. An editorial of January 15, 1987 stated that "the Jewish shopkeepers and merchants say Ho, Ho, Ho as they leave the community with their money bags fat with our dollars." In another article, Farrakhan wrote on January 31, 1987: "I WARN YOU, MR. REAGAN, DO NOT LISTEN TO THE JEWS WHO ARE ADVISING YOU AND INCITING YOU AGAINST ME. . . ."

An article by Farrakhan entitled, "Conspiracy and Conspirators Against the Life of Louis Farrakhan" in the September 16, 1987 issue, stated: "The Government of the United States, and especially those Jews in positions of power, are frightened over the growing acceptance by masses of Black people of the message of Louis Farrakhan. They have even prepared for our wholesale incarceration in concentration camps. . . ." In another article in the same issue, attorney Vernelle S. Edwards wrote: "Jews have waded through the blood of Black people to attain many of the rights they enjoy today. . . ."

Among the many negative references to Jews and Israel in *The Final Call* in 1987-88:

—On September 16, 1987, an article entitled "Conspiracy and Conspirators Against the Life of Minister Louis Farrakhan" stated: "The Government of the United States, and especially those Jews in positions of power, are frightened over the growing acceptance by masses of Black people of the message of Louis Farrakhan. . . ."

—An article in the October 7, 1987 issue by editor Abdul Wali Muhammad stated:

Various Black leaders under pressure from certain Jewish persons, harassed the collective resources and attention of Blacks in America on the single issue of integration. . . . The NAACP founded in 1910, had no economic program, thanks to input from people like Joel E. Spingarn, a Jew who began his formal association with the NAACP in 1911. . . . Economic empowerment was good for Jews but not for Blacks. . . .

—On November 9, 1987, Khallid Alif Muhammad wrote, ". . . I had to reflect on what if some fool harms our Minister. I personally would like everyone to know that if some fool so-called Jew, be it a government agent or personal agent [sic], I will not make a petty threat but you can rest assured that 430 years of fury unleashed will not be a pretty sight. . . ."

—On April 15, 1988, *The Final Call* wrote that “The unrelenting attacks of groups like the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B’nai B’rith, which sends a strong stream of anti-Farrakhan venom across the country to journalists, politicians, etc., and Jewish writers like nationally-syndicated columnist Richard Cohen totally disregard the truth of Minister Farrakhan’s message to Blacks, and have unmasked deep Jewish opposition to any Black leader who refuses to take his marching orders from Jewish behind-the-scenes power brokers.”

—In the same issue, *The Final Call* reprinted an article entitled “Zionists Milking U.S. Congress” from an anti-Israeli publication called *Zionist Watch*, which is edited by Liberty Lobby activists Victor Marchetti and Mark Lane. (*Zionist Watch* has been renamed *New American View*.) The article stated that “Holocaust studies in Poland will eventually get a boost this year from sales of U.S. dairy products. This is happening because in 1987—a year of unprecedented support of Israel and Jews—Congress voted to give surplus milk and cheese to Poland, so long as \$500,000 of the money earned from their sale by Warsaw is used for holocaust studies at Polish universities.”

—In a report of Louis Farrakhan’s visit to the University of Pennsylvania on April 14, 1988, Abdul Wali Muhammad wrote in the May 9, 1988 issue of *The Final Call* that “I heard the Black students cheer, and the mostly Jewish students boo as Minister Farrakhan bounded out of a limousine and into a security entrance behind the stage.” Muhammad added: “When they do finally hear this man Farrakhan for themselves, 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. Only this time, the people will not choose Barabas [sic]. . . .”

—Also in the May 9 issue, *The Final Call* reported on the visit of Louis Farrakhan’s associate, Abdul Alim Muhammad, to the University of Maryland. Referring to Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan, *The Final Call* wrote: “Only one group of people in America has called for the death of both of those leaders, Muhammad pointed out, the Jewish community.” Muhammad was also quoted as stating that “You (Jewish people) 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.” *The Final Call* also commented that Jewish students on campus were “responding like trained seals,” and had “flopped into the controversy with a vow of protest.”

—Louis Farrakhan’s article, “The Black Man: An Endangered Species,” was also published in the May 9, 1988 issue of *The Final Call*. In his article, Farrakhan stated: “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.” Farrakhan continued: “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. . . .”

“What have I done to the Jews that has earned their hatred of me? Why have they consistently lied about what I have said? Why are they plotting and planning my demise?”

—In the July 15, 1988 issue of *The Final Call* Farrakhan was asked about the Pope's meeting with Austrian president Kurt Waldheim. Farrakhan replied: "To put that kind of pressure on the Pope because he chooses to meet with Kurt Waldheim, a head of state, and a Catholic, is to further isolate the Jews from their own white brothers, particularly the Catholics, and exacerbate age-old tensions and hatreds. But let them do as they please as this is part of their undoing."

1988: Farrakhan's "Moderate" Phase

In the early months of 1988 Farrakhan apparently attempted to tone down his rhetoric and to refine his rationalizations for his statements that Hitler was a great man and that Judaism was "a dirty religion." A "moderate" Farrakhan emerged for a short period. He was welcomed by 4,500 students for his speech at Tuskegee University in Alabama on February 13, 1988. The three page-account of Farrakhan's speech in *The Final Call* contained no references to Jews or Israel.

However, on March 11, 1988 Farrakhan spoke at the University of the District of Columbia—an appearance illustrative of the persistence of Farrakhan's obsessive anti-Semitism, despite his cosmetic efforts at softening his anti-Jewish image. Addressing himself to the Jews, he stated:

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 end up on drugs with no money. You are our manager, you are our agents. How have we been against you? 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 . . . Stepin Fetchit.

What have we done to Jews in America? Talk back to me! We are not your enemy. We didn't burn you in no oven. We are not haters of Jews. But I ask you, who taught us to hate ourselves? Who writes the textbooks that write us out of history? Who makes the movies that show us as nothing but Toms and bug-eyed dancers? We don't do this to you. It has been done to us. But why do you call my brothers and sisters anti-Semitic? It is because you view me as that and my people will not rise up to kill me as they have done other black leaders in the past at your insistence and this is why you say he is anti-Semitic. It's a damned lie. . . . You want my people to kill me.

Farrakhan went on to speak at Rutgers University and the University of Pennsylvania in April, 1988. Reporting on his speech at the University of Pennsylvania, *The (New York) Jewish Week* wrote:

Farrakhan, in a blatant rewriting of history, also said that after World War II, Palestinian Arabs greeted Jews who settled in what was then Palestine with open arms "even as the Indians opened their arms to the whites who came over. But as the whites who came had another design, the Jews who went to Palestine also had another design."

Earlier. . . Farrakhan appeared to blame Jews for instituting black slavery in America. "We did not come over on the *Mayflower*, or the *Nina*, the *Pinta* or the *Santa Maria*, we were in the holds of ships. Some Jews owned some of the ships that brought us over," he said, drawing loud cheers.

"Can you imagine thinking, 'What the hell,' " he said. Then switching to a Yiddish inflection he added, "those darkies from Africa, they're not even human." Returning to his normal voice, Farrakhan continued, "So I will not obey the law that God has given through Moses; a life for a life, an eye for an eye; I'll just make these people subhuman and say I won't have to pay anything for what I do to them since they're animals."

Another Anti-Semitic Threat

On May 21, 1988, Farrakhan spoke at a dinner in Flushing, New York. According to columnist Doug Feiden in the *New York Post* (May 23, 1988) he referred to the "narrow-minded common Jew" and stated: "The Jews cannot defeat me. I will grind them and crush them into little bits."

APPENDIX B.

Louis Farrakhan—In His Own Words

(A round-up of Farrakhan quotes, some of which were previously cited in this report)

As documented in previous Anti-Defamation League reports on this subject, Minister Louis Farrakhan's anti-Jewish, racist and black separatist record dates back many years. As long ago as 1972, for example, Farrakhan was promoting the canard of Jewish control of the news media:

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

—*Muhammad Speaks* (Black Muslim weekly publication)

Yet it was his highly visible and supportive role in the Reverend Jesse Jackson's 1984 campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination that brought Farrakhan to general attention. Farrakhan's continued anti-Semitic outbursts generated condemnation from President Reagan, Democratic Presidential candidate Walter Mondale, other political and community figures, as well as many editorials.

In the aftermath of the 1984 election and in the years since, Farrakhan has maintained, indeed accelerated, his anti-Semitic attacks before ever larger and more enthusiastic audiences.

At a meeting at his Chicago headquarters, Farrakhan said:

You would never have dreamed that a Christian minister who preached God would be hated or feared because of the stand that he is taking, and so many strong black men and women . . . buckle under to the pressure of the Jews and those in positions of power.

We intend to put so much fire under their backsides that they will be afraid to come back where we live if they sell out our brother with foolishness.

—*Philadelphia Inquirer*

January 29, 1984

I say to the Jewish people who may not like our brother, when you attack him you attack the millions who are lining up with him. You are attacking all of us. If you harm this brother, I warn you in the name of Allah, this will be the last one you do harm.

—Louis Farrakhan, introducing Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Jackson, Chicago, February 25, 1984

In a statement aimed at black leaders whose outlook differs from that of Farrakhan:

“Every leader should be held accountable at the cost of his or her life. Death should be the penalty for traitorous activity.”

—*Charlotte (NC) Observer*, March, 1984

. . . If you say, ‘I’m going to Hymietown,’ where are you going? I’m going to that town where Jewish people hold sway, and if Hyman means life, and New York City is a city where the vital instruments of life are controlled by the Jewish people, then he meant that not in the pejorative sense, he meant that in a slang sense, that we as Black people understand, and Milton Coleman well understood that. But he saw fit to betray his brother into the hands of his brother’s enemies so that they might use this term to derail his campaign. We as black people are sick and tired of feeding our leaders to America like raw meat to the open mouths of sharks. We will not tolerate it anymore.

—Speech to March, 1984 convention of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), Washington, D.C.

Here come [sic] the Jews don’t like Farrakhan, so they call me Hitler. Well, that’s a good name. Hitler was a very great man. He wasn’t great for me as a black person, but he was a great German . . . He rose Germany up from nothing. Well, in a sense you could say there’s similarity in that we are rising our people up from nothing. What is it about Hitler that you love to call every black man who rises up with strength a Hitler? What have I done? Who have I killed? I warn you, be careful, be careful. You’re putting yourself in dangerous, dangerous shoes. You have been the killer of all the prophets. Now, if you seek my life, you only show that you are no better than your fathers.

—March 11, 1984 address, broadcast over Chicago radio station WBEE

We knew years ago that integration was a hypocritical trick used by white people to deceive black people into making us believe that our four hundred year old enemy had all of a sudden become our friend.

I don’t want you to think that Farrakhan is enamored of the political system of white people . . . I don’t want you to get the wrong impression. I joined you to speed up the process of hastening on the conclusion of this process. I know that this country won’t tolerate a black president. I know this country don’t want a black man to lead . . . I know that there’s much good that can be gained from our entrance into politics, but it is so far from what Allah wills for us. Allah . . . don’t care two cents for this system. Allah’s not happy over Reverend Jackson being President of this wickedness. He raised that brother up for another reason entirely. . . to show you what is hiding

in the hearts and in the marrow of the bones of Caucasian people of hatred for you.

—March 11, 1984 radio address, WBEE, Chicago

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

—*Columbus Dispatch*, April 16, 1984

In May, 1984, correspondent Michael Kramer reported that Farrakhan "told Jews celebrating Passover that unless they believe in Jesus, 'then maybe the death angel will stop at your door and kill the firstborn out of your house.'"

—*New York Magazine*, May 14, 1984

Speaking from his Nation of Islam "Final Call" headquarters at 734 W. 79th Street, Farrakhan said America, Britain and other nations that have backed Israel have, in effect, been participants in a criminal conspiracy. . . .

"The Zionists made a deal with Adolf Hitler, the same people that condemn me for saying Hitler was great but wickedly great," he said again in explaining his Hitler statement.

—*Chicago Sun-Times*, June 25, 1984

In a Sunday speech broadcast on WBEE radio, Farrakhan said the Bible says the Jews were "chosen to be a light to the gentile nations" but instead "fed a corrupted light to the people and were the father of false religions and false religious practices."

Farrakhan said Israel has had no peace in nearly four decades "and she will . . . 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 is an outlaw act," said Farrakhan, a supporter of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's presidential campaign. He charged that nations supporting Israel have been participants in a criminal conspiracy. If you "aid and abet someone in a criminal conspiracy, you are a part of that criminal conspiracy. So America, England and the nations are criminals in the sight of almighty God," he said.

—*Newsday*, June 26, 1984

(Note: Farrakhan later asserted his reference to Judaism was "your dirty religion.")

Is what I'm saying correct? That if you preach righteousness and practice evil you are practicing a dirty religion. The case is closed. O.K.? . . .

Didn't you all give us the Bible? Did you tell us to love our enemies? Why don't you practice that? This is one reason I disapprove of Jesse Jackson's apology to you. He apologized for the Hymie remark. What does he have

to apologize for now? You know you ain't gonna run that game past me? When have the Jews apologized for being involved in the slave trade? They didn't make an apology for that, did they? What's the matter, did I say something uncomfortable? They didn't apologize for putting my brothers and sisters to live in homes or apartments and charging them the highest rents.

You don't apologize for setting up liquor stores, when you don't drink too much yourselves, feeding my brothers and sisters alcohol.

You don't apologize for sucking the blood of our poor people that you might live well. . . .

But what has not been splashed across the front page is that Minister Farrakhan said Jews were not the chosen people of God—Black people are—and that the people who call themselves Jews today do not practice the religion of Moses, they only use it as a “shield,” something to hide behind while they engage in “lying and deceit.”

This may startle some of you, but I don't think it will surprise many Black people who have long suffered under the tyranny of Jewish shopkeepers and landlords who swarmed the ghetto communities to prey upon our people in their wretched condition of helplessness like vultures. In fact, some experts suggest that the burning in the urban areas in the sixties was aimed at these Jewish merchants (ever. while their Jewish brothers marched with us in the South). I don't think it will shock many of you to find out that our forefathers were brought to America on slaving expeditions financed mostly by Jewish investors and bankers.

Why should we be apologists for telling the truth about the things done by the Jews to Black people?

—*Youngstown (Ohio) Reporter*
July 28—August 6, 1984

What I represent is truth, and America is saying to me what is written that the Jews said to Jesus when they received 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 Jewish leadership is spiritually blind. If the American government and the Reagan administration allow such a lobby which is so spiritually blind to have the great power to influence the guidance of this nation then they will guide this nation to its destruction.

—Speech to National Press Club, July 30, 1984

Speaking before a full house at a National Press Club luncheon, Farrakhan asserted that the Rev. Jesse L. Jackson "never should have apologized" in a speech at the Democratic National Convention for remarks widely interpreted as anti-Jewish.

Farrakhan lashed out at Israel, Jews and the "Jewish lobby," and swore that he would never apologize for anti-Semitic remarks. . . .

He was asked about a remark interpreted as a threat on the life of Milton Coleman, a black Washington *Post* reporter whom Farrakhan denounced for publishing a remark by Jackson labelling Jews "Hymie" and New York "Hymietown."

He denied threatening Coleman's life, saying he thought "all those who sell out our people . . . should be ostracized." But, he added, in an independent black state such as he advocates, "those kinds of traitors will be punished with death."

—*Chicago Sun-Times*, July 31, 1984

"There seems to be an unwilling law that Israel and Jews cannot be criticized, especially by blacks," Farrakhan told the National Press Club in Washington.

—*New York Post*, July 31, 1984

Speaking in Washington, D.C. on August 18, 1984, Farrakhan said: "We are at war and we never stop fighting for justice." "You must have force. . . don't drop your gun and don't forget to squeeze."

"If we get a good leader, don't look to Jews to support them, you support them. . ." When Farrakhan asked the crowd what should be done with black leaders who seek Jewish support, someone shouted: "Kill them."

Farrakhan replied: "I didn't say it. I just seconded the motion."

—Associated Press dispatch, published in *Newsday*, August 19, 1984

"If the policies of this Government can be manipulated by so few people whose desires are, at best, selfish, then the American people will be dragged into the third world war, and the Middle East is the trigger to set off the global conflict between America and Russia."

—August 20, 1984 statement to United Nations Correspondents Clubs, as reported by Reuters (*New York Times*, August 21)

Farrakhan said of Jews: "I'm not jealous of their success or against them. But I can point to anti-Black Jewish schemes that are used to keep Blacks from moving on up."

—*Miami Times*, September 13, 1984

"What am I saying that has people shook?" Farrakhan asked in Chicago. "What is it that I'm saying that engenders fear in the heart of our oppressors? Just to mention my name, it strikes terror in the hearts of some white people.

"Why is that?" he asked. "I am a very small man. I don't have much muscle mass—

hardly—been in a fight in my life. Why are you so terrified at Farrakhan What do you fear? I know what you fear. You fear the ideas that I represent because my ideas from God and Muhammed mean the end of your world”

“It is an act of mercy to white people that we end your world. Your world is killing you and all of humanity,” he added to excited, feverish applause after explaining that he sees the white world as a place that has created nuclear arms, polluted the air and land, and enslaved people of color. “We must end your world and bring in a new world.”

—*Washington Post*, March 14, 1985

Farrakhan said that American blacks, because their bondage has been of Biblical proportions, have replaced Jews as “the chosen people of God” and that he would be their leader.

Farrakhan said the Jews “have been run out like vagabonds of the earth because God has chosen a new people.”

—*Boston Globe*, April 24, 1984

Farrakhan directed most of his vehemence against Jews, saying, “I know their wickedness.”

“Jews know their wickedness, not just Zionism, which is an outgrowth of Jewish transgression,” he said here last week. “I intend to raise the ante tonight! Black people will not be controlled by Jews. Black leaders will either come out for us, or get the hell away from us. Who is your master—God or Jewish leaders?”

—*Washington Post*, July 27, 1985

Black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan charged that Mayor Bradley had “bowed to the pressure of the Jewish community” in making critical remarks about him and his speech a few nights previously.

“The mayor’s representatives got no statement from me or my representatives that I would compromise truth to pacify Jews or anyone else,” Farrakhan said.

In his speech before 12,500 at the Forum, Farrakhan had laced a call for self-determination and economic separatism with several anti-Jewish statements. He described Israel as a “wicked hypocrisy” and said of the Holocaust, “Don’t push your 6 million down our throats when we lost 100 million [to slavery].”

—*Los Angeles Times*, September 17, 1985

At a press conference condemning the mayor, he [Farrakhan] said:

There is no black-Jewish relationship on the mass level. That’s a farce. The kind of relationship we have with Jews I’m interested in ending is that landlord-tenant relationship, that we-clean-your-house relationship. . . .
If the controversy, which is really imagined between the mayor and myself,

has done anything, it has highlighted [that] black people in high positions owe too much to Jews and too little to themselves and their own people.

—Los Angeles *Times*, September 17, 1985

“Who,” he asked, “are the people who are against Farrakhan? Are the people against me the righteous? Would you say the Jews against me are the righteous people?”

“No,” the crowd thundered.

“What about the United States government,” he asked, “the Mayor, the Governor?”

“No,” they roared again.

—New York *Times*, October 8, 1985, on Farrakhan’s October 7 speech at New York’s Madison Square Garden.

Jesus had a controversy with the Jews. Farrakhan has a controversy with the Jews. Jesus was hated by Jews. Farrakhan is hated by Jews. Jesus was scourged by Jews in their temple. Farrakhan is scourged by Jews in their synagogues. Did Jesus care for the oppressed?

Yes!

They called him a devil. They call me a devil. When Jesus raised Lazarus from the dead and fed the 5,000 [the miracle of loaves and fishes], it was then that the authorities began to attack him. I am resurrecting the minds of black people from the dead, and they attack Farrakhan.

Farrakhan reserved a little of his hatred for black political leaders, telling the audience that “when a leader sells out the people, he should pay a price for that. Should a leader sell out the people and live?”

—Article by Julius Lester in *The New Republic*, October 28, 1985, on Farrakhan’s October 7 speech at Madison Square Garden.

“The germ of murder is already sewed into the hearts of Jews in this country,” he said. “Some person is going to think they’re doing God a favor and seek my death. . . . The Jews talk about ‘Never again.’ Well, I am your last chance, too, Jews. Listen, Jews, this little black boy is your last chance because the Scriptures charge [you] with killing 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.” Then, in an exquisitely crafted stab-through-the-heart phrase, Farrakhan added, “You cannot say ‘Never again’ to God, because when He puts you in the oven, ‘Never again’ don’t mean a thing.”

—Article by Michael Kramer in *New York Magazine*, October 21, 1985, on Farrakhan’s October 7 Madison Square Garden speech.

“Various Black leaders under pressure from certain Jewish persons, harassed the collective resources and attention of Blacks in America on the

single issue of integration The NAACP founded in 1910, had no economic program, thanks to input from people like Joel E. Spingarn, a Jew who began his formal association with the NAACP in 1911. . . . Economic empowerment was good for Jews but not for Blacks. . . .”

—*The Final Call*, October 7, 1987 (article by editor Abdul Wali Muhammad).

In November, 1987, the Rochester, New York *Democrat and Chronicle* reported that Farrakhan tried to explain and defend his 1984 comment that Judaism was “a dirty religion.” Speaking to 1,400 people at the Central Church of Christ, Farrakhan stated that all religions were “dirty” when they did not follow the word of God. He asserted: “The synagogue is unclean, the church is unclean, the mosque is unclean. We have corrupted God’s message with a pervasive message of racism, sexism, and materialism.”

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 end up on drugs with no money. You are our manager, you are our agents. How have we been against you? 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. . . Stepin Fetchit.

What have we done to Jews in America? Talk back to me! We are not your enemy. We didn’t burn you in no oven. We are not haters of Jews. But I ask you, who taught us to hate ourselves? Who writes the textbooks that write us out of history? Who makes the movies that show us as nothing but Toms and bug-eyed dancers? We don’t do this to you. It has been done to us. But why do you call my brothers and sisters anti-Semitic? It is because you view me as that and my people will not rise up to kill me as they have done other black leaders in the past at your insistence and this is why you say he is anti-Semitic. It’s a damned lie. . . .You want my people to kill me.

—Speech at the University of the District of Columbia quoted in *The New Republic*, May 30, 1988.

On April 6, Farrakhan spoke at Rutgers University on invitation from its African Student Congress. On calling Judaism a “dirty religion,” he stated: “Listen, please. I would never refer to the word of Moses to Israel as impure. What is dirty is the use of God’s holy name as a shield to cover dirty actions and hide under God’s name. That is a dirty act.” He also said: “You Jews lost six million and we cry for you. Yet, by conservative estimates, we lost 100 million in the Middle Passage. Who will cry for us? You don’t see this in the media since we don’t have power in the media.”

—*Home News* (New Jersey), April 7, 1988.

"A deal was struck with Hitler in the Third Reich that Jews would be brought out of Germany and settled in Palestine."—Speech at University of Pennsylvania, April 13, 1988, as reported in (New York) *Jewish Week*, April 22, 1988.

"The unrelenting attacks of groups like the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith, which sends a steady stream of anti-Farrakhan venom across the country to journalists, politicians, etc., and Jewish writers like nationally-syndicated columnist Richard Cohen totally disregard the truth of Minister Farrakhan's message to Blacks, and have unmasked deep Jewish opposition to any Black leader who refuses to take his marching orders from Jewish behind-the-scenes power brokers. . . ."

—*The Final Call*, April 15, 1988

"Cokely spoke the truth" and [Jews protested] "because the truth hurts. I know this man Cokely. I know if he said it, he got the stuff to back it up."

—Chicago *Sun-Times*, May 10, 1988, concerning statements by Chicago Black activist and former municipal official Steve Cokely asserting that Jews engaged in an international conspiracy to take over the world, and that Jewish doctors deliberately injected Black children with the AIDS virus.

In the July 15, 1988 issue of *The Final Call* Farrakhan was asked about the Pope's meeting with Kurt Waldheim. Farrakhan replied: "To put that kind of pressure on the Pope because he chooses to meet with Kurt Waldheim, a head of state, and a Catholic, is to further isolate the Jews from their own white brothers, particularly the Catholics, and exacerbate age-old tensions and hatreds. But let them do as they please as this is part of their undoing."

Louis Farrakhan's article, "The Black Man: An Endangered Species," was published in the May 9, 1988 issue of *The Final Call*. In his article, Farrakhan stated: "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." Farrakhan continued: "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. They have been videotaped chanting, 'WHO DO YOU WANT? FARRAKHAN! HOW DO YOU WANT HIM? DEAD!' They refer to me as a 'CANDIDATE FOR ASSASSINATION' and say: 'WHAT HE TEACHES IS RUSHING HIM INTO THE CEMETERY.' "

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 born by nature to be the enemy of the Original man and ideas, ideals and laws that rule the Original creation.

This is why the Honorable Elijah Muhammad called them a race of "devils." Devil means "opposer to God and good; one who is wicked." The idea at the base of their making (not creation) is contrary to the idea of Allah (God). This is why, throughout their rule, they have never established justice, equity or freedom. They have never established righteousness. The idea they work from is contrary to the idea of the Originator.

—article by Farrakhan in *The Final Call*, May 15, 1988.

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

—May 21, 1988 in Flushing, New York, quoted by columnist Doug Feiden in the *New York Post* (May 23, 1988).

In a speech at Northwestern University in Evanston, Illinois on May 30, 1988, Farrakhan said he wanted to address the Jews in the audience, and asserted that he was disturbed at being seen by Jews as a "new black Hitler." Jews had suffered so much under Hitler, he said, that "to make Farrakhan a black Hitler is to plant the seed of murder in the heart of every Jewish person."

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

Speaking at the local high school in Plainfield, New Jersey, on October 29, 1988, Farrakhan singled out Kitty Dukakis, the wife of 1988 Democratic presidential candidate Michael Dukakis, as a Jew and said, "When he [Dukakis] goes to the Jews, he puts on his yarmulke." He added: "Four hundred members of the Congress are honorary members of the Knesset of Israel. . . If you speak out, they will work to get you out of office. . ." Addressing the Jews, he stated: "You broke your own covenant, you are out of it today. God chose. . . you failed. . . that's why he chastises you. . ."

Addressing Jewish students at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst on February 2, 1989, Farrakhan charged: "You all are calling for my death. 'Who do you want? Farrakhan. How do you want him? Dead!'"

Distorting Jewish political criticism of Jesse Jackson as a threat, Farrakhan stated: "Even if you criticize him, you've got to do it with respect for what he represents. But because you don't have no respect for no black leader, that's why you act the way you act. So I was warning you, listen good. And don't I have a right to warn you? Hell, you hear the thunder before you see the lightning. The thunder's letting you know that a storm is coming, fool. Get out of the rain! I said we're tired of feeding our leaders to America like you feed raw meat to wild beasts. And I said if this one is killed, he will be the last one. . ."

The following are excerpts from Farrakhan's speech to the Mosque Maryam in Chicago on August 27, 1989. The speech was entitled: "And the Jews Planned: The Rising Assault on Black Leadership." Addressing his Nation of Islam followers, Farrakhan stated:

...The other night I woke up, oh, about three in the morning. And these words looked like they had grown to be block letters, in my brain. They were from the Koran...and these words were: AND THE JEWS PLANNED.... And they planned that...a fight would break out over who would be the real heir to Elijah Muhammad's work. They felt that this would tear the Nation up....And the Jews planned. But the Koran did not stop there. It says, 'And Allah also planned.' And the Koran also says, And Allah is the best of planners.

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

....I have become Public Enemy Number One. And the Jews planned...And the more they struck me, the more I struck back with truth. And the more I struck back with the truth, the more it struck terror in their hearts....And the Jews planned...So now they have declared they will stop at nothing until they have destroyed Louis Farrakhan.... The enemy is getting rid of leader after leader after leader... They are moving on black leaders for what? They're getting ready to make a move on the Black community....And the Jews planned.... Bush himself went to the Jews in Los Angeles, promised them, pledged to them that he would do everything in his power through the Justice Department to get the anti-Semites when they wear brown shirts or white shirts or bow ties.... he is the president promising the Jews he's going to get Farrakhan...And the Jews planned....

They cannot touch me. Unless one of you betrays me....They have an elaborate plan, brothers and sisters, and you'll be surprised who they're using. I feel sorry for anyone who will submit to the devil to be used against me.... This blue-eyed beast by the help of Allah will never destroy the Nation!....Never again!

On January 28, 1990, speaking in Oakland, California, Farrakhan said: "Any black man who stands up for justice will end up like Jesus. I'm telling you I'm following 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 an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* on February 4, 1990, Farrakhan stated: "Jews have never been upset over any black person. They usually have great control over black people. But here's one they don't control, and they have not yet found the mechanism to destroy what they can't control."

Speaking in Phoenix, Arizona on February 12, 1990, Farrakhan said: "You Jews who are here tonight look at me as an anti-Semite. I am hated by Jews. If I were Jewish, would I want Farrakhan to live?" Farrakhan said that his enemies would be "removed from the face of the earth," not by Farrakhan, "but by a power bigger than I."

On February 18, 1990, Farrakhan told 4,000 people at Michigan State University that Jews were "sucking the blood of the black community."

Farrakhan told the *Washington Times* on February 27: "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." He said he was preparing for the creation of a separate nation in Africa for millions of American blacks.

Attempting to "explain" his previous remarks that Judaism was a "dirty religion," Farrakhan reiterated:

"I said that the state of Israel has not had peace and will not have peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice, lying, thievery, murder and using God's name as a shield for your dirty religion."

In an interview with the *Washington Post* on March 1, 1990, Farrakhan stated:

"If you take the whole Jewish-Farrakhan question and put it in context, then you will see that it was not Farrakhan who started this. It was the Jews who started this. And everytime Farrakhan goes someplace, I'm not even speaking, Jews come out even calling for my death. . . ."

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Exhibit N

AIDL RESEARCH REPORT

The Anti-Semitism of Black Demagogues and Extremists



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Introduction

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Troubled Atmosphere

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Brief History

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

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

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

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

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

A Turn for the Worse

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

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

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

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

Using Anti-Semitism

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The 1980s: Jackson and Farrakhan

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Community in Crisis

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

I: Louis Farrakhan

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

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

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

-Farrakhan quoted in *Columbus Dispatch*, 1984

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

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

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

-Farrakahn quoted in *Newsday*, 1984

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

-Farrakhan quoted in *Washington Post*, 1985

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

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

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

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

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

-Farrakhan quoted in *New York Post*, 1988

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

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

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

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for Black America.”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Farrakhan 1988-89: Citizenship Pins and Campus Ovations

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

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

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

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

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

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

Surprise Speaker—Conspiratorial Theme

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

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

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

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

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

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

Recognition from "Blacks in Government"

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

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

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

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

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

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

August 1989: The Unvarnished Farrakhan

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

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

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

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

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

Anti-Semitism in “The Final Call”

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. Steve Cokely

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III: Gus Savage

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. Sonny Carson

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

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

More Recent Prominence

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

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

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

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

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

An Unexplained Check

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

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

The Korean Boycott

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

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

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

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

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

V: Rev. Al Sharpton

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VI. Prof. Leonard Jeffries

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

VII: Jitu Weusi

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

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

Fomenting Violence

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

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

Past History

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

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

In Praise of Farrakhan's "Message of Unity"

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

New York City Mayoral Politics—and a Controversy

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

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

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

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

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

VIII. Kwame Ture

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

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

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

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

Personal History

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

A Revolutionary Party

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

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

Anti-Semitism as Anti-Zionism

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

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

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

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

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

IX. Lenora Fulani and the New Alliance Party

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PART TWO: BLACK CULTURAL FIGURES EXPRESSING ANTI-SEMITISM

I. Professor Griff and Public Enemy

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

II. Amiri Baraka

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

. . . We want poems
like fists beating niggers out of Jocks
or dagger poems in the slimy bellies
of the owner-Jews. . .

. . . Setting fire and death to
whities ass. Look at the Liberal
spokesman for the Jews clutch his throat
and puke himself into eternity. . .

Put it on him poem. Strip him naked
to the world! Another bad poem cracking
steel knuckles in a jewlady’s mouth. . .

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

III. Ice Cube

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

IV. Legrand H. Clegg

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

California

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Connecticut

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

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

Steve Cokely that Jewish doctors injected Black babies with AIDS.

Georgia

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

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

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

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

Illinois

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

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

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

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

Maryland

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

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

Michigan

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

Minnesota

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

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

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

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

New York

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

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

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

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

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

Ohio

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

Pennsylvania

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

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

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

Washington State

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

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

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

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

Wisconsin

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

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

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

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

Promoting Anti-Semitism at the High School Level

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

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

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

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

Another Campus Voice

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PART FIVE: A CASE STUDY OF MEDIA BIAS: The New York Black Press

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Incendiary Headline

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2. *City Sun*

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

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

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

3. *Big Red News*

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

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

controlled the film industry. The article stated:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The editorial went on:

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

RADIO STATIONS

WLIB, New York

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

Exhibit O

Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith

Civil Rights Division Policy Background Report

Mainstreaming Anti-Semitism:
The Legitimation of Louis Farrakhan

Mainstreaming Anti-Semitism: The Legitimation of Louis Farrakhan

Minister Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI) and long a voice of religious intolerance and racial divisiveness in this country, has recently attained a new level of acceptance among certain mainstream Black organizations and leaders. His "legitimation" has been reflected most notably by his participation last summer in the Parliament of the World's Religions, his obtaining federal funds for NOI's anti-AIDS efforts and the security services it has been providing at several federal housing projects, and his warm reception at the annual legislative meeting of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) last fall.

The Anti-Defamation League is under no illusion that Farrakhan has seen the error of his ways. However, at a time when the black community in this country is wrestling with a desperate crisis situation in our inner cities--and when Farrakhan's NOI is arguably filling a void for that community at the same time it is seizing on the crisis atmosphere to foment anti-Semitism--the question has arisen as to whether ADL should maintain an uncompromising hard line in dealing with those who lend Farrakhan legitimacy, or whether the League should adopt more of a case-by-case approach. Does Farrakhan's acceptance by the mainstream Black community represent a new-found tolerance for anti-Semitism which ADL must fight with every weapon at our disposal? Or are we unnecessarily damaging Black-Jewish relations, underestimating the scope of the crisis in the black community, and playing into Farrakhan's hands by overreacting to him?

This backgrounder has been prepared to assist ADL in assessing the possible consequences of the "legitimation of Louis Farrakhan" and in formulating an appropriate response.

Background

Consideration of the appropriate ADL response to the legitimation of Louis Farrakhan requires that it be placed in context. The necessary context includes an appreciation of some previous Farrakhan activities and ADL responses.

Although ADL's information bank on Louis Farrakhan dates back to his youth when he served under Malcolm X at the Nation of Islam's Harlem Mosque, Farrakhan first entered the consciousness of most American Jews when his anti-Semitic rhetoric prompted a storm of controversy during Jesse Jackson's 1984 campaign for President. Throughout the 1980's and into the 1990's, the leader of the Nation of Islam has continued to spout an obnoxious message laced with anti-Semitism to large gatherings on college campuses, to black audiences in the inner cities, and in NOI's publication "The Final Call." Among his more abhorrent statements have been assertions that "Hitler was a very great man," that "Jews are in control of the mass media," that Judaism is a "gutter religion," that "the presence of a state called Israel is an outlaw act," and that Jews are "sucking the blood of the black community." Predictably, ADL's reaction to Farrakhan's raw anti-Semitism has been to expose and condemn him in a steady stream of letters and reports.

In 1989-90, Farrakhan occasionally toned his rhetoric down, and he intensified other efforts, such as a campaign against drugs and violence, which earned him a measure of respect from some city officials. For example, he received a key to the city of or similar

commendation from a number of small and large cities, including Prairie View, TX, Tacoma, WA, Washington DC, and Philadelphia. Typical of ADL's response was a letter stating to the mayor of Prairie View that the League was appalled at his bestowing an honor on "an avowed racist and anti-Semite." The letter added "we expect much better from the mayor of Prairie View, and believe that an apology is in order."

More recently, in pursuit of its work in the inner cities, Farrakhan's Nation of Islam has also sought and received federal funding to provide security in several violence-prone housing projects. ADL strongly protested the granting of funds to NOI in a series of letters to officials at the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

In Washington, DC, NOI also received one grant of federal money for its anti-AIDS effort, and sought another for AIDS education directed at the black community. ADL objected vigorously, pointing out a July 1993 letter to Washington Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly that:

"the Nation of Islam and Dr. Abdul Alim Muhammad (NOI's Minister of Health) are singularly unqualified to provide a public information campaign on the transmission and causes of AIDS/HIV ... because of their odious theories on the origins and causes of the disease. Dr. Abdul Alim Muhammad has publicly stated that he believes that Jewish doctors infected black babies in Africa with AIDS virus...

The Nation of Islam and its leaders have already launched their public education campaign on AIDS, and it is a conspiracy-laden message of hatred...

The government of our nation's capital should not put its stamp of approval on an organization so extreme and bigoted as the Nation of Islam. Awarding a contract to Dr. Muhammad to provide a mass media campaign on AIDS education would be the equivalent of providing taxpayer monies to David Duke to develop the District's diversity training program..."

At various times in 1993, Farrakhan again started trying to soften his image. In the spring, he even made some overtures (of dubious effectiveness) to the Jewish community, for example by performing a Mendelssohn concerto on his violin at concerts in Winston-Salem, NC and in Chicago and telling Chicago Sun-Times columnist Irv ("Kup") Kupciet that he was "trying to undo with music what words have done."

In the summer and fall of 1993, Farrakhan's efforts to win mainstream support met with some success. In August, he participated in the Parliament of the World's Religions which brought thousands of religious leaders from around the world to Chicago. In September, he was warmly welcomed at the annual legislative meeting of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC). At the same meeting, he received an apology from the executive director of the NAACP, Benjamin Chavis, because he had not been invited to participate in the 30th anniversary march on Washington the month before.

Has Farrakhan changed? According to an ADL review of his public statements in 1993, Farrakhan's rhetoric continued to reflect anti-Semitism except for those occasions when he was consciously making effort to be conciliatory. For example, around the same time he was participating in the Parliament of the World's Religions, he was telling the Baltimore Jewish Times: "Jews want everyone to bow down to them, and I ain't bowing down to

nothing or nobody but G-d." In interviews, Farrakhan also attributed his exclusion from the 1993 march on Washington to Jewish influence, and blamed Jews for "controlling" black intellectuals, and black politicians.

All the available evidence indicates that Louis Farrakhan has not suddenly renounced his antipathy towards Jews. However, he has become more conscious of his image, and more interested in pressing what the New York Times described as "the bounds of his acceptability."

The Dilemma

ADL's position on Farrakhan has been largely unyielding. As noted above, the League has been a harsh critic of officials who lend him credibility, and has strongly opposed his efforts to receive government funds. ADL, originally a sponsor of the Parliament of the World's Religions, withdrew from that event to protest his participation. While not objecting to Farrakhan's appearance on college campuses, the League has also urged university officials to distance themselves from him, to deny him formal university sponsorship, and to condemn his bigotry.

However, since the Congressional Black Caucus entered its "covenant" with Farrakhan, the picture has become more complicated. ADL's initial reaction to the CBC's action was critical, but unlike the situation with NOI's application for funding to combat AIDS and the Parliament of World's Religions, the League has refrained from a full-fledged attack.

The relationship the Congressional Black Caucus has established with Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam, and Farrakhan's acceptance by the NAACP and other "mainstream" Black leaders, pose fundamental questions for ADL. What does Farrakhan's acceptance by such groups signify for the future of Black-Jewish relations in general? How does the League continue to reject Farrakhan as unacceptable, and yet maintain longstanding and important relationships with the CBC, and NAACP, and other respected leaders in the black community who are no longer willing to ostracize the Nation of Islam? And, a point raised by James Besser, the respected political affairs correspondent for several Anglo-Jewish newspapers: does our relationship to a black community in crisis need to take on "a little more balance, with a little more empathy for the pain of the community, and a little less worrying about Mr. Farrakhan?"

The remaining portion of this backgrounder will use the CBC-Farrakhan relationship as a jumping off point for a discussion of how ADL should react to the legitimation of Louis Farrakhan.

Farrakhan and the Congressional Black Caucus

The setting for the unplanned and apparently unexpected rapprochement between Louis Farrakhan and the Congressional Black Caucus was the CBC's annual legislative meeting--more specifically, a panel discussion on race and politics before 2,000 people in the Washington Convention Center. The Reverend Jesse Jackson described the group's warm welcome for Farrakhan, with whom he said he had been reconciled for some time, as part of a quest for "operational unity" by some of the nation's top black political and civil rights leaders, whom have long been envious of Farrakhan's ability to reach large enthusiastic black audiences.

At the CBC meeting, the NAACP's Ben Chavis raised the subject of Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam, stating "We need to work together. There is no one single answer to our predicament." Chavis sought to smooth his relations with Farrakhan, saying it was "a mistake for the organizers of August's 30th anniversary march on Washington to have excluded him.

To this, Farrakhan responded, to cheers: "A mistake is an unintentional departure from right. An error is an intentional departure from that which is correct. It was more than a mistake. It was an error."

Chavis also expressed interest in meeting privately with the Nation of Islam leader to discuss a statement he published in "The Final Call" denouncing black leaders for "knuckling under to outside forces."

Farrakhan expressed eagerness for the private meeting Chavis proposed, saying:

"When we have this meeting in closed session, may we iron out whatever differences we may have and make a pledge to each other that we can say in public that we will never let somebody outside of our family determine what goes on inside our family. And we will tell those who wish to exclude a member of the family from participating with the family to keep their mouth out of our family business."

Also at the CBC meeting, the CBC's Chairman, Representative Kweisi Mfume (D-MD), announced that the Black Caucus would "enter a covenant" with a number of organizations, including the Nation of Islam. He indicated a willingness to work together with NOI on legislative concerns, saying: "I just don't know how you can bring about change if you don't work with people that you don't agree with as well as those that you do agree with." Then, bringing the audience to its feet, Mfume added: "no longer will we allow people to divide us..."

Referring to emotional exchanges between and among Chavis, Mfume, and Farrakhan and apparently spontaneous and unplanned CBC offer of reconciliation, syndicated columnist William Raspberry wrote: "It was, in fact, a stirring rhetorical moment. The problem, as black leaders acknowledged over the weekend (following the program), is that apart from differences in emphasis and approach for solving common problems, Farrakhan brings with him the baggage of anti-Semitism..."

ADL's Initial Reaction

In crafting a response to the CBC's actions, ADL was well aware that the Caucus, which currently includes 39 members of the U.S. House of Representatives and one U.S. Senator, has a long history of solid support for Israel, and has worked closely with ADL and other Jewish organizations on civil rights and religious liberty issues. Its current Chairman, Congressman Mfume, has longstanding, close ties to the Baltimore Jewish community. Moreover, on many of the items on ADL's current Washington agenda, including support for legislation on hate crimes, religious accommodation, and aid to Israel, members of the CBC are natural allies who have worked closely with the Jewish delegation in Congress.

Immediately following the CBC's meeting at which the covenant with Farrakhan was announced, ADL sent a letter to Representative Mfume asking for a clarification of the Caucus' position and a meeting to discuss the matter "before those who thrive on divisiveness" escalated the situation. In the letter National Chairman Melvin Salberg and National Director Abraham H. Foxman wrote: "while the Caucus has the right to unite with

whomever it pleases, associating with an avowed racist and anti-Semite erodes the moral fiber of your worthy mission."

The ADL letter continued "the Caucus obviously has the right to set its own program and agenda, and your outreach will not deter us from cooperating on issues of mutual concern. However, we do reserve for ourselves, as Jews, the right to determine with whom we will join forces. We believe Minister Farrakhan's message of racial and religious bigotry is incompatible with everything the civil rights community represents."

Shortly after the letter was sent, Mel Salberg, Abraham Foxman, and National Commissioner Barbara Balsler, Chairman of ADL's National Community Service Committee, led a delegation which met with Representative Mfume in Washington and conveyed some of the same concerns in person. They indicated that ADL wished to continue to work with the CBC on issues of mutual concern, but would not work in a coalition with Farrakhan. Mfume indicated that the CBC had not actually embraced Farrakhan, but he did feel that there were issues, such as the twin problems of crime and drugs in the inner cities, on which the Nation of Islam had worked effectively and it would be beneficial for the CBC to work with them. Mfume expressed understanding for the League's concerns, and agreed to continue a dialogue.

ADL's response to the CBC-Farrakhan "covenant" reflected neither an uncompromising hard line nor a concession. Rather, it was a nuanced position that took the agency's own priorities into account. However, it has raised some questions which make it an appropriate subject for further consideration. Now that Farrakhan has obtained a measure of legitimacy from the mainstream Black community, he is likely to push for more, and the questions for ADL will not get any easier.

With all of this as necessary back-ground, the issue open for discussion is what strategy ADL should pursue in reacting to the "mainstreaming" of Louis Farrakhan. Should the League continue to react as we did previously in the case of HUD funding, AIDS funding, and the Parliament of the World's Religions, with an uncompromising hard line; or should we take a more nuanced position as we have with regard to the Congressional Black Caucus, and decide on a case-by-case what the appropriated reaction should be?

The Alternatives

I. The hard line approach

This alternative is easy to summarize:

Louis Farrakhan is a bigot and an anti-Semite, and we should do nothing which contributes in any way to his campaign for legitimacy. Indeed, it is not enough to question the judgment of those who deal with him or give him legitimacy. ADL has a right to expect and to demand that any organization or individual genuinely committed to the fight against bigotry and anti-Semitism turn a cold shoulder to Farrakhan. Unless and until they do, there can be no business as usual. Would they not have a similar reaction if we reached out to a Tom Metzger or a David Duke because of a supposed common interest?

Any reaction other than an uncompromising hard line leads down the proverbial slippery slope. Once a message is sent that it is acceptable, under certain limited circumstances or in certain special contexts, to deal with an anti-Semite, the taboo is broken. Society becomes desensitized--it is happening already--and what was once unacceptable becomes commonplace.

When it comes to anti-Semitism and anti-Semites, ADL must be dogmatic. Anti-Semitism is already more acceptable in some quarters today than it was a decade ago, and we simply cannot allow the trend to continue. Perhaps people will react to this position by terming it unrealistic, impractical, even quixotic, but if ADL does not take a stand, who will?

II. The case-by-case approach

The hard line approach may be appealing on a gut level, but is wholly unrealistic. In the real world, as one of this nation's oldest and most prominent civil rights organizations, ADL can and perhaps should ask organizations like the Congressional Black Caucus and the NAACP to abrogate their relationships with Farrakhan and NOI, but we cannot decline all contact with them if they refuse. ADL simply could not function effectively under such circumstances. We would be cutting off our nose to spite our face, and handing Farrakhan a victory by letting him severely restrict our agenda.

ADL is not going to make Farrakhan go away. What we can and should do is impose an obligation on those who deal with him, or, as in the case of universities, give him a platform. In each case, the burden should be on those who give Farrakhan some measure of credibility to insist that he act responsibly, and put a lid on his bigotry and anti-Semitism.

Representative Mfume, the NAACP's Ben Chavis and the other black leaders who have reached out to Farrakhan acknowledge the serious problems the Jewish community has with him, and they do not condone his anti-Semitism. However, they are trying to address what they believe is a desperate, crisis situation in the black community, and their good faith effort to combat a raging epidemic of violence, crime, drug abuse, and AIDS should not be tarred by an association with Farrakhan.

ADL needs to work with mainstream leaders in the black community. We have serious joint interests and joint concerns, and it would be counterproductive to jeopardize those interests and concerns. Furthermore, given all we have said about Farrakhan, no one would be deceived for one moment into thinking that ADL's continuing to work with organizations like the CBC and the NAACP on issues of mutual concern would reflect a softening of the agency's position on Farrakhan. To the contrary, in light of the magnitude of the issues they are trying to come to grips with, refusing to help because of an irritant like Farrakhan cannot be allowed to define or determine relations between the Jewish and black communities.

The Decision making Process

ADL's National Executive Committee will be discussing the legitimization of Farrakhan at the upcoming meeting in Palm Beach. Regional boards and national committees are therefore invited to share their thinking on the subject of this backgrounder in advance of the Palm Beach meeting.

**Prepared January 1994
Steven M. Freeman**

Exhibit P



SPECIAL
REPORT

**Louis Farrakhan:
In His Own Words – 1994**





Anti-Defamation League

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INTRODUCTION

THE MYTH OF MODERATION: THE "NEW" FARRAKHAN IS THE SAME "OLD" FARRAKHAN

Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, has long proclaimed anti-Semitic, anti-white, and anti-Christian rhetoric which has emblazoned his name in the galaxy of bigots. During the spring and summer of 1993, some observers in both the black and Jewish communities claimed to have seen signs of movement by the black Muslim leader toward moderation and increased tolerance. Minister Farrakhan's "movement" toward tolerance was dubbed a window of opportunity to open dialogue with one of the African-American community's most visible and influential leaders -- an opportunity, which if squandered, might not occur again.

For example, an article in The New York Times (9/17/93) described a panel discussion on race and politics held by the Congressional Black Caucus in Washington, D.C. At this discussion Jesse Jackson and Louis Farrakhan appeared before an audience of 2,000 people to call for a united effort to improve the economic conditions of the African-American community.

According to the article, over the previous few months both Jesse Jackson and the Nation of Islam leader "sought to patch up their differences with Jews over past statements." Similarly, conciliatory statements sympathetic to Farrakhan were made by NAACP director Reverend Benjamin Chavis and members of the Congressional Black Caucus. That Jackson had made significant progress in repairing relations with the American Jewish Community is undeniable; that Farrakhan's pronouncements on this issue were described in this manner, however, betrayed a view both misleading and inaccurate. It fed into the myth of Farrakhan's moderation.

Farrakhan's so-called moderation was proven to be myth with every advertised promotion and sale of The Secret Relationship Between the Blacks and the Jews, the NOI's anti-Semitic tract which asserts that the Jews controlled the slave trade. The myth was underscored by every speech Farrakhan or one of his aides delivered in which they continued to target Jews. Moderation was given the lie in every issue of The Final Call, the NOI's biweekly publication.

For those who still didn't understand that Farrakhan's moderation is a myth, the Minister himself, at his news conference on February 3, 1994 made it abundantly clear. So many voices had been raised about a speech made in November, 1993 at New Jersey's Kean College by Farrakhan aide Khalid Abdul Muhammad that Farrakhan could not ignore the clamor for his response. The Anti-Defamation League had

published excerpts of the blatantly and vulgarly anti-Semitic, racist, anti-gay and anti-Catholic speech in ads which appeared across the country; black leaders such as Roger Wilkins, Bill Gray, Rep. Major Owens, Rep. John Lewis, Michael Meyers, and Rev. Jesse Jackson denounced Muhammad's speech for its racism and anti-Semitism. Clearly, this speech could not be ignored as others had been.

Minister Farrakhan announced that Muhammad was suspended from his duties, and he condemned "the manner" -- but not "the truths" -- of the Muhammad speech. Thus, Farrakhan's repudiation of Khalid Muhammad was meaningless. He made it absolutely plain that he agrees with Muhammad's message of anti-Semitism and racism. Such bigotry remains a consistent NOI theme, as this report will show.

Right up to the present Farrakhan has tried to distract attention from the fact that his aides, his publications and his own utterances have been racist, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic and homophobic. Those who have argued that Farrakhan has indeed become moderate have based their re-appraisal of the charismatic Black leader on his performance of a Mendelssohn violin concerto in Winston-Salem, N.C. in the spring and on a number of meetings that he held with prominent members of Chicago's Jewish community. These were interpreted as signs of reconciliation with American Jewry. Regrettably the facts on the ground, once subjected to closer inspection, reveal that Farrakhan's moderation is illusory, a charade. With his recent news conference, in which he stood by "the truths" that Khalid Abdul Muhammad spoke, Farrakhan himself destroyed the myth.

1. FARRAKHAN AND THE NATION OF ISLAM ON WHITES

"Yes, we have a gripe, if that's the word you use, with white people in general, because whites in general are the beneficiaries of the wealth of our slave labor that has been kept back from us...". (February 3, 1994 News Conference in Washington, D.C.)

"Yes, plants are closing and we are losing jobs. But what about the \$300 billion that we are throwing away each year? If the white man is not committed to doing for us, we can't sentence another generation of black youth to death...". (at the Congressional Black Caucus conference, September 16, 1993)

"The God who taught me calls the white man the skunk of the planet earth. He is so wicked and so filthy that God calls him the skunk of the planet earth." -- From *The Final Call*, June 5, 1992 (*The Final Call* is the official paper of the Nation of Islam).

"[Farrakhan]'s core teachings include claims that blacks were the world's "original" race from which all others derived; that black Americans are descended from an ancient, "lost" Asian tribe; that the white race originated from a demonic laboratory experiment and that Elijah Muhammad was divinely inspired." -- *The Nation*, January 21, 1991

"It's because you [white people] are wicked and you fear in the sickness of your mind that you must control everybody because everybody is inferior and only white people have a right to rule. I say you're sick and you need a doctor or you need to be buried." -- Farrakhan in a speech July 22, 1985 at the Washington Convention Center.

2. FARRAKHAN'S VIEWS ON JEWS

"We know that the Jews are the most organized, rich and powerful people, not only in America, but in the world. They're plotting against us even as we speak. They want to use some of our own brothers. and some of our own brothers are willing to be used by them to curry favor." (Speech at the 369th Regiment Armory in New York, January 24, 1994)

"They're [Jews] trying to use my brother Khalid's words against me to divide the house." (Speech at the 369th Regiment Armory in New York, January 24, 1994)

"I am not now, nor have I ever been anti-Semitic." (February 3, 1994 News Conference in Washington, D.C.)

"The Jews cannot be held above criticism, and if a prophet is to point out your wrong, don't accuse the prophet of being anti-Semitic when the prophet's role is to change your behavior to make you more acceptable to God." (ibid)

"It used to be that an anti-Semite was one who disliked Jews. Now anti-Semite is anyone that Jews dislike." (ibid)

"I'm neither a racist nor an anti-Semite. But if I point out your evil with the truth, call me a preacher of truth...If I point out your evil tracks in the sands of time, don't blame me." (Speech at Jacob Javits Convention Center in New York, December 18, 1993)

[Jews] like to look at themselves as powerless and as victims...But they can't play that role with me. Because I know Jews have power. And whenever somebody threatens them, they use that power. (Interview with the *Detroit Jewish News* of October 22, 1993)

"If I did [apologize] do you know what some Jews would tell me? Too little, too late. Jesse's [Jackson] still apologizing. He'll never get finished...I'm no dog. You don't give me no little piece of meat on a hook. I'm not looking for nothing from you and your people. You can only get yourself out of the hell you're getting yourself into." (Interview with the *Detroit Jewish News* of October 22, 1993)

"Jews got a hell of a nerve asking me to apologize for telling the truth...They want everybody to bow down to them, and I ain't bowing down to nothing or nobody but God." (Interview with the *Detroit Jewish News* of October 22, 1993)

"[Some Jews are] the most unforgiving people if anyone offends them...Who do they think they are that I should...beg for forgiveness when they helped to bring my people into slavery and I have never heard a rabbi or Jewish organization apologize to me and my people to...". (Interview with the *Detroit Jewish News* of October 22, 1993)

"[Jews were displaying] hysteria, extreme hatred, and fear [at the prospect that he may be about to] free the black man from their grip, and ultimately force them to admit their role in the slave trade. [The Jewish community] should pay reparations to black people for the evils done to us. I shall never again ask for a dialogue with the Jewish community. If the Jewish community wants to dialogue, they will have to ask me." (as written by Farrakhan in *The Final Call*, September 22, 1993)

"The president of this [Kean] college is an Hispanic woman. The head of the Black Studies Department is a black woman. Both of these sisters are under tremendous pressure. The president of the college may lose her job unjustly because members of the Jewish community wish to make her an example to frighten other college presidents into not allowing any Muslim of the Nation of Islam to speak on their campuses." (February 3, 1994 News Conference in Washington, D.C.)

Farrakhan said the agreement to not allow him to speak in Washington "bears witness [to] Jewish influence and control over black leaders, black politicians, black arts and entertainment figures." -- Interview, *Chicago Sun Times*, September 3, 1993

"Jews want everyone to bow down to them, and I ain't bowing down to nothing or nobody but G-d." -- Interview, *Baltimore Jewish Times*, August 27, 1993

"You [Jews] had your day with G-d, and you didn't do what you were supposed to do." -- Interview, *Baltimore Jewish Times*, August 27, 1993

"Who controls black arts? Who controls black sports figures? Who controls black intellectuals, black politicians...?" "...When I talk to the Jews, I am talking to a segment of that quorum that holds my people in their grip." -- Interview, *Chicago Sun Times*, July 19, 1993

"They (the African American elite) are elders of Israel, but the elders of Israel are under the control of Pharaoh... They are under the control of those who have done injustices to the masses of the

people, so I have to go to them to get you out of their grips so you can work for your people rather than work on a job for their enemy." -- Interview, *Chicago Sun Times*, July 19, 1993

"... I am not going there [seeking dialogue] because I want to beg some Jew to give me money. For what? Hell, no." -- Interview, *Chicago Sun Times*, July 19, 1993

"I happen to believe that everything I said is true. And if what I said is the truth, I cannot apologize for telling the truth. If the truth hurts... members of the Jewish community, I cannot apologize for it, because the truth offends only the guilty." -- Interview, *Chicago Sun Times*, July 19, 1993

"I said that the state of Israel has not had peace and will not have peace because there can be no peace structured on injustice, lying, thievery, murder and using God's name as a shield for your dirty religion." -- *Washington Times*, February 27, 1990

On February 18, 1990, Farrakhan told 4,000 people at Michigan State University that Jews were "sucking the blood of the black community."

"And he [Farrakhan] said that Jews should 'look at why God permitted a Hitler. If you understand, there will never be a Hitler again'" -- *Rocky Mountain News*, December 15, 1989

"Narrow-minded, common Jews... The Jews cannot defeat me so I will grind them and crush them into little bits." -- Speech in Flushing, New York on May 21, 1988 (as reported in the *New York Post*, May 23, 1988)

"Cokely spoke the truth" and [Jews protested] "because the truth hurts. I know this man Cokely. I know if he said it, he got the stuff to back it up." -- *Chicago Sun Times*, May 10, 1988, concerning statements by Chicago Black activist and former municipal official Steve Cokely asserting that Jews engaged in an international conspiracy to take over the world, and that Jewish doctors deliberately injected black children with the AIDS virus.

"The germ of murder is already sewn into the hearts of Jews in this country.... The Jews talk about 'never again'. Well, I am your last chance, too, Jews. Listen, Jews, this little black boy is your last chance because the Scriptures charge [you] with killing 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." -- Speech at Madison Square Garden, New York City, New York, October 7, 1985

"There can never be any peace structured on injustice, thievery, lying, deceit and using God's name to shield your dirty religion... 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...." -- Speech at Morgan State University, September 26, 1985

"Jews know their wickedness, not just Zionism, which is an outgrowth of Jewish transgression." -- *Washington Post*, July 17, 1985

"Jews have been run out like vagabonds of the earth because God has chosen new people." -- *Boston Globe*, April 24, 1985

"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." -- Speech to National Press Club, July 30, 1984

"Hitler was a very great man." -- Radio broadcast, March 11, 1984

3. FARRAKHAN AND THE NATION OF ISLAM ON CHRISTIANS

"The whole of the Western white civilization is opposed to Islam, the only true religion of God; therefore they (devils) don't teach of Allah and Islam to us... Christianity was organized by the white race and they placed the name of Jesus on it as being the founder and author to deceive the Black people into accepting it." -- From *The Final Call*, April 6, 1992

"Does the Pope ask his white brothers and sisters to repent of their evils to our people (in 'Africa') before asking our people to forgive? What does this tell you about who he really represents? Does he really represent Christ, or does he represent that originator and organizer of organized crime on this earth?... Who represents Christ: Pope John Paul II or the Honorable Louis Farrakhan? Will Christ himself finally distinguish him who is genuine from him who is the imposter (anti-Christ)?" -- From *The Final Call*, March 4, 1992.

"Minister Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, recently told St. Sabina worshippers the Roman Catholic Church has tried to make African Americans pray 'like white people' for more than 20 years. 'We reject it!' exclaimed Farrakhan." -- *Chicago Defender*, November 19, 1989

4. FARRAKHAN AND THE MYTH OF THE "JEWISH CONSPIRACY"

"I don't own Hollywood. Who depicted Black people? Who writes the books? Who writes the plays, the songs that make us look less than human? Do you mean to tell me that Jews have never done any evil to Black people?... Were they not involved in the slave trade? Yes, they were... and to the extent that they were involved, somebody has to bring them to account. And I believe that has fallen on me." (Interview with the *Amsterdam News*, January 8, 1994)

"I have in my possession here some quotes from this book [*The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*] that state that Jewish people, not only Gentiles, not only Arabs, but Jewish people were prominent in the slave trade... Jewish scholars have said that 75 percent of the slaves owned in the South were owned by Jewish slaveholders. They said that Jewish slaveholders used to cut off the hand of those that fought for freedom and give it to others or sell it to others." (February 3, 1994 News Conference in Washington, D.C.)

"They [Jews] have never admitted until recently that they were involved in the slave trade. They put it on the Gentiles. They put it on the Arabs, but they have never come out publicly until we published that book and said they were involved." (Interview with the *Amsterdam News*, January 8, 1994)

"I would respectfully submit that in my judgment 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 people." -- Farrakhan in an interview with the *Washington Post*, March 1, 1990

"Jews have never been upset over any black person. They usually have great control over black people. But here's one they don't control, and they have not yet found the mechanism to destroy what they can't control." -- Farrakhan (*Los Angeles Times*, February 4, 1990)

"'Cokely spoke the truth' and [Jews protested] 'because the truth hurts. I know this man Cokely. I know if he said it, he got the stuff to back it up.' -*Chicago Sun Times*, May 10, 1988, concerning statements by Chicago Black activist and former municipal official Steve Cokely asserting that Jews engaged in an international conspiracy to take over the world, and that Jewish doctors deliberately injected black children with the AIDS virus." -- From 1990 ADL Report *Louis Farrakhan: The Campaign to Manipulate Public Opinion*

"Four hundred members of Congress are honorary members of the Knesset of Israel.... If you speak out, they will work to get you out of office." -- Farrakhan in a 1988 speech at Plainfield, New Jersey high school

"The Jewish lobby has a stranglehold on the government of the United States." -- Farrakhan in a speech at Madison Square Garden, New York City, New York, October 7, 1985

"[I] spoke out forcibly against what I saw the Jews doing to Jesse [Jackson], this was reported by the -- if you will -- Zionist-controlled media." -- Farrakhan (*Los Angeles Times*, May 3, 1985)

"As long as Jewish people control the media, Arabs, Blacks, Muslims, will never have a balanced view." -- Farrakhan (*Columbus Dispatch*, April 16, 1984)

5. FARRAKHAN'S IMAGERY OF VIOLENCE AGAINST WHITES, BLACKS AND THOSE WHO DISAGREE WITH HIS VIEWS

"Suppose a Jew would kill Farrakhan... there are blacks that would kill until their soul was satisfied if anything happened to Louis Farrakhan... if America moves on me, G-d will move on America. Try it and see." -- Interview, *Chicago Sun Times*, July 18, 1993.

"Now it is time to stand up and fight back... There are no good crackers [white people], and if you find one, kill him before he changes." -- Khalid Abdul Muhammad, Nation of Islam spokesman, in a speech at West Chester University, Pennsylvania, on February 17, 1992

"The people will burn this country to the ground.... [We] will walk up to the car where your police officers are taking a break, and blow their damn brains out... [we will kill] anything that's white, that ain't right, that's in sight." -- Khalid Abdul Muhammad in April 1986 as reported in ADL's 1990 report, *Louis Farrakhan: The Campaign to Manipulate Public Opinion*

"I personally would like everyone to know that if some fool so-called Jew, be it a government agent or a personal agent, I will not make a petty threat but you can rest assured that 430 years of fury unleashed will not be a pretty sight." -- Khalid Alif Muhammad in *The Final Call*, November 8, 1987

"If I am allowed to continue to do what God has put in my heart, we'll have the most awesome war machine that the earth has ever seen." -- From taped speech by Farrakhan, as reported in *Insight*, November 11, 1985

"We have to go to war to see whose going to rule this Earth." -- Farrakhan's speech at Madison Square Garden, New York City, October 7, 1985

"It is an act of mercy to white people that we end your world... We must end your world and bring in a new world." -- Farrakhan as quoted in the *Washington Post*, March 14, 1985

"We will put so much fire under their backsides that they will be afraid to come back where we live." -- Farrakhan as quoted in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 29, 1985

"Speaking in Washington, D.C. on August 18, 1984. When Farrakhan asked the crowd what should be done with black leaders who seek Jewish support, someone shouted: 'Kill them.' Farrakhan replied: 'I didn't say it. I just seconded the motion.'" -- Associated Press dispatch published in *Newsday*, August 19, 1984

"We are at war and we never stop fighting for justice. You must have force... don't drop your gun and don't forget to squeeze." -- Farrakhan as quoted by Associated Press report on August 18, 1984

6. FARRAKHAN ON THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

"I have in my possession an internal and secret document put out by the Civil Rights Division on the Anti-Defamation League this January. I intend that all of you have a copy of this. This document reveals their strategy for dealing with Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam. In this document titled, "Mainstreaming Anti-Semitism, The Legitimization of Louis Farrakhan," which I will share with black leaders, organizations, churches and others, the ADL raises the question, does Farrakhan's acceptance by the mainstream black community represent a newfound tolerance for anti-Semitism which the ADL must fight with every weapon at our disposal?"

"What do these weapons include? One of the weapons identified by the ADL and mentioned in their document, is their exploitation of 'some of the nation's top black political and civil rights leaders who have long been envious of Farrakhan's ability to reach large enthusiastic audiences.'" (February 3, 1994 News Conference in Washington, D.C.)

"The ADL has a history of spying not only on black leaders but all those leaders and organizations that have popular support, black, white, Arab, and even other Jews of whom they disapprove. The Anti-Defamation League seeks total control of the masses of Jewish people, many of who would have dialogue with us if it were not for the wicked aim and purpose of the ADL and its leadership." (ibid)

"In view of the history and the practice of the Anti-Defamation League, this organization must be considered anti-black and even anti-American." (ibid)

"The ADL seeks to promote division. They hate the Reverend Jackson and they hate Louis Farrakhan, and nothing would please them more than to be able to use him against me and me against him." (ibid)

"The aim of the ADL is to create divisions both on the outside of the nation of Islam in the black community, but more importantly within the ranks of the Nation of Islam. They would love to use Reverend Jackson and civil rights leaders against the rising tide of black youth, and the rising tide of anger and resentment over injustice that permeates the black community. And they would hope to produce another schism within the Nation by exalting Brother Khalid's remarks to produce a conflict, hoping that he would resist my discipline and become an enemy against his leader and teacher...

"I believe by the help of Allah that their plan is doomed to fail...False reports of my alleged defense of Brother Khalid's remarks have become so pervasive that even the Vice President of the United States of America, Mr. Al Gore, has used the power of the chief executive office to give more credence to a lie. His response points out the possible collusion between the ADL and the United States government not only in sharing intelligence files, but also in shaping policies at the highest levels." (ibid)

"I am calling on the black community to alienate this spy organization and establish proper relationships with Jewish organizations, people and leaders who are not as self-centered, bigoted, and malicious as the ADL. The obsession of the ADL with my destruction and the destruction of the Nation of Islam has blinded them to the terrible need in the black community for a unified programmatic approach to solving our problems and the position that I and the Nation of Islam occupy in that approach to the solution of our problems." (ibid)

"...the ADL has narrowed that definition [anti-Semitism] to mean exclusive anti-Jewish." (ibid)

"The ADL and other Zionists use the term [anti-Semitism] to stifle legitimate criticism of Zionism and the state of Israel, and the Zionist policies of the state of Israel." (ibid)

"Now, whenever the ADL and the Zionists feel that somebody is not bowing to their will, they drop that on them, anti-Semite." (ibid)

7. FARRAKHAN'S THREATENING CRITICISM OF POLITICIANS, REPORTERS AND OTHERS

(Not one to tolerate differing points of view, Farrakhan often reserves his harshest castigations for those he calls "traitors" -- black leaders that have either criticized or opposed him or who he perceives has "sold out" to white and Jewish constituencies.)

"To the black leaders, what happened to our agreement that if we had any criticism of one another, we would call each other and go behind the door and speak frankly and candidly to one another?...I should never be called on by any of you to distance myself from my own brother." (February 3, 1994 News Conference in Washington, D.C.)

"He should pay a price... do you think the leader should sell out and then live?" -- Farrakhan speaking about New York City Clerk (now Mayor) David Dinkins in a speech at Madison Square Garden, New York City, October 7, 1985. *The New York Times* reported that following this statement police protection was ordered for Dinkins.

"We will tar and feather them, we will hang them from the highest limb, we will chop off their heads and roll them down the street." -- Farrakhan in a speech July 22, 1985 in Washington, D.C.

"Farrakhan has a history of threatening newsmen, and, at one time, sought to stir a crowd into doing violence against a *Chicago Daily News* reporter who had investigated the Nation of Islam, the Muslim sect headed by Farrakhan." -- *New Haven Register*, May 25, 1984

"We're going to make an example of Milton Coleman. One day soon, we will punish you by death, because you are interfering with the future of our babies -- for white people and against the good of yourself and your own people. This is a fitting punishment for such dogs. We will come to power right inside this country one day soon. And the white man is not going to stop us from executing the law of God on all of you who fall under our jurisdiction." -- (Farrakhan speaking about Milton Coleman, *Washington Post* reporter, who reported Jesse Jackson's "Hymietown" remark.) -- Radio broadcast, March 11, 1984

"One day soon when... divine law is established and our nation is formed out of that law, then these traitorous acts will be punished by death." -- Farrakhan at a press conference, March 11, 1984

"In a statement aimed at black leaders whose outlook differs from that of Farrakhan: 'Every leader should be accountable at the cost of his or her life. Death should be the penalty for traitorous activity.'" -- *Charlotte Observer*, March 1984

8. FARRAKHAN AND THE NATION OF ISLAM'S THOUGHTS ON...

WOMEN, FEMINISM AND WOMEN'S RIGHTS

"She, being from Him, is a little less than he but reflects totally his attributes, his characteristics. I would say succinctly that her nature is Islam -- submission to the Will of Allah... First woman must be taken from the world that has spoiled and ruined her and put in an environment that is like a sanctuary.... Once she is made new, then from her will come new young men, new young women... He (God) would be the feeder and she would be nurtured into a new thought, a new idea, a new way of thinking, a new way of eating, a new way of living." -- Farrakhan in an interview in *The Final Call*, June 5, 1992

"In a rush for a gender-free society as an ill-conceived and misguided prerequisite for women's liberation, equality between men meant no difference between men and women, including matters sexual... However, once men had been relieved of their responsibilities to the women... the cry went up over 'the feminization of poverty,' when in fact feminism had been the means by which the profiteers of postindustrial society were able to seduce both men and women to work for what one used to provide." -- From *The Final Call*, January 27, 1992

"The nation-building agenda also reinforces the organization's nationalist ideology and longstanding opposition to abortion, which both Muhammad and Farrakhan have denounced as genocidal as well as immoral." -- *The Nation*, January 21, 1991

"Not surprisingly, the youthful Farrakhan constituency in each domain seems preponderantly male. On the one hand, Farrakhan's stridency and martial style have a distinctly macho appeal. On the other, women of any stratum are not likely to respond enthusiastically to his philosophy, which assigns them subordinate status in a patriarchal family, stresses childbearing and child raising as their

main functions and ties them to the domestic realm in a state of modified purdah." -*The Nation*, January 28, 1991

"The Honorable Elijah Muhammad taught us that the leader of the ideals of the Nation are carried in the male." -- From *The Final Call*, May 1988

CIVIL RIGHTS

"[Farrakhan believes that] civil rights legislation has done black citizens general harm because 'women, gays, lesbians and Jews have taken advantage of civil rights laws, antidiscrimination laws, and housing laws.'" -- *The Nation*, January 28, 1991

"The Jews latched onto our civil rights movement to further their own interests." -- Farrakhan was reported in *Youngstown Reporter* (Ohio) July 28, 1984

INTEGRATION

"We want our people in America whose parents or grandparents were descendants from slaves, to be allowed to establish a separate state or territory of their own -- either on this continent or elsewhere. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to provide such land and that the area must be fertile and mineral rich. We believe that our former slave masters are obligated to maintain and supply our needs in this territory for the next 20 to 25 years -- until we are able to produce and supply our own needs... We believe that intermarriage or race-mixing should be prohibited." -- From a list entitled, "What the Muslims Want" that appears in every issue of *The Final Call*

"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." -- Farrakhan *Washington Times*, February 27, 1990)

"Some white people are going to live...but (God) don't want them living with us. He doesn't want us mixing ourselves up with the slavemaster's children, whose time of doom has arrived." -- Farrakhan in a radio broadcast on March 11, 1984

ON THE U.S. GOVERNMENT

"Yes, we have a gripe with the United States government because the government used our tax dollars to spy on black leaders and organizations, to turn one against each other, to assassinate our strong spokesperson, to upset our desires for progress, to destroy our leaders...that spoke out boldly for us." (February 3, 1994 News Conference in Washington, D.C.)

ON LIBYA

"...I took the \$5 million that Khadafy loaned me and I put it in a Black bank at less interest...". (Interviewed with the *Amsterdam News*, January 8, 1994)

HOMOSEXUALS

"[Farrakhan] admonished homosexuals. 'Look at you. A man trying to be a woman. A woman trying to be a man.'" -- From a speech in Denver, Colorado, as reported in *Rocky Mountain News*, December 15, 1989

"With your state filled with homosexuals, filled with degenerates, filled with disease... With all of this going on in your state, you should welcome me like the return of Jesus Christ" -- Farrakhan in a speech in Los Angeles, California, September 14, 1985

THE HOLOCAUST

"You see everybody always talk about Hitler exterminating 6 million Jews. That's right. But don't nobody ever ask what did they do to Hitler? What did they do to them folks? They went in there, in 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 the society..." (Khalid Abdul Mohammad, Kean College, N.J., November 29, 1993)

"A deal was struck with Hitler in the Third Reich that Jews would be brought out of Germany and settled in Palestine." -- Farrakhan in a speech at University of Pennsylvania, April 13, 1988

"Hitler aided the Jews in settling to Palestine [and] in setting up the Jewish state." -- Farrakhan (*Southern Israelite*, August 30, 1985)

"The Zionists made a deal with Adolph Hitler." -- Farrakhan (*Chicago Sun Times*, June 25, 1984)

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Exhibit Q



RESEARCH REPORT

Farrakhan Unchanged: The Continuing Message of Hate

**The Ongoing Record of Racism and Anti-Semitism by
Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam, February-March, 1994**

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

1994





Anti-Defamation League

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Farrakhan Unchanged: The Continuing Message of Hate

The following excerpts from recent public appearances by Minister Louis Farrakhan illustrate his ongoing, unmitigated pattern of racism and anti-Semitic scapegoating.

March 9, 1994: University of Massachusetts at Amherst

Jews, Zionism and the Holocaust

"Talmudic Scholars invented the 'Ham' myth. This curse of Ham developed by scholars and imposed on scripture uses your love of religion to defeat you. The Hamitic curse is that we would be doomed by our blackness to be hewers of wood and drawers of water."

"Hitler, with his magnificent oratory, made a people in Germany and it took the whole western world to defeat a nation of 70 million people. Hitler was a genius. I said he was a great man -- but he was wickedly great.

"Because Zionists saw a threat in Rev. Jackson's appeal, since Jackson embraced Arafat several years before Rabin and Peres, Jackson was hated. To the degree it was in the Zionist interest to destroy the Jackson candidacy, Farrakhan is the whipping boy. Jackson repudiated Farrakhan. It's all right. I didn't come into the world with no twin."

"Jews think your life is more sacred than the goyim, the gentile and the Arab."

"The holocaust of Jews is comparable to the holocaust of black people. But you think you are better than us."

"Who is Warner Brothers. Are they Jewish? Why would a Jewish film company spend \$30 million to make film of the leading anti-Semite of his day? How will we destroy Farrakhan? They'll raise one up from the dead and clean it up."

"Some Jewish people in Hollywood put \$30 million in Spike Lee's hand -- that's akin to 30 pieces of silver."

Jews and the Slave Trade

"I talked about Jews in the slave trade and they acted like I said something wrong. We did some research, and found that Jews were heavily involved in the slave trade. Why focus on Jews? In the books we read, we never read where the Jews had a hand. You had a hand in bringing us down, you got to have a hand in bringing us up."

In the South, 75% of the Jews owned slaves. 36% of the gentiles. Many Jews did not want Union, they spoke for secession. Who fought the freedom fighters who rose up in the Caribbean -- the owners of slaves."

Jewish Threats

"They want me dead. But they want you black people to do it. Do you want me dead? Not if you want the consequences."

"Professor Martin is not an anti-Semite. He has suffered. Look at what Leonard Jeffries has suffered. And the students who brought me here tonight. Death threats."

March 4, 1994: Palm Beach, FL

Farrakhan's basic message was that whites in general -- and the Jews in particular -- are the ones responsible for the problems that have been haunting and plaguing the Afro-American community for the past 400 years (since they were taken from Africa as slaves).

Farrakhan devoted more than half of his speech to discussing the role that the Jews have played and continue to play in the destruction of the Afro-American community.

About 50 percent of the books being sold were anti-Semitic in nature, including Holocaust denial material. (See attached list of items sold.)

On Jews

"Jewish people are some of the most intelligent, most productive people on earth," he said, then paused for a long moment.

"BUT," he added. "When we say that Jews had a role in our enslavement, they say, 'Yes, but it was only marginal, only 2 percent.' But we have researched this (shows a copy of the book *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*). We used sources from your rabbis, your scholars. You wrote your history. We've only researched it. It's sad that many Jews don't know this."

Later, after insisting that he is speaking out of "love" not "hate," he added, "I know why you (Jews) did what you did. I know the root of your evil. But I won't get into it now."

"Nobody talks to Jews the way they should be talked to. When somebody says something that might upset the Jews, they say, 'Don't say that because it is anti-Semitic.' So you run up a tree and shut your mouth. But Farrakhan ain't running nowhere."

On Whites

"If you want to live, and you want a future, maybe you should turn and help me to help the people you helped to destroy."

"White people have done us in because they thought we were less than human."

"They (Warner Bros.) made a conscious decision to raise Malcolm X from the grave, a conscious decision to clean up his image as an antisemite and a hater...they tried to make a movie in such a way that young people would fall in love with Malcolm and begin to hate the honorable Elijah Muhummad."

"Caucasians, you are more than racist. You have deprived the human family of the natural right of truth and self-determination. I am not a racist...."

PUBLICATIONS OFFERED FOR SALE AT LOUIS FARRAKHAN APPEARANCE

March 4, 1994

Palm Beach, FL

"THE HOAX OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY"

The Case Against The Presumed Extermination of European Jewry

By Arthur R. Butz (Institute for Historical Review)

"THE JEWS & THEIR LIES"

By Dr. Martin Luther (Father of the Lutheran Church)

"THE JEWISH ONSLAUGHT"

Despatches From the Wellesley Battlefield

By Tony Martin (The Majority Press) -- Prof. Martin has used the Nation of Islam book, "The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews," as a text in his classes at Wellesley, and his book promotes anti-Semitic conspiracy theories.

"PROTOCOLS" Of the Learned Elders of ZION

Translated from the Russian of NILUS

By Victor E. Marsden

(Late Russian Correspondent of "The Morning Post")

"THE SECRET RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BLACKS AND JEWS"

Volume One

By The Nation of Islam (The Historical Research Department)

Latimer Associates

"THE UGLY TRUTH ABOUT THE ADL"

By the Editors of Executive Intelligence Review, part of the extremist Lyndon LaRouche organization, whose propaganda has for many years contained anti-Semitic conspiracy theories and accusations.

February 27, 1994: Speech at NOI Savior's Day in Chicago

On ADL

"This [black leaders siding with ADL] is an attempt to unite all of America against the Nation of Islam and Louis Farrakhan."

On Jews

"I said the black holocaust was a hundred times worse than the holocaust of the Jews. And, when I said that, some of the Jews got angry: 'How dare you compare our suffering with yours.' But let me tell you what the Honorable Elijah Muhammad said. He said for every thousand years of the white race's existence on earth, one hundred million of the original people have been put to death. So in six thousand years, you have murdered six hundred million black people."

"...and Jesus was born in Palestine. And the darkness of the caucasian people was such that they didn't want to hear his preaching. Jesus told them, 'my word has no place among you.' They didn't want to hear what he said. And they trumped up lies on him, and they killed him. Right to this day, the Jews don't believe in Jesus, but you all believe in them. They don't even believe that Jesus was a prophet, they can't believe that the New Testament is from God, they don't even follow that book. You know why, because the New Testament is a book of forgiveness."

"Nimrod is who you're really celebrating on the 25th day of December. You're not celebrating the birth of Jesus Christ. And if you are, you're making a mockery of it. You drink more alcohol on his birthday than on any other day in the year, and you've turned the so-called birthday of Jesus Christ into a commercial feast of foolishness. Santa Claus has knocked Jesus out of the top spot. And the merchants who don't even believe in Jesus are busy selling you foolishness, making themselves rich and you poor for another year on the basis of a lie. And that's why they call it X-mas, because you don't know who it is that you are worshipping."

On Blacks Who Criticize Him

"By the voice of Almighty God, I will never compromise the truth to find friendship with civil rights leaders... your friendship is not worth that. If I have to compromise truth to be your friend, then to hell with your friendship."

"We're coming after all these Negroes that are the pawns of white people. We're gonna make them pay for allowing an external force to manipulate them against our people. We'll work to overthrow every Congressman, every alderman, everybody in government that's supposed to be for your people -- and you're with the enemy? -- we're gonna turn you out of office."

"We'll be everywhere you speak. ...We're gonna make you know that it don't pay to be a turncoat and a traitor for your people."

On Whites

"Your [whites] history is written in the blood of the human family. It comes out of you like a web comes out of a spider."

"The caucasian world brought in a world of sin that was not known before. There's always been sin, but the kind of sin that this world brought in is a sin that has never been before."

"Murder and lying comes easy for white people. no, I gotta tell it. Your history is shedding the blood of all human beings and you came in lying to us, deceiving us, then killing us."

"White people, you are made in our image. Out of us you've come...".

On the Catholic Church

"The Pope of Rome has a few blacks. But you know and I know that's a white

organization. Talk to me. We're not anti-Catholic, we just got to tell the truth. Catholicism has been by white people, for white people, to subject black people to a white kind of theology that strips us of ourselves until recently."

"...when the church pulls down the very standard of morality and starts marrying gays and lesbians, then the church has become the house of Satan."

On the US Government

"But I warn America as I leave you. If you think that those in Congress who are leading the government to come against the Nation, if you think that that's what you must do, then I warn you the moment you make your move on us, these too will make a serious move on you. I'm telling you that America is under divine judgment right now, and it will get worse and worse according to your evil plans against the righteous. If you attempt to kill me, any of you, you will pay a very great price...."

"So I'm saying to my ministers, we're not any longer going to be on the defensive. No people can win their freedom on the defensive. We're going to have to take the offensive, and carry the fight to our enemies. I don't want them to have no day or night where they rest. We tire of this foolishness. I have taken abuse from your mouths and from your secret counsels, but that's over."

February 25, 1994: The Arsenio Hall Show

Arsenio Hall: I've heard terms like the new Black Hitler, why did you book him?
Respond to those three words: New Black Hitler.

Farrakhan: I have never desired to put another human being in an oven. I have never taught that Jews should be exterminated because of their Jewishness....

So to call me a Hitler, I ask myself, why? It is because God has blessed me with oratorical skills, and God has blessed me to be able to move the masses of our people as no

other Black person in recent time has done. And those who have oppressed us are so frightened that we will move our people to take vengeance against them for the evils that they have poured and continue to pour on our heads...

So my ministry is not a ministry of rage, but it is a ministry of love. And the problem is that we are teaching Black people to love themselves.

But look at what has happened. You brought me here to your show, and what happened, Arsenio? You incited so much rage, so much venom, so much hatred, that now they don't want your show to show in the marketplace that it has shown. They've threatened you that they will take you off the air and ruin your career. Farrakhan didn't do that. That's hate. That's bitterness. That's venom.

AH: This book...The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews, I've seen you hold up this book during conversation. I found an interesting remark from a doctor who is Black; his name is Dr. Henry Louis Gates, Jr., chairman of African-American Studies at Harvard. He says this is the "bible of the new anti-Semitism." What's your response to that?

F: This book, The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews, is compiled by the Nation of Islam research department as an answer to the charge that Louis Farrakhan is anti-Jewish or anti-Semitic. I said that there were Jews who were involved in the slave trade. We have always heard that Arabs were involved; that Africans were involved; that white Europeans were involved in the slave trade. But we never knew much about Jewish involvement in the slave trade. In fact, there are many Jews themselves who do not know their involvement in the slave trade.

So we researched. This is not a book written by us. This book is quotations from eminent Jewish rabbis, scholars, and historians, and we are only quoting what they say. So if it is anti-Semitic, then Jews themselves are the ones we are quoting...

At some point in time, every one that had a part in our destruction must be called upon

to have a part in our redemption. We can't let our African brothers off the hook; they helped to sell us into slavery.

We can't let Arabs off the hook; they made a profit from slavery. We can't let gentile Europeans off the hook, but neither can we let Jews off the hook, who held our fathers as slaves. Nor can we let the government of America off because the government of the United States of America has proved to be the worst enemy of Black people.

So now, so now when it comes time for justice, this is not spoken out of hatred, or out of bitterness. But reparations have to be given to Black people--even as Jews received reparations from the onslaught of Nazi Germany, and now the Japanese are going to receive reparations for what America did by putting them in concentration camps. What's wrong with the children of slaves; we are here poor, ragged, hungry, naked, and out-of-doors. Reparations is what we want. And every one that had a part in our destruction will have a part in paying reparations.

February 19, 1994: Interview on Black Entertainment Television

On Jews

"...every time black people have attempted some united front...if that effort was not in harmony with the main and aspirations of some Jews and some Jewish organizations who have invested heavily in black organizations and black leaders, they pull those influential strings to cause our brothers and sisters to do what they desire."

"Is there Jewish manipulation of the media? When they [ADL] wrote the story or put the ad in the paper, all of the media started writing. And the writers, if you look at their names, most of them are Jewish, and they wrote similarly throughout the country. Their attack is the same throughout the country. And, so, I see a conspiracy. I don't know what others see. But the conspiracy is to destroy Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam."

"Why is it that when Farrakhan is attacked by the ADL, every Jewish writer from the

Washington Post, the Washington Times, all over America...follow the same line of argument. Is there control and manipulation of the media by stories about a Jewish holocaust? Why is that we can see a Schindler's List, but there is nothing that is said about the holocaust to black people, which was a hundred times worse than the holocaust of the Jews?"

On Whites

"...if I am a man backed by God, and you [whites] fight me, you will find yourself fighting God."

On the "Conspiracy" Against Farrakhan

"...the media in my judgment has a definite aim in the coverage, which is to inundate the people of America and the people of the world with their view of Louis Farrakhan, that he is a hater, a bigot, an anti-Semite, and the desire of this inundation of media coverage is to isolate Louis Farrakhan and make him a pariah, so that the next step which is the crucifixion or the destruction of Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam could take place, and there would not be too much of a cry from the masses of the people."

On Khalid Muhammad's Kean College Speech

"See, you must understand that these remarks of Brother Khalid Muhammad were lifted from a 2 1/2 hour speech along with questions and answers from the students. In that 2 1/2 hour speech, this man spoke many, many truths, and it is those truths that are in the Bible and Koran and the history and in the teachings of the honorable Elijah Muhammad. Those are the truths that I would be a hypocrite, if I spoke or denounced those truths."

Extremist Statements by Farrakhan Representatives -- February and March 1994

Khalid Abdul Muhammad

March 2, 1994: Slave Theater, Brooklyn, NY

"They [Jews] are scared to death some black man or woman is going to knock them in the head, and take our money back that they robbed from us all day long. They drive their tractor-trailers full of money to their neighborhoods and our neighborhoods get poorer and poorer and their neighborhoods get richer and richer."

The Catholic religion is filled with "homosexuality and pedophiles."

February 28, 1994: Trenton State College, Trenton, NJ

Defending his Anti-Semitic and Racist Address at Kean College

In a little while I'll tell you about Kean College. I'll tell you my spirit at Kean College. I'll tell you what angered me and you can judge it for yourself. All right? Meaning: all right. They bum-rush your house, black boots stomp your door down, pull a gun on you, rape everybody in the house, misuse and abuse everyone in the household, take all of the valuables, parlay it into an empire over a period of time. And in their comings and goings, one day, God Almighty blesses you with the power, to stop them at the door. Now they've been a robber and a raper for a long time, and God blesses you to trip 'em down and take their gun and put their gun on them. Does that make you a reverse robber and a reverse rapist? Because you are now subduing the person who has done you that way for all this time? Come on, guys, let's reason.

Muhammad on American History

To the lone Jews in the audience, not one young Jewish student here at Trenton State University would be happy if they had to study textbooks and history books that praised and honored and glorified Adolf Hitler as a founding father and as the first president. But reason

with us. We have to study textbooks, history books, that praised George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, some of the founding fathers of America. George Washington owned slaves. Thomas Jefferson owned slaves. You don't condemn George Washington and Thomas Jefferson, not a white professor on this campus has the nerve to condemn openly and whip up such a controversy and whirlwind and foolishness.

Defending Farrakhan

I was angry at Kean College. I was very hurt at Kean College. I was in a war posture and spirit at Kean College. I was hurt. I get sick of everywhere I go, everywhere my teacher and father goes, somebody's protesting outside. Passing out flyers. Haranguing and harassing the people trying to get it. Posters, placards, banners....And the voices out there. "Death to Farrakhan." Not with the professors that I was talkin' to. But callin' for the death of my leader....'Who do we want? Farrakhan! How do we want him? Dead! Who do we want? Farrakhan! How do we want him? Dead!' I get sick of that. You can't call for the death of my leader and not expect a response from me!

On Jews and Arabs

How many of you have seen in your community, hold for a second, Arabs and Jews that sell meat cases full of rotten pork that they don't even eat themselves? Let me see your hands. Now this is my survey in here. I got some bald heads, I got some short haircuts, I got some braids, I got some dreadlocks, I got even some white heads, some gray-hair-headed hands held up in here. Hands down. Did you see all of them? Did any black in here who say that's not the truth? Hold your hand up. Did you see? Did you see? Not one. Not one. We experience this, sir, on a daily basis. It's not all Jews. But those Jews among you. If you...condemn me for words, why won't you condemn the ones who are among you who do deeds in the community? When they're doing evil deeds, then you should condemn them. You should call them out. You should picket their stores, and boycott their stores, and say, no, this is not acceptable behavior from you! You say we answer to a higher authority. To me that means God. And when you say you answer to a higher authority, then I could accept it a little bit from somebody else, but when it's an Arab who says he or she is a Muslim that has his Holy Koran on top of his poison pork

meat case or stacked his Koran right there with his paws in liquor that is tearing down the minds of the black community and keeping them drunk and out of their heads and causing other terrible crimes to take place when they become drunk. They get their poor checks from a job and bring their checks there and cash their check in the store every week and as soon as the check goes across the counter, the liquor's starin' them in the face and the poison rotten pork meat! The Arab and the Jews who work in these stores and own these stores, not all of you, handle the meat with their gloves on because they don't even wanna touch it! But they send it to my poor, ignorant people who have been robbed of a knowledge of self, so I expect you, sir, if you are a fair person, if you are a person of goodwill and conscience, to speak out against them and to protest against their actions, then I could respect that more. That's what I meant by, are you any better than your fathers and your mothers of yesteryear?

February 24, 1994: University of North Carolina, Greensboro

Before Muhammad's 90-minute speech about a dozen students spoke. A few of the students targeted Jews with their remarks: "Calling it 'Jewbash', one student who didn't give his name said the Holocaust lasted eight years. 'Guess what?' he shouted to the crowd. 'We are still suffering.'"

Khalid Muhammad:

"You've called me hater. You've called me racist, you've called me a bigot. You've compared us with Hitler. Then he sounded a call repeated by hundreds in the boisterous crowd: Don't push me, 'cause I'm close to the edge."

February 23, 1994: Howard University, Washington, DC

Malik Zulu Shabazz, a law student at Howard University, one of the warm-up speakers for Khalid Abdul Muhammad's speech at Howard, was cheered by an audience of more than 1,000 as he led a vicious anti-Jewish and anti-white call and response (Khalid Abdul Muhammad sat on the stage smiling throughout.):

Shabazz: "Who was it, brothers and sisters, who set up Nat Turner?" "Who caught Nat Turner

and killed Nat Turner?"

Audience: "Jews"

"Who is it that controls the Federal Reserve?" "Who?"

"Jews"

"Who is it that set up the Hon. Marcus Mosiah Garvey and the Justice Department and the judges that sent him to prison?"

"Jews"

"Who? Who?"

"Jews"

"Who?" "You're not afraid now, are you?"

"Jews, Jews."

"Who was it who controls the media and Hollywood in America?"

"Jews"

"Who is it who has our entertainers in a vise grip and our athletes in a vise grip?"

"Jews"

"Who is that have been spying on black leaders and spied on Martin Luther King and set up his death?"

"Jews, Jews."

"Who is that went to the country called Israel and who is it in Israel that set up an illegitimate trading partner with South Africa and exploited our brothers by havning them mine diamonds from the Oppenheimer family out of South Africa?" "Who is it?"

"The Jews."

"Who?"

"The Jews."

"Am I lying?"

"No."

Then Shabazz went on: "I've got to tell the truth. I don't care if you repudiate me or not. I really don't give a damn about your repudiation. I'm going to tell the truth to the world whether you like the truth or not."

..."What nerve you have to call us racists. What nerve you have to call us anti-Semites.

You trying to call us what you've been all of your low down rotten life, you've been putting that foolishness over us."

"You're really afraid, you're afraid that the chickens about to come home to roost. Yes, y'are."

Marc Thompson, another warm-up speaker, who is a local Washington, DC political activist "told the cheering crowd that the motto for black people no longer should be the spiritual 'We Shall Overcome,' but rather, 'We Shall Not Sell Out to the Jews.'"

Khalid Abdul Muhammad:

"Why are we picking on Jews? If they hadn't criticized us, we wouldn't be mentioning them. ...We don't stand in front of your synagogues and harass people who come to hear your rabbis. We never desecrated your synagogues. So just leave us alone."

He went on later in the speech: "We don't bother [Jews]....We don't bother anybody."

February 19, 1994: Speech, Baltimore, MD

"I called them [Jews] bloodsuckers. I'm not going to change that. Our lessons talk about the bloodsuckers of the poor in the supreme wisdom of the Nation of Islam. It's that old no-good Jew, that old impostor Jew, that old hooked-nose, bagel-eating, lox-eating, Johnny-come-lately perpetrating a fraud, just crawled out of the caves and hills of Europe, so-called damn Jew...And I feel everything I'm saying up here is Kosher."

"I say you're called Goldstein, Silverstein and Rubenstein because you've been stealing all the gold and silver and rubies all over the world, and it's true...because of your stealing and roguing and lying all over the face of the earth."

"Never will I say I am not an anti-Semite. Whatever he is...I'm against him...I pray for my enemy all the time. I pray that God will kill my enemy and take him off the face of the planet earth."

"It was the white so-called Jews that set up a kangaroo court to charge Jesus with heresy and accepted a thief and a robber named Barabbas over the good black man Jesus, and under a system of capital punishment ordered the death penalty for Jesus, the black revolutionary Messiah."

"Jesus called them [Jews] the devil...not only are you the devil, but your daddy's the devil, a murderer, a liar with no truth in him...[Jesus] called them a pit of snakes, a pit of vipers. In another Scripture, he called them an evil and adulterous nation."

"Why would you call [Jews] bloodsuckers? Number one, because they are bloodsuckers. I'm not going to change that."

"We have our family here from the Nation of Yahweh, we are the true Hebrews. Not this white man. We are the true Jews. Who is it sucking our blood in the community? The bloodsuckers of the poor. You go into these stores and they have their torah on top of the poison pork meat case."

The Arab storeowners "[h]ave their Holy Koran [the imposter Arab] on top of the pork meat case."

"Some black leaders are "boot-licking, but-licking, buck-dancing, bamboozled half-baked, half-fried, sissified, honkified, pasteurized, homogenized niggers who keep trying to lead you back into the arms of the white man!"

"I don't tell my baby about no Crispus Atticus, who was the first to die in the American Revolution. That nigger shoulda died...Copped a bullet for the peckerwood."

"They said I called the Pope a no good cracker. Did I lie?"

February 14, 1994: Kent State University, Ohio

Muhammad accused Jewish students of being used by outsiders. "...You are trying to stop me talking to my own people." In an obvious reference to the ADL ad, he urged his audience not to take what he is saying out of context.

He admitted calling the Pope a "cracker" but said that he was speaking metaphorically when he talked about lifting up the Pope's robes -- his aim was to call for scrutiny of the Vatican's record.

He repeated his accusation about Jews and Arabs sucking the blood of the black community. "With a torah on the meat case and rotting filthy pork in the meat case...you [Jews and Arabs] wouldn't eat it...You carry wheelbarrows of money out of the community."

Muhammad, echoing Farrakhan's statement about Judaism as a dirty religion, said "when you [Jews] put Judaism aside (i.e. stray from its tenets), then you are doing your own dirty religion."

Dr. Abdul Alim Muhammad, NOI Minister of Health

February 22, 1994: Bethel AME Community Center in New Haven, CT

"Look at the wickedness of the Anti-Defamation League. Attacking the Nation of Islam. For what? Why are you so angry with us that we are trying to save our people and improve the quality of our lives?"

"You [ADL] leave our leaders alone. You quit harassing them. Quit going to them in private and threatening them and twisting their arms.

"You've [ADL] got some bought-and-paid-for Negroes that you can trot out on command

and make them repudiate anyone you tell them to repudiate. But they got to come back home to us. So we are waiting for you."

"If Jews played a role in the slave trade, why do you want to suppress that fact and let them off the hook like that don't count?"

Minister Conrad Muhammad, Leader of NOI Mosque #7, New York City

February 1994

Conrad Muhammad accused ADL of once being "a front organization for Meyer Lansky and other gangsters." (interview with The New Yorker magazine of February 21, 1994)

"The [ADL] and many in the Jewish community, particularly those in leadership, seek to control black people." (at a speech commemorating Black History Month at Hofstra Law School in New York in February, 1994)

"Because of the racism and manipulation of the Northern liberals, many of them Jewish, these great black men were never able to put their heads together...That's the same thing that's going on today."

Zionists are "criminals" and have "American politicians in their hip pocket." (February 27, 1994 interview following an Islamic demonstration at the United Nations)

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OMAHA (Plains States)	
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Exhibit R



FACT FINDING
REPORT

**Federal Funds for
NOI Security Firms:**

**Financing Farrakhan's
Ministry of Hate**

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
1995





Anti-Defamation League

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INTRODUCTION

The Nation of Islam claims to have created employment for blacks, to offer inner-city housing residents new hope, and to emphasize a message of self-reliance, hard work and clean living. In reality, the Nation of Islam remains a mirror image of the Ku Klux Klan: preaching a liturgy in which Jews are “bloodsuckers,” whites are “devils,” and separate states for the races are imperative. A *de facto* arm of the group reaps millions in income from public contracts, animating concern that taxpayers are subsidizing a ministry of hate.

The Nation of Islam’s vaunted security business — hailed by supporters as a savior of inner-city public housing projects and an example of the group’s “good works” — has racked up a passel of troubles recently: a major bankruptcy, substantial Federal and state tax liens, and bid- and license-related investigations. Meanwhile, as Congress scrutinizes Federally subsidized contracts with the NOI, reports of violent incidents have surfaced in several jurisdictions. In Baltimore, witnesses say guards fractured a public housing resident’s skull and, in Dallas, NOI guards allegedly kidnapped unruly youths from a shopping mall and forced them to run naked through a gantlet of NOI men who beat them with belts and bamboo canes.¹

Nation of Islam officials reject criticism of the security companies as the handiwork of “some Jews.”² And to deflect objections to the spectacle of hate-mongering on the Federal tab, they maintain that “there is no affiliation between these corporate entities [the security companies] and the Nation of Islam.”³ With current contracts and income to date totalling more than \$19 million, the bulk of it taxpayer money, the Nation of Islam and its lieutenants who run the security companies clearly have a large stake in hanging on to government contracts.

But reasons why the firms should not be able to do so are rapidly accumulating. When Nation officials think they are speaking “within the family,” they acknowledge that the security corporations operate under the direction and control of Louis Farrakhan and his lieutenants. The possibility that public money is being upstreamed to the Nation of Islam, where it can be used for racist proselytizing, raises serious questions. Beyond that, NOI performance has been found wanting as contracts in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and Washington, DC, have been terminated or allowed to lapse. Two NOI security companies alone have hired at least 39 convicted felons as guards.⁴ And violent confrontations with police, housing residents, and the public — which have erupted sporadically for years — are flaring anew. NOI companies seem ill-suited to perform quasi-law enforcement functions.

Nonetheless, the Nation of Islam and the security companies still have their supporters. A handful may have mixed motives: at least one of their biggest boosters — a big-city housing commissioner — appears to have had a financial interest in doing business with one of the firms or its chief.

SEPARATE CORPORATIONS?

Representatives of the security companies insist they are separate entities because they are separately incorporated, but there is evidence of close ties. Some corporations share officers. Other supposedly separate companies advertise their affiliation with the Washington standard bearer, supplying the credentials of the Washington company, including reference letters, as their own. One uses another's name as a d/b/a. Two have the same name. Others have similar names. And the Nation of Islam nearly always speaks of the corporations collectively.

The companies' officers and attorney have strongly implied that several security companies operate under common direction and control. Their statements to the Nation of Islam's organ, *The Final Call*, correspondence with HUD officials, and bids for housing security contracts are revealing. With rare exception, *The Final Call* names the flagship security company, N.O.I. Security Agency Inc., in glowing accounts of Muslim security successes, even in cities in which separately incorporated firms with different names are performing the contracts. For example, *The Final Call* contains no mention of N.O.I. Security Patrol Services Inc. of Baltimore and no mention of X-Men Security Inc. in New York patrolling housing projects even though these are the firms that have the contracts.

Some contracts with security companies other than N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. even use the Washington standard-bearer's name. In Baltimore, for example, Housing Authority of Baltimore City contracts name "N.O.I. Security Agency Inc." as a contractor, not N.O.I. Security Patrol Services Inc. Checks are written to the "Nation of Islam Security Agency," and endorsed likewise.⁵ The tax identification number on the contracts is that of the Baltimore company, NOI Security Patrol Services Inc., however.

Despite the separate incorporation, *The Final Call* has described N.O.I. Security Patrol Services Inc. as a "branch of NOI Inc." A 1992 article told of a bid on a housing security contract in Baltimore submitted by "Baltimore F.O.I. Captain Rodney Muhammad, who is also president of the city's branch of NOI Inc." The name Rodney Green appears on N.O.I. Security Patrol Services' articles of incorporation as president of the company.

This account, and at least one other, also refers to N.O.I. Security Patrol Services (Baltimore) as synonymous with N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. (Washington). The first article continued, "NOI Inc. was established in 1988 in Washington, DC, under the banner of the 'Dope Busters.' Today NOI Inc. is licensed and operates in several cities around the country."⁶

A second, more recent article in *The Final Call* described how "N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. has transformed another notorious hell-hole here [in Baltimore]...." In Maryland, N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. is a d/b/a of N.O.I. Security Patrol Services Inc., according to a company official. This article again gave the Baltimore company the Washington company's pedigree: "N.O.I. Security was established in Washington, DC, in 1988 under the auspices of the 'Dope Busters.'"⁷

NOI's newspaper has also cited "organizers" who told the tabloid that N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. "operates in five states." When this article was published, four Nation of Islam-affiliated security companies — N.O.I. Security Agency Inc., N.O.I. Security Patrol Services Inc., New Life Self-Development Company Inc., and X-Men Security Inc. — were operating in at least four states and the District of Columbia. The companies had contracts in California, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York. New Life had just incorporated in Illinois and, as part of a joint venture, was bidding on a multimillion dollar contract with the Chicago Housing Authority.

The Baltimore and Washington security companies share some personnel with the Nation of Islam and each other. (See chart, "The NOI Security Empire," below.) The president of N.O.I. Security Patrol Services is Rodney A. Green, according to the records of the firm's 1991 incorporation with the Secretary of State of Maryland. As noted, a Rodney Muhammad was identified as "Baltimore FOI Captain" and "president of the city's branch of NOI Inc."

N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. and N.O.I. Security Patrol Services Inc. appear to have at least one

high-ranking officer in common. *The Final Call*, again covering Muslim security services in Baltimore, identified an Abdul Aquil Muhammad as “Mid-Atlantic [Fruit of Islam] Captain” and “director of regional operations for N.O.I. Security.” The attorney for N.O.I. Security Agency, Inc. introduced Abdul Aquil Muhammad to a Congressional committee on March 2, 1995, as “President and CEO of N.O.I. Security Patrol Services Inc. of Baltimore, Md.”⁸

THE NOI SECURITY EMPIRE

The eight security firms have done business in Washington, DC, Los Angeles, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Philadelphia, New York City, Buffalo, Baltimore, Dayton, and Dallas. The companies present a complex picture. While all are separately incorporated, almost all share the same or similar names, or use names interchangeably; have overlapping officers; or have subcontracting arrangements with one another. At least six are under the direct control of senior Nation of Islam officials. Several NOI officials use different names, on different sets of incorporation papers, further complicating discussion. The chart below sets out the names of the companies; where they do business; the names of security company officers; other names used by the officers; and those officers' ranks in the Nation of Islam.

Company	State	Officers	A.K.A.s	N.O.I. Rank	Income to Date*
N.O.I. Security Agency Inc.	DC, PA, TX	William Muhammad, President Dion Muhammad, Vice Pres./Secretary Abdul Aquil Muhammad, Dir. Regional Operations Mustapha Farrakhan, Consultant	Wm. Muhammad Johnson Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad Dion Emory	Supreme Captain, Fruit of Islam Ass't. Supreme Captain, FOI	\$6,877,090
N.O.I. Security Agency Inc.	CA	William Muhammad, Vice President Dion Muhammad, Secretary	Same as above.	Same as above.	\$644,000
N.O.I. Security Patrol Services Inc.	MD	Abdul Aquil Muhammad, President		N.O.I. Security Regional Dir.	\$4,600,000 \$4,500,000**
N.O.I. Security New York Inc.	NY	Wm. Muhammad Johnson, President Dion Emory, VP/Treas.	William /Abdul Sharrieff Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad Dion Muhammad	Supreme Captain, FOI	Unknown
F.O.I. Security Agency Inc.	DC	William Muhammad, Vice President Dion Muhammad, Ass't. Sec'y.	William /Abdul Sharrieff Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad	Supreme Captain, FOI	Unknown
New Life Self-Development Co. Inc.	IL	Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad***	Leonard C. Searcy	Chief of Staff, NOI	\$2,324,000
Nation of Islam Community Support Group	OH	Minister of NOI Mosque		"Representative of Hon. Louis Farrakhan"	\$60,000
X-Men	NY				\$94,500
					\$19,099,590

Sources: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Housing Authority of Baltimore City, Chicago Housing Authority, news reports.

Figures do not include revenue from several years' work for the Government of the District of Columbia (Executive Office of the Mayor, Office of Cable Television), and for private companies, including Federal Express in Washington; short-term work at construction sites, and engagements for concerts and exhibitions at convention centers and hotels. Nor do numbers include work for a shopping mall in Dallas, a black newspaper in Los Angeles, or several privately owned apartment buildings in Washington.

* Figures include income from both public housing and rent subsidized privately owned housing. Figures do not include value of current contracts, except as indicated.

** Estimated value of current contract.

*** Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad has signed contracts as president of New Life, and has been so identified by an NOI attorney, but the individual listed on the company's corporate filings with the state of Illinois is Franklin D. Searcy, his brother.

FLAUNTING TIES

Far from hiding the links among security companies, at least one has flaunted such ties. New Life Self-Development Company Inc., an Illinois corporation, has touted its relationship to N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. and the Nation of Islam. In its proposal to the Chicago Housing Authority for that city's Rockwell Gardens complex, New Life boasted that its "[f]ounders...are members of the Nation of Islam's 60-year-old unarmed security force.... In 1980, at Mayfair Mansion (sic) in Washington, DC, the Nation of Islam's unique methods of securing...gained public attention through an arm of NOI Security Inc. (commonly known as Dopebusters)...." New Life's proposal, submitted by its chief, Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad, is an especially authoritative source, because of Muhammad's position as Farrakhan's chief of staff and son-in-law.

New Life's reference letters are also instructive. These include a positive evaluation of the Washington company's performance on a contract with the Abbottsford Homes development in Philadelphia. They also include references written to N.O.I. Security Agency, Inc. in Washington, DC, from clients in Washington. One, signed by J.S. Bridgforth, Vice President of One Management Inc. in Washington, DC, addressed to the Chicago Housing Authority. He wrote to convey his "high degree of confidence in their [City Wide Security/New Life Self-Development Company] ability....," citing the services provided to his company "through an affiliate agency, N.O.I. Security Inc...."

Finally, New Life's proposal seems to claim N.O.I. Security Agency Inc.'s work in other cities as its own. "...Throughout America in urban cities like Los Angeles, Washington, DC, Philadelphia, Dallas and Boston, NLSDC's...demonstration of top security..." has bettered the public housing environment, Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad asserted. With the exception of Boston — where the nephew of Farrakhan's East Coast Representative ran a security firm until he landed in prison for defrauding HUD⁹ — N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. operates in all the cities named.

A New York security company offers a second example of ties among NOI-linked companies. X-Men Security Agency was incorporated in New York in December 1990. It shares a Brooklyn address with another NOI-linked entity, the Black African Holocaust Council, which is led by an aide to Khalid Abdul Muhammad, Farrakhan's erstwhile national spokesman, known for his incendiary, racist rhetoric.

An NOI contract with an apartment complex in Buffalo evidences a relationship between X-Men and N.O.I. Security Agency. The contract is headed "N.O.I. Security Contract No.____." Yet, the contracting party named is X-Men Security Agency, Inc. Nonetheless, the body of the contract states, "N.O.I. SECURITY AGENCY INCORPORATED, is willing and able to perform the services for Contractor in accordance with the terms of this Agreement...." The contract is signed by an official of X-Men, however, not N.O.I. Security Agency.

A third example can be found on the other side of the country. There is an N.O.I. Security Agency in California. The company, incorporated in California in July 1992, lists William Muhammad as its vice president, Dion Muhammad as its secretary, and a man with a Los Angeles area address as its president. (See "The NOI Security Empire.") On its annual reports to the California Secretary of State, the Los Angeles N.O.I. Security Agency gives the former mailing address of the Washington company of the same name.

A fourth indication of the companies' ties with one another comes from their attorney. During an investigation early this year, HUD officials wrote to the Nation-linked firms requesting certain information. Abdul Arif Muhammad, as General Counsel for N.O.I. Security Agency Inc., responded to HUD's letter to another firm, N.O.I. Security Patrol Services Inc. Writing on N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. (Washington, DC) letterhead, Muhammad noted, "...the security firms located in Washington, DC, and Chicago, Illinois, received the exact questionnaire (sic) as the one submitted" to N.O.I. Security Patrol Services Inc. (Baltimore). "Each client received" an offer to provide the information directly to HUD in Washington. Muhammad concluded, "...we have accepted this offer and will prepare *our* responses...." (Emphasis added.)

At the March 2, 1995, hearings before the House Banking Committee Subcommittee on Oversight, the heads of all the security companies were present. Only Abdul Arif Muhammad and Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad testified. The former introduced himself as General Counsel for N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. and “for the purposes of these proceedings counsel to New Life Self-Development Inc. of Chicago and X-Man (sic) Security Inc. of New York,” and introduced Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad as “President and CEO of New Life.” Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad is Louis Farrakhan’s son-in-law as well as Nation of Islam chief of staff.

Although Abdul Arif Muhammad testified that “there is no affiliation between these corporate entities and the Nation of Islam,”¹⁰ and Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad told the committee the Chicago-based company is “autonomous of the Nation of Islam,”¹¹ they were joined at the hearings by Minister Abdul Alim Muhammad, “National Spokesman for the Hon. Louis Farrakhan,” and Minister Don Muhammad, “East Coast Regional Representative for the Hon. Louis Farrakhan,” as Abdul Arif Muhammad introduced them. Neither Abdul Alim Muhammad nor Don Muhammad are listed as officers of any of the security companies on their articles of incorporation and annual reports obtained by ADL.¹²

Nor is this the only occasion on which NOI’s big guns have played a role in the activities of security companies over which they ostensibly have no authority. Leonard Muhammad, who is based in Chicago, where he is the Nation of Islam’s chief of staff, apparently came to Washington to troubleshoot N.O.I. Security Agency Inc.’s vexed relationship with the Metropolitan Police Department. *The Final Call* described two 1992 meetings which Leonard F. Muhammad, “chief of staff for the Nation of Islam,” and N.O.I. Security Agency officials had with the police chief, aimed at lessening tensions between the company’s guards and District police.¹³ That the NOI’s chief of staff apparently acted on behalf of the security company, when he is not an official of the company — his name does not appear as an officer, director, or incorporator of N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. in the firm’s Articles of Incorporation or annual reports reviewed by ADL — appears to contradict attorney Abdul Arif Muhammad’s statement to Congress that “there is no affiliation between these companies and the Nation of Islam.”

Indeed, a reference letter for N.O.I. Security underscores the relationship. The 1991 letter of praise was written by Black Expo USA to Ernest Brooks, who was secretary of the security company in 1990 and 1991.¹⁴ The letter is addressed to Brooks as “Representative, NOI Security Agency Inc.,” at a South Stony Island Avenue address in Chicago.¹⁵ This is the address of the Nation of Islam’s main mosque, Mosque Maryam, and the NOI’s Muhammad University of Islam, incorporated to provide “[i]ndoctrination of students into the principles of Islam as taught by the Honorable Elijah Muhammad.”¹⁶ A sign in front of the mosque proclaims it the “National Center” of Louis Farrakhan. The security company, however, is headquartered in Washington, DC, and does not appear to have an office or business in the windy city.

Moreover, advertisements for N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. give a Chicago telephone number for the company, in addition to its Washington number. But there is no directory listing for N.O.I. Security in Chicago, and *The Final Call* contains no mention of the company doing business there.

In his Nation of Islam capacity as Supreme Captain — chief of the NOI’s Fruit of Islam security cadre — however, the security company’s president, William Muhammad, is based in Chicago. In fact, the Chicago telephone number in N.O.I. Security Agency’s ad is answered, “Supreme Captain’s office.”

NATION OF ISLAM DIRECTION AND CONTROL OF SECURITY COMPANIES

While on paper the security companies are separate corporate entities, the firms appear thoroughly intertwined with the Nation of Islam itself, sharing officers, direction and control. Nation of Islam officials themselves have implied that Farrakhan and his lieutenants exert controlling influence over the companies, and that income may be upstreamed to Louis Farrakhan. The president of N.O.I. Security has denounced critics of the firm as “people who are seeking to deny financial benefits...to Minister Farrakhan.”¹⁷

N.O.I. Security Agency Inc.’s secretary and its attorney have acknowledged that Farrakhan and his lieutenants exert controlling influence — the power to direct policy, influence decisions, and select directors and officers — over the company. The company’s secretary, Dion Muhammad (a.k.a. Dion Emory) reportedly extolled “the guidance of the Honorable Louis Farrakhan, the discipline of the Nation of Islam, the direction of Supreme Captain Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad,”¹⁸ according to *The Final Call*. The title “Supreme Captain” refers to the chief of the Nation of Islam’s Fruit of Islam security force.

In a similar vein, an N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. attorney characterized the firm as “associated with the Nation of Islam under the guidance and direction of the Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan,” in a suit filed last year against the Metropolitan Police Department of Washington, DC, in Superior Court for the District of Columbia.

Nation of Islam officials’ assertions of “guidance,” “discipline,” and “direction” conflict with the Congressional testimony of attorney Abdul Arif Muhammad. At the HUD oversight hearings in March 1995, attorney Muhammad asserted that “there is no affiliation between these corporate entities and the Nation of Islam.”

The references to “guidance,” “discipline,” and “direction” are underscored, however, by the account of a public official who has described the procedure he followed in order to contract with one of the NOI security companies. The chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority told the *Chicago Tribune* that it was necessary for him to obtain Farrakhan’s approval for proposed security contracts between the housing authority and New Life. Farrakhan’s approval was also necessary for a separate, private business deal the housing chairman negotiated simultaneously with yet another NOI-linked company, also headed by Leonard F. Muhammad. (In addition to his roles as New Life president and NOI chief of staff, Muhammad heads other NOI-linked businesses and is Farrakhan’s son-in-law.) The housing authority chairman discussed both public and private deals during the same meetings with Farrakhan and Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad.¹⁹

U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros announced in May 1995 that HUD’s Inspector General would investigate whether the relationship constituted a conflict of interest for the CHA chairman.²⁰

New Life’s contracts have expired. HUD, which recently took over the CHA, will not extend the contracts, but will rebid them instead, Secretary Cisneros disclosed in an August 1995 letter to Representative Peter King of the Oversight Subcommittee.

OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS SERVE IN DUAL CAPACITIES

A widely recognized indicator of control is the presence of the same officers serving different entities in dual capacities. Several Nation of Islam officials in important supervisory roles wear a second hat as officials of corresponding rank in the security companies. For example: William Muhammad, President of N.O.I. Security Agency Inc., is the “Supreme Captain” of the Nation of Islam’s Fruit of Islam security corps. He sometimes uses the names Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad and William Johnson Muhammad.

A Chicago telephone number displayed in N.O.I. Security Agency ads in the Nation of Islam’s tabloid spotlights William/Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad’s double role. The line is answered, “Supreme Captain’s office” — William/Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad’s Nation of Islam post. A caller who asked where to write the Supreme Captain about retaining security services, mentioning *The Final Call* ad, was given the South Stony Island address of the Nation of Islam’s main mosque and “National Center.” Thus, the security company — ostensibly separate from the Nation of Islam — solicits business both at its corporate headquarters in Washington, DC, and at Nation of Islam headquarters in Chicago.

Additional examples of officers serving in dual capacities include local Fruit of Islam “captains” in at least two cities, Baltimore and Los Angeles, who also head the local N.O.I. Security Agency operation, according to *The Final Call*.

In a third example, William/Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad’s deputy in the NOI’s Fruit of Islam, Assistant Supreme Captain Mustapha Farrakhan,²¹ is an N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. consultant. He is shown standing shoulder to shoulder with William/Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad in the security company’s promotional flyers. Mustapha Farrakhan is one of Louis Farrakhan’s sons.

Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad provides yet a fourth case of NOI officers doubling as officers of the NOI’s private security companies. He is “President and C.E.O., New Life Self-Development Inc.,” according to the testimony of the company’s counsel, Abdul Arif Muhammad at the March 1995 House oversight hearings. As noted, he is also the Nation of Islam’s “Chief of Staff,” Louis Farrakhan’s son-in-law, and heads several other Nation of Islam-linked businesses.

Actually, Leonard F. Muhammad’s relationship to New Life is somewhat unclear. He is sometimes described as the “owner” of New Life. But while he has signed contracts to provide security services at Chicago public housing projects as “president” of New Life, that status is not reflected in corporate records filed with the Illinois Secretary of State’s office. Leonard Muhammad is not listed as an officer or director of New Life, according to New Life’s articles of incorporation and annual reports to the Illinois Secretary of State. The president, secretary, and registered agent of New Life is Franklin D. Searcy. Searcy is the brother of Leonard F. Muhammad, who also uses the name Leonard C. Searcy. At the House oversight hearings in March, Muhammad himself shied from the title “president,” instead calling himself “principal” of New Life.

Additional details link New Life to the Nation of Islam. New Life shares a South Side Chicago address and a fax number with additional businesses run by Muhammad and other Farrakhan family members. These include Kamal Muhammad, who is the Nation’s National Secretary and a Farrakhan son-in-law, and Leonard F. Muhammad’s wife Donna, Farrakhan’s daughter. One of the businesses at the South Wabash Avenue address is POWER, a personal products line launched by Farrakhan in 1985 with a \$5 million interest-free loan from Libyan strongman Muammar Gadhafi. Another concern is Nationway Ventures International Group which marketed POWER products. Nationway Ventures International Group succeeded Nationway Ventures International Ltd. (NVIL) in 1993 after the former racked up more than \$100,000 in tax debts to the IRS, and other bills.

The fax transmittal tags on material New Life submitted to the Chicago Housing Authority read: “N.V.I.L. (POWER).” (Apparently the name on the fax machine refers to the first Nationways Ventures International, Nationways Ventures International Limited, and was not changed to the successor firm’s

name, Nationways Ventures International Group, after Muhammad signed the debt-ridden company over to a liquidation service — as the IRS was about to seize its bank accounts.)²²

Another link between New Life and the NOI is evident in the fact that the resumes of two members of Muhammad's Nation of Islam staff were submitted to the Chicago Housing Authority, apparently as evidence of New Life's qualification for the security venture. The resumes of the NOI employees noted that they worked in the office of the NOI's Chief of Staff — Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad.

PARALLELS BETWEEN FRUIT OF ISLAM STRUCTURE AND N.O.I. SECURITY AGENCY

In another example of Nation of Islam officials doubling as security company officers, there are Fruit of Islam (FOI) captains who also head the local branch of N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. in their jurisdictions. The Fruit of Islam is an integral part of the Nation of Islam. It is a corps composed of male members, who receive martial arts training — “We have a military structure that we train our men into,” William/Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad told *The Final Call* in 1992²³ — act as bodyguards for Farrakhan and other senior Nation of Islam officials, provide security at mosques, and perform some internal security and disciplinary functions.²⁴

In at least two cities, Baltimore and Los Angeles, local Fruit of Islam captains also head the local N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. operation, according to accounts in *The Final Call*.

The Muslim group has also used the names interchangeably. *The Final Call*, in an article on N.O.I. Security Agency’s pursuit of contracts in Los Angeles, wrote, “Only the strong, no-nonsense presence of the FOI can deter the rampant crime and drug infestation, many residents believe.”²⁵

Advertisements for N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. even list a telephone number containing the Fruit of Islam acronym. The Chicago-area number ends “-4FOI.” (The number is ex-directory.) The ads in *The Final Call* also list a more mundane Washington, DC, number.

The Fruit of Islam name has cropped up elsewhere. N.O.I. Security, Agency Inc., the NOI’s Washington standard-bearer, appears to have replaced another District of Columbia corporation, F.O.I. Security Corporation Inc., on at least one contract. According to F.O.I. Security’s 1991 annual report (its most recent), filed with the District of Columbia, its vice president is William Muhammad — chief of the NOI’s Fruit of Islam (FOI) corps, and president of N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. — and its treasurer is Timothy Harrison. Timothy Harrison was N.O.I. Security’s vice president until 1994; he remains director.

According to the contract contained in records submitted by HUD to the House Banking Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight, F.O.I. Security obtained a contract to patrol Mayfair Mansions in the District in June 1990. The contract is signed by William Muhammad as President of F.O.I. Security Corp. and Timothy Harrison as Secretary. N.O.I. Security apparently replaced F.O.I. Security Corp. at Mayfair at an unknown point since June 1990. (HUD’s materials show N.O.I. Security as the current contractor with Mayfair, but its submission to Congress does not include a contract to which N.O.I. Security is a party.)

In another twist, the senior general partner of Kenilworth Associates Ltd., which owns Mayfair Mansions, is the president of F.O.I. Security Corporation. Records on file with the District of Columbia show that Arthur M. Reynolds holds both titles. Thus, the security company of which Reynolds is president contracted with the partnership of which Reynolds was senior general partner to provide security services at public expense. At some point, N.O.I. Security, which shares some of the same officers with F.O.I. Security, took over the job.

Perhaps coincidentally, Reynolds is one of N.O.I. Security’s biggest fans. N.O.I. Security uses a quote Reynolds gave *Ebony* magazine praising the Muslim firm in the company’s glossy, full-color promotional flyer. Reynolds told the magazine, “Credit the Muslims, they have done a tremendous job,” according to the flyer. And the property manager for Mayfair, Paula Singleton, whose reference letter praising N.O.I. Security’s work at Mayfair was attached to the company’s written testimony before Congress, was secretary of F.O.I. Security, and a director, according to the company’s first annual report, for 1989.

FOI CAPTAINS WEAR SECOND HATS AS N.O.I. SECURITY CHIEFS

The parallel roles played by Fruit of Islam captains as N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. chiefs — especially the role of FOI Supreme Captain William Muhammad/Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad as founder and President of N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. — are significant.

The N.O.I. Security Agency was created in Washington, DC, in 1990, apparently to replace the volunteer anti-drug patrols by Fruit of Islam members — colloquially known as “Dopebusters” — with a for-profit entity. In a 1992 interview with William Muhammad, *The Final Call* notes that N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. was “[i]nitially called the Dopebusters.” It goes on to state that in the late 1980s, William Muhammad, then Fruit of Islam captain for Washington, DC, “organized the FOI” into the “Dopebusters” patrols “at Minister Farrakhan’s instruction.”²⁶

No less a personage than William/Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad also appears to fuse N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. with the Nation of Islam’s Fruit of Islam corps — both of which he heads. In the security company’s promotional flyer, submitted to the House oversight subcommittee in March 1995 as an exhibit, Muhammad noted that the firm has “secured Minister Louis Farrakhan at various national and international venues *for over a decade....*” (Emphasis added.)²⁷

But N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. has only existed for five years — it was incorporated in March 1995 — not ten. Even the Fruit of Islam’s “Dope Busters,” out of which N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. was formed, only began their volunteer patrols in 1988 — eight years ago. *The Final Call* makes no reference to the security company having guarded Farrakhan, nor any reference to the company having performed services abroad.

The Fruit of Islam, however, has guarded Farrakhan. William/Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad thus treats N.O.I. Security and the Fruit of Islam as synonymous. He claims tasks performed by the Nation of Islam’s in-house security arm, the Fruit of Islam, as accomplishments of the for-profit security company, N.O.I. Security Agency Inc.

The Nation of Islam-linked security firms appear in large part to form a structure not only paralleling that of the Nation of Islam’s Fruit of Islam, but controlled by the same persons. In large measure, the Nation of Islam’s flagship security company seems to be the for-profit incarnation of the Nation of Islam’s Fruit of Islam security corps.

The Nation of Islam controls its Fruit of Islam corps, and the Fruit of Islam’s chief and another Farrakhan lieutenant control virtually all the security companies.

LOUIS FARRAKHAN'S CONTROL OF THE NATION OF ISLAM

One of the elements of proof of control is the power to select directors and officers.²⁸ Louis Farrakhan has the power to make appointments within the Nation of Islam. He also has the power to discipline and remove officers. In February 1994, for example, the Muslim leader announced that he had dismissed Khalid Abdul Muhammad as his national spokesman and as a Nation of Islam minister, after Muhammad's race-baiting remarks at New Jersey's Kean College sparked a national furor. Earlier, in the late 1980s, it was Farrakhan who wrote to the Federal judge in Atlanta who was to sentence Khalid Abdul Muhammad for a fraud conviction, seeking leniency and promising that he, Farrakhan, would punish Muhammad.²⁹

In another illustration of Farrakhan's pervasive role, Nation of Islam officials style themselves "The Honorable Louis Farrakhan's" "representative" or "spokesman." NOI attorney Abdul Arif Muhammad introduced the two luminaries who showed the Nation of Islam flag at the House oversight hearings, Abdul Alim Muhammad and Don Muhammad, as "National Spokesman for the Hon. Louis Farrakhan" and "East Coast Regional Representative for the Hon. Louis Farrakhan, respectively."³⁰

The perception by Nation of Islam officials that they are instruments of Louis Farrakhan is reflected on the local level as well. Ministers of local mosques style themselves "Local Representative of the Honorable Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam." The minister of the NOI mosque in Dayton, OH, for example, used that honorific in a letter to the Dayton Metropolitan Housing Authority seeking a contract for the Nation of Islam Community Support Group, a local company, which he also heads. (The company got the contract.)

Being a member of the Nation of Islam is not like being a member of the Republican or Democrat Parties. The Nation is a tightly disciplined, hierarchical organization; members are subject to party discipline. By all indications, Farrakhan controls the Nation of Islam. As shown, the Nation of Islam exercises controlling influence over N.O.I. Security Agency Inc., and either directly or through that company controls virtually all the supposedly independent security companies.

UPSTREAMING PUBLIC FUNDS FROM NOI SECURITY AGENCY INC. TO THE NATION OF ISLAM

The Nation of Islam official who heads N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. as well as the NOI's Fruit of Islam security corps has implied that proceeds of the firm's contracts benefit Louis Farrakhan and his organization financially. In a 1992 interview with *The Final Call*, William/Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad told the house organ that there was negative media coverage of the security firm because "[s]ome people, particularly some Jews, don't want any financial benefits to come to Minister Farrakhan." Muhammad continued, "So they tell this lie that the Minister hates Jews and that we're anti-Semitic. That's a cover to keep us from establishing an economic base."³¹

More recently, NOI guards at the Ocean Towers project in Brooklyn, NY, distributed leaflets which may reflect a rank and file perception that the security contracts are a source of income for the Nation of Islam itself. The flyers, distributed in late 1994, assert that then-Nation of Islam minister Khalid Abdul Muhammad's hate-laced 1993 speech at Kean College — Jews are "bloodsuckers," the Pope is a "no-good cracker," whites in South Africa should be murdered, dug up, and murdered again³² — had so offended "some ministeries (sic) of the Jewish Community" that "ther (sic) has been a National Campaign to distroy, (sic) the financial base of N.O.I by attacking, and disrupting the security contracts."³³

MINISTRY OF HATE

The likelihood that Louis Farrakhan ultimately controls NOI security companies which receive public funds aggravates concern that the taxpayer is funding a ministry of hate. Some defenders of the contracts have argued that Farrakhan and the NOI are not bigoted, but are unfairly blamed for the racist rants of Farrakhan's erstwhile national spokesman, Khalid Abdul Muhammad.

The Nation of Islam's core doctrine and Farrakhan's own bigoted ravings put the lie to that claim. It is an NOI article of faith that whites are a devil race — a doctrine propounded since founder W.D. Fard's day. And the NOI's catechism, "What Muslims Believe," calls for a separate black state.

Despite an occasional tactical flirtation with tolerance, Farrakhan himself continues to voice raw hatred. And while the articulate, telegenic Muslim leader ably dissembles this bigotry in television interviews, his record demolishes such sophistry.

Farrakhan reserves special vitriol for Jews. In a March 19, 1995, speech from the rostrum of the NOI's main mosque, Mosque Maryam in Chicago, Farrakhan warned Jews:

- "...I know you're plotting against us, but I want to tell you what my God is poised to do for you.... I want you to look at the national calamities that our God will bring against his evil nation."
- "Master Farad Muhammad [the NOI's founder].... He is the God of Israel.... Our God can't wait for you to make your move.... He dares you to touch me. Come on, if you want to die.... All of these wicked ones who have given Judaism a bad name, they are the members of the synagogue of Satan.... I warn you in the name of Allah, leave us alone. Your time is just about up."

In the same speech, the Muslim leader asserted:

- "International bankers financed Hitler and poor Jews died while big Jews were at the root of what you call the Holocaust.
...Little Jews died while big Jews made money. Little Jews [were] being turned into soap while big Jews washed themselves with it. Jews [were] playing violin, Jews [were] playing music, while other Jews [were] marching into the gas chambers. We wasn't there.
...The Rothschilds would finance both sides of all the European wars. They always wanted to get their hands on the Central Bank of America. And they finally did.... Congress passed into law the Federal Reserve Act.
...How did the rich make America's debt grow? The easiest way to get money is to start a war.... The moment the international bankers took control of the money by taking control of the...Federal Reserve, a war broke out in Europe and the British sent Lord Weissman to America to encourage America's involvement in the war. The Germans didn't start any war with America.
...The root of communism and the root of capitalism is from the same group of people. They ['international bankers'] started both philosophies, they financed both philosophies....
...ADL [the Anti-Defamation League]...are the watchdogs for the international bankers. They are the watchdogs for the secret government that manipulates presidents and Congress.... Almost all of your black congressmen are honorary citizens, members of the Knesset. Did you know that? Most senators, black and white, honorary members of the Knesset...."

After Khalid Abdul Muhammad's race-baiting remarks at Kean College touched off a national firestorm of criticism in early 1994, Farrakhan called a press conference in Washington to announce Khalid's suspension from his duties. Farrakhan carefully condemned "the manner" but not "the truths" of Muhammad's speech.

What were those "truths"? In his verbal rampage at Kean College Khalid said the following:

- "A white imposter Arab and a white imposter Jew...[are] the blood suckers of the black nation...."
- "You see everybody always talk about Hitler exterminating six million Jews. That's right."

But don't nobody ever ask what did they do to Hitler? ...[T]hey supplanted, they usurped.... They...undermined the very fabric of society.... Hitler...was wickedly great.... But they are wickedly great, too, brother."

- "...[W]e kill everything white that ain't right...in South Africa. We kill the women, we kill the children, we kill the babies. We kill the blind, we kill the crippled...we kill 'em all. ...Goddamit, and when you get through killing 'em all, go to the goddam graveyard and kill 'em, goddam, again. 'Cause they didn't die hard enough."

- "Go to the Vatican in Rome, when the old, no-good Pope, you know that cracker. Somebody need to raise that dress up and see what's really under there."

Khalid was reinstated as an NOI minister in July 1995. Indeed, Khalid's "truths" reflect Farrakhan's own gutter snipings. From his podium at the NOI's 1994 Saviour's Day convention in Chicago, Farrakhan excoriated whites:

- "Your history is written in the blood of the human family. It comes out of you like a web comes out of a spider."

- "Murder and lying comes easy for white people.... Your history is shedding the blood of all human beings and you came in lying to us, deceiving us, then killing us."

A few months later, he asserted that whites are fomenting black-on-black violence in order to get body parts for transplant.

- "When rich whites need a kidney or a heart, they say, "get us a nigger! When you're killing each other, they can't wait for you to die. You've become good for parts."³⁴

The Muslim leader's words were in keeping with his earlier statements:

- "It's because you are wicked and you fear in the sickness of your mind that you must control everybody because everybody is inferior and only white people have a right to rule. I say you're sick and you need a doctor or you need to be buried."³⁵

- "It is an act of mercy to white people that we end your world..."³⁶

Farrakhan's remarks came after a decade of similar statements:

- "Suppose a Jew would kill Farrakhan...there are blacks that would kill until their soul was satisfied if anything happened to Louis Farrakhan...if America moves on me, God will move on America. Try it and see."³⁷

- "Who controls black arts? Who controls black sports figures? Who controls black intellectuals, black politicians...? ...When I talk to the Jews, I am talking to a segment of that quorum that holds my people in their grip."³⁸

- "You can't say 'never again' to God, because when He puts you in the oven, 'never again' don't mean a thing."³⁹

- "[Jews are] sucking the blood of the black community."⁴⁰

The NOI are equal-opportunity bigots. In a breathtaking insult to Catholics, a *Final Call* column, "Minister's message unmask imposters," suggested that the Pope is the anti-Christ:

- "...Does [the Pope] really represent Christ, or does he represent that originator and organizer of organized crime on this earth? ...Who represents Christ: Pope John Paul II or the Honorable Louis Farrakhan? Will Christ himself finally distinguish him who is genuine from him, who is the imposter (anti-Christ)?" (Phrase "anti-Christ" in original.)⁴¹

“A LOVE GROUP, NOT A HATE GROUP”

Some supporters of the NOI firms' public contracts have attempted to sidestep the bigotry issue, asserting that since the security firms are independent of the Muslim organization, they are untainted. That the firms' independence is fictional should by now be clear. There are indications, moreover, that some of the firms themselves may indeed be tainted with racism and anti-Semitism.

Nation of Islam officers who head security firms insist the Nation itself is not a hate group. Leonard F. Muhammad, the Nation's chief of staff and head of the Chicago-based security company, told the March 1995 Congressional oversight panel, "I think in our case, Congressman, this is not a situation where you are funding a hate group. You are actually funding a love group."

A supervisor at the NOI's Baltimore security firm provided an example of that "love." On payday he told the 30 guards gathered in the office, "The paychecks will be late today," according to *U.S. News & World Report*.⁴² "Somebody tapped into the computer system, and it was the Jews. The Jews put a virus in our computer."

NOI guards have also sold or given copies of *The Final Call* to residents at at least six sites around the country, according to field interviews conducted by U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development staff at subsidized housing developments employing NOI firms.⁴³ *The Final Call* is replete with anti-Semitic and racist claptrap and conspiracy theory. (It is unclear whether all the guards were on duty when they distributed the NOI organ, but it appears from the field interviews and news reports that residents perceived the individuals selling papers to be guards, not rank-and-file members of the NOI.) According to HUD's materials, that activity ceased after housing authorities objected.

That employees of the NOI security firms have distributed materials tainted with race-hatred undermines the firms' pious assertions that they are not themselves bigoted.

PROSELYTIZING

In public housing projects where the Nation's companies provide security, residents and some non-Muslim guards have alleged that the NOI guards use their posts to seek converts. Allegations concern activity in Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia. Religious activity at the taxpayers' expense may violate the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment, breaching the separation of church and state.

In Baltimore, eight current or former NOI guards told *U.S. News & World Report* in September 1994 that guards and supervisors have sold tenants copies of the NOI newspaper, *The Final Call*, which promotes Muslim doctrine, distributed free tickets to Farrakhan appearances, and have gathered small groups of young tenants to urge them to join the NOI.⁴⁴

Recruiting new members for the NOI, avowedly a religious group, constitutes proselytizing, as does sale or dissemination of *The Final Call*, which contains religious material promoting the tenets of the NOI's brand of Muslim belief.⁴⁵

According to HUD field interviews with public housing residents, NOI personnel have sold "religious materials" door-to-door in a Pittsburgh complex, invited residents to the NOI mosque there and in Dayton, Ohio, and sold or distributed *The Final Call* in six locations around the country. In most cases, residents told field interviewers the activity had ceased.⁴⁶

In Brooklyn, NY, the State Department of Housing and Community Renewal decided not to permit a management company to renew a \$361,446 emergency contract with N.O.I. Security Agency Inc., after it received complaints that the guards were selling *The Final Call* from the security booth. The booth boasted a large poster promoting a rally by NOI chief Louis Farrakhan, and was decorated inside with a photo of Farrakhan surrounded by Fruit of Islam security guards. The guards, apparently a dedicated lot, also sold fish, which the NOI urges followers to eat for good health, and vials of various oils, such as those sold in some Nation of Islam bookstores.

Brother James 14X, who reportedly runs the X-Men Security Corp. crew at the project (N.O.I. Security's sub-contractor), denied that the guards engaged in converting tenants to the NOI's beliefs, but acknowledged that the security force sought to have the tenants "recognize God as the center of their lives. The contract is for business. But I consider myself a missionary. And my business is the mission of raising black people from their mentally dead state to positive thinking."⁴⁷

Seeking converts is known, in NOI parlance, as "fishing for the dead."⁴⁸

In Philadelphia, three residents of the HUD-subsidized Abbotsford project filed a class action suit against the director of N.O.I. Security, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, and the Philadelphia housing authority, *et al.*, alleging, *inter alia*, that NOI security staff have held "numerous religious instruction classes" for children and distributed religious literature. The suit was later withdrawn.

NOI Security's contract at Abbotsford was not renewed last year. The tenant board voted against renewal, its president told *U.S. News*.⁴⁹

And in Washington, DC, Lt. Lowell Duckett of the Metropolitan Police Department, described by the *Los Angeles Times* as a Nation of Islam supporter, attributed a decline in drug dealing in a Washington, DC, housing project to the Nation of Islam and its teachings. The group offers classes, counseling, religious studies, and training, Duckett told the *Times*.⁵⁰

Finally, William Muhammad himself has boasted that N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. does not limit itself to security functions. "NOI Security is a wholistic (sic) program. We don't just deal with security, the important program is our social program," he told *The Final Call*. And New Life's Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad told a Congressional subcommittee in 1994, "A focus on security only can be appropriately compared to attempting to walk on one leg." Testifying before the Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development of the House Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs, Muhammad called the N.O.I.-linked security companies "security and social service companies."⁵¹

“MANHOOD AND WOMANHOOD TRAINING”: A COVER FOR PROSELYTIZING?

“Manhood and Womanhood Training” classes appear to be among those social programs. These classes, which appear to be a vehicle for proselytizing, are written into N.O.I. Security Agency service agreements and contracts in Dayton, OH, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, and Pittsburgh.⁵²

A *New York Times* reporter who attended a “Manhood Training” class at the Nation of Islam’s Harlem mosque described the program as “a pilot program aimed at nonmembers....” Manhood Training “is part lecture, part paramilitary drilling and part group therapy and catharsis for inner city blues. It is also a seamless dissemination of the basic tenets of Nation of Islam philosophy, including handouts detailing the 26 ‘restricted laws of Islam,’” (emphasis added). The reporter noted, “The Muslims...asked participants to fill out detailed background forms, a request reminiscent of Mr. Farrakhan’s speech at the armory when he asked his audience of more than 10,000 men to fill out index cards with their names, addresses and Social Security numbers.” Military drill was included in the Manhood Training curriculum. “For example, as the men marched in place...and yelled in cadence — One! Two! Three! Four! — [the instructor] would help keep time by shouting out the names of Islamic holy men.”⁵³ Participants were also encouraged to make donations.

The Manhood Training offered at the mosque could differ from the Manhood Training offered at inner city housing projects. But complaints that NOI housing guards are holding religion classes, distributing religious literature, and urging young residents to join the organization suggest this is exactly what is meant where the term “Manhood Training” appears in service agreements.

Where “Manhood Training” is written into NOI security contracts, the taxpayer is in effect subsidizing religious proselytizing.

Proselytizing may extend to programs other than “Manhood and Womanhood training.” In another example, the contract obtained by the Nation of Islam Community Support Group in Dayton, OH, provides for self-esteem development in addition to manhood and womanhood training, as part of a Federal Drug Elimination Grant Program. A senior Dayton housing official instructed the N.O.I. group not to distribute a self-esteem study guide the group produced because it contained religious references, according to the March 1995 Congressional testimony of then-HUD Assistant Secretary Roberta Achtenberg. An employee of the NOI group refused to supply HUD with a copy of the study guide, Assistant Secretary Achtenberg testified.⁵⁴

“CONDONED VIGILANTISM”: USE OF EXCESSIVE FORCE

N.O.I. Security companies have been dogged by incidents of excessive force and intimidation — what a veteran police sergeant termed “condoned vigilantism”⁵⁵ — and by allegations that some guards have themselves been intimidated by gangs and drug dealers.

For example, a Los Angeles (Venice) management company terminated its contract with N.O.I. Security (California) in late 1993 because of evidence of rampant drug dealing in the guards’ presence.⁵⁶ The activity was captured in more than 75 still photos, and on police surveillance tapes showing guards watching drug sales. The police also complained that the guards sometimes were quick to let fleeing suspects into the buildings, but were slow to allow pursuing police to enter.⁵⁷ Police officials told *The New York Times* they believed the N.O.I. guards had been intimidated by the Shoreline Crips, a gang.

Similar concerns have been raised in Chicago, where, in July 1994, armed gang members forced unarmed New Life Self-Development Co. guards out of two high-rise buildings at the Rockwell Gardens complex, detaining two guards for an hour.⁵⁸ A month earlier, after gang warfare sent bullets flying through Rockwell, the complex’s maintenance manager told housing authority police that “the feedback he was getting was that the Muslim guards were hassling CHA personnel more than the gang members and drug dealers,” according to the *Chicago Tribune*.⁵⁹ By fall 1994, according to CHA files, conditions had deteriorated so badly that from October 17 to 27 the New Life guards were removed from Rockwell in an attempt to restore relative calm.

Back East, N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. lost its contract to guard Washington, DC’s Clifton Terrace in 1994 after an accumulation of incidents in which residents and police alleged the N.O.I. guards used excessive physical force against residents. According to Sgt. Lou Cannon, who worked in Clifton Terrace and is president of the Washington Fraternal Order of Police, “We had to arrest several security officers who went way over the line with physical restraint.”⁶⁰

In a July 1995 interview Sgt. Cannon said that N.O.I. guards rarely notify the police of an incident, preferring to handle it themselves. But the guards are “more aggressive [than necessary] — they tend to aggravate the situation rather than resolve the situation.” Sometimes “what should have been a simple situation turned into a dangerous affair because of the escalation.”

Sgt. Cannon criticized N.O.I. Security’s methods at housing projects in Washington. “[They’ve used] tactics — if I’d done them I’d be up on charges for excessive force and brutality. If law enforcement tried to use those tactics, we’d’ve been fired from our jobs and lucky if we didn’t go to jail.”

Sometimes the guards’ strong-arm tactics have been turned on police. In July 1995, a Nation of Islam security guard was convicted in DC Superior Court of assaulting a police officer during a 1993 fracas at the Paradise Manor complex in Northeast Washington. Police had responded to a confrontation between residents and guards at the complex. While a police officer was trying to arrest one NOI guard, a second guard intervened, kicked the officer in the jaw, and attempted to seize the officer’s gun. At the trial, the NOI guard claimed that he had tripped and kicked the officer accidentally. The police officer’s jaw was broken in two places. The defense did not explain how attempting to take the officer’s gun fit into the “accidental” scenario.⁶¹

The use of strong-arm tactics by NOI guards has surfaced elsewhere. In a March 1995 brawl outside a Baltimore public housing high-rise, four NOI guards wielding flashlights beat a man unconscious, fracturing his skull, according to multiple eyewitness accounts. Baltimore City Police arrested the NOI guards after four eyewitnesses identified them as the individuals who chased the victim, beat and kicked him, until onlookers pulled the guards away, police reports in Maryland District Court records show. The injured man had been part of a large group trying to gain entry to the complex. The guards had detained him, but he fled in the confusion after gunshots rang out. A Baltimore grand jury indicted one of the NOI guards in late August 1995 on two sets of charges of attempted murder, assault, assault with intent to murder, and use of a deadly weapon, according to the Baltimore State’s Attorney’s Office. The second set of

charges relates to a second victim. The other guards were not charged.

Security guards at housing projects in Washington, DC,⁶² and Brooklyn, NY,⁶³ have also assaulted news reporters and cameramen.

N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. contracts in Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh and Washington, DC, have been terminated or allowed to lapse because of poor performance.⁶⁴ At the Federally subsidized Abbotsford Homes in Philadelphia, the tenant board president told *U.S. News and World Report* that the tenant association voted against renewing its contract with N.O.I. Security because it believed the company's service had declined.⁶⁵

HIRING FORMER GANG MEMBERS

Public housing residents in Chicago raised an outcry when New Life reportedly hired former gang members as security guards last year. Tenants said they doubted such people could be trusted.⁶⁶

Defending a goal which may be more consistent with social work than providing security, Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad told the *Chicago Sun-Times* that hiring gang members was a way of getting them to leave gang life behind. When the paper asked whether he risked violence by hiring members of rival gangs, Muhammad suggested his policy had been approved by the gangs. “We’re not worried,” he told the paper. “What we’re doing over here has been embraced by all of the different organizations.”⁶⁷ Muhammad also implied that hiring gang members is acceptable as long as they put New Life’s interests ahead of their gangs’. “If you work for us, you can’t hold out your gang as your identification. You wear an ID that says you’re a security officer for New Life, and we’d better find you representing that first and foremost, or you won’t be working for us.”⁶⁸

In mid-June 1994, after gang warfare flared, sending bullets pinging off Rockwell’s walls, gang members sought New Life’s participation in brokering a truce. New Life officials served as mediators at a meeting of rival gang members, according to a report in the CHA’s files.⁶⁹

The CHA’s files contain a letter written two weeks later from a housing official to Leonard F. Muhammad “reiterat[ing]” its position on the “employment of known gang members.” The CHA “anticipates that you will make a reasonable inquiry into whether an applicant is a current gang member. If the individual acknowledges membership in a gang, the Authority does not want that individual assigned to our properties.”⁷⁰

Five months later, in November 1994, Muhammad informed the CHA that the company was requiring employees to complete a questionnaire on membership in organizations. The categories were: “civic groups,” “political organizations,” “religious orders,” “labor organizations,” and “youth organizations (gangs).” A note warns, “As an employee, I understand, membership in gangs is against Chicago Housing Authority regulations and policy. And such membership is cause for immediate terminations (sic).” The idea that gang members would own up to gang membership — grounds for termination — may display touching faith in their honesty.

In fact, however, the Nation of Islam has demonstrated that it has a more realistic view of gangs. The Muslim group has had more than a decade of relationships with violent outlaw street gangs from which to learn. Its gang ties have ranged from an association of many years with the El Rukns in Chicago to Khalid Abdul Muhammad’s contacts with the Crips in Los Angeles, where the NOI fielded “God Squads” to seek converts among gang members in the 1980s. Khalid paid Faces of Death Crips to perform security for him during an appearance on “Donahue” in 1994.⁷¹

The Rukns, once the country’s largest, most violent black criminal syndicate, terrorized Chicago’s South Side for nearly a generation. Many soldiers and lieutenants went to prison for murder, drug trafficking, and extortion. Even lengthy prison sentences did not deter some gang leaders. From his prison cell in the mid-1980s, the Rukns’ chieftain, Jeff Fort, directed a scheme for his lieutenants to collect millions of dollars from Libya in return for bringing down a civilian airliner and other acts of terrorism.⁷² Police scotched the plan before it could be implemented. A Federal jury convicted Fort in 1987; he was sentenced to 80 years in prison.

The Rukns appear to have made contact with the Libyans at one of several conferences of terrorists and militants attended by Nation of Islam representatives in Tripoli.⁷³

Rukns have been among the honored guests at numerous Nation of Islam Saviour’s Day conventions, according to the convention programs and NOI publications.

Law enforcement sources have told reporters that the NOI recruited Rukns in the early 1980s and Rukns have trained members of the Nation’s Fruit of Islam security wing in martial arts and weapons.⁷⁴ But such recruiting is likely to have been minimal. By the mid-1980s the police had penetrated the Rukns,

and were methodically decimating the gang's ranks with the aid of cooperating gang members. The gang's well-marked trail of brutal crime, with police officers following closely, would have made Rukn soldiers unattractive prospects for recruitment for Farrakhan, with his message of clean living.

Law enforcement sources have also said that NOI figures attended a Chicago gang "summit" in the mid-1980s, aimed at reapportioning territories. There the El Rukn called for an end to black-on-black violence.⁷⁵ In the last two years Farrakhan has played out similar scenes with other gangs in cities across the country, where he has been a featured speaker at latter-day gang "summits."

At least one member of New Life's team in Chicago may have had firsthand experience of what a gang — the Rukns' parent, in fact — can do. New Life's proposal to the Chicago Housing Authority contains the resume of the president of Citywide Detective Agency, the Chicago company on which New Life apparently piggybacked for licensing purposes.⁷⁶ The resume indicates that Citywide's chief was a security supervisor and security chief for a South Side Chicago community group whose job training program was taken over by gang members. His resume shows that Citywide's president worked for The Woodlawn Organization from 1968 to 1971. In 1967, Woodlawn obtained \$1 million in Federal funds to run job training centers for gang members. Members of the Blackstone Rangers gang obtained staff positions in the jobs program. The gang took over two training centers, claimed salaries for work never done, forged attendance records and paychecks and forcibly extracted kickbacks from other gang members. By 1973 the gang's chief, Jeff Fort, and several generals had been convicted of stealing funds to purchase drugs and weapons. It was after Fort left prison that he restyled his followers the El Rukn,⁷⁷ and went on to a career of drug trafficking and conspiring to commit terrorism for Libya.

Although in the last two years the Nation of Islam has claimed a role in what have been billed as "peace" talks among warring gang factions — talks characterized by police gang experts as negotiations to divvy drug-trafficking turf — Farrakhan has not shied from elaborating a less benign vision of the street thugs. In the mid-1980s the NOI chief predicted gangs would play "a very important role" in a coming race war in America. He described gang members as "born to settle the score."⁷⁸

QUICK RESORT TO VIOLENCE BY NATION OF ISLAM SECURITY FORCES

Since the mid-1980s, Nation of Islam security cadres have built a record of quick resort to violence in confrontations with police officers, patrons and residents of facilities they are responsible for guarding, and in unprovoked incidents involving peaceful demonstrators at Farrakhan appearances. Guards have also reacted violently to a television reporter and cameraman who were filming their actions in Washington, and a news photographer who was taking a picture of a guard in New York City.

VIOLENT INCIDENTS INVOLVING NOI GUARDS

Incidents from assault to murder and alleged aggravated kidnapping animate concerns that NOI guards may endanger some of the very people they are hired to protect.

Four Nation of Islam guards and the NOI's Dallas minister allegedly kidnapped two unruly youths from a Dallas shopping mall in June 1995, held them for four hours and beat them repeatedly. The boys told police that they were forced to strip naked and made to run a gantlet of 50 NOI members who struck them with belts and bamboo canes. The guards suspected the boys of stealing a cash register from a store.

When police attempted to arrest the four guards, approximately 50 NOI members confronted the officers, initially preventing them from taking the men into custody. The guards were charged with aggravated kidnapping in the June 13, 1995, incident. One of the guards acknowledged, "They were whipped because they did wrong. They broke in here. Therefore, they were disciplined," he told *The New York Times*.

The Dallas mall, envisioned by its owner as an opportunity for black economic development, is the site of a Nation of Islam mosque and several NOI businesses.⁷⁹ The NOI guards first took the youths to the NOI's offices, adjacent to the group's mosque, where they were questioned and beaten, and then brought them to a larger room. There they ran the gantlet of approximately 50 men who beat them again, according to a police spokesman.⁸⁰

The NOI's Dallas minister was charged in the initial beating. Before he was arrested, the minister addressed a rally to support the guards, the "Nation of Islam Four," as defenders dubbed them. "God knows well how to raise our children," he said. "Since the white man is not God, why listen to him?"⁸¹

A Dallas County grand jury declined to indict the five NOI men. Neither of the victims, whose parents have reportedly filed a civil suit against the guards, were asked to testify before the grand jury, according to the boys' parents. The sole witness was a police officer.⁸²

A few months earlier, in a March 1995 brawl outside a Baltimore high-rise, four NOI guards wielding flashlights allegedly beat a man unconscious, fracturing his skull. The man was taken to the Maryland Shock Trauma Center in serious condition. He had been part of a group trying to gain unauthorized entry to the building. According to police complaints on file in Baltimore District Court, eyewitnesses told police they saw the guards chase the victim, kick and beat him in the face with flashlights until residents pulled them off the unconscious man.

The guards were arrested. Two of the four had faced criminal charges before. One had been fired by the Baltimore Police Department in 1990 after he was convicted of beating a teenage car theft suspect with a 15-inch police flashlight in an alley. He was off duty at the time. The other guard had been charged with beating a woman and threatening her with a knife, but the charges were dropped in 1990.⁸³

In late August 1995, a Baltimore grand jury indicted the cashiered police officer/NOI guard on charges including attempted murder and assault. The grand jury handed down a second set of indictments in connection with a second victim. The other men were not charged.

According to a 1994 U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development investigation of the Baltimore Housing Authority, the Maryland State Police denied licenses to 29 NOI guards, nearly half of the Baltimore complement, because they had been convicted of felonies.⁸⁴

The practice of hiring convicted criminals as guards is not limited to the NOI's Baltimore company. Ten out of 30 NOI guards in Chicago checked by the *Chicago Tribune* have recent felony records⁸⁵ — a violation of state regulations barring convicted felons from working as security guards. According to the newspaper, one guard had been convicted three times for selling heroin. Two of the convictions were as recent as August 1994. Another was convicted of possession of cocaine, a felony, and a misdemeanor firearms charge, both in 1994. A third was caught with 43 bags of crack cocaine that he was selling to a juvenile, and was convicted, also in 1994.⁸⁶

These felons are part of a force patrolling violent, drug-infested housing projects.

In 1991, authorities in Los Angeles refused to license several security guards whose names were submitted by the NOI company because the men had criminal records.⁸⁷

On another front, guards have allegedly assaulted members of the news media covering the NOI firms' activities. At a Coney Island development in Brooklyn, NY, in February 1995 a security guard "roughed up a [*New York Post*] photographer when he tried to take the man's picture.... The guard grabbed the photog around the neck and threw him to the ground," according to the newspaper.⁸⁸

Even before the NOI spun off housing patrols by its Fruit of Islam security arm into a for-profit enterprise, the Fruit had a record of violence and confrontation. Security-related incidents involving the FOI (which, as described, overlaps with the security companies) include murder and alleged assault and battery.

In November 1991, two FOI guards were sentenced to 20 years to life without parole for murder after they shot and killed a patron at a club in Inglewood, CA, where they were working as security guards a year earlier. The patron had referred to the women in the club as "bitches," to which the guards took exception. One of the guards charged was the supervisor of the security team on the night of the murder. According to the court record, witnesses in the case were threatened. One of the guards had prior felony convictions for robbery and resisting arrest.

At a Pittsburgh housing project in July 1991, a Nation of Islam security supervisor was arrested and charged with firebombing an apartment in retaliation for the beating of a Nation of Islam security guard at the project. When the authorities attempted to arrest the alleged arsonist, who had been pointed out by witnesses, NOI guards surrounded him, initially preventing the arrest.⁸⁹ After numerous postponements, the case was dropped when a witness failed to appear.

At the Mayfair Mansions project in the District of Columbia in April 1988, Fruit of Islam security guards beat an alleged drug dealer, and attacked a news cameraman filming the incident. One security guard tried to remove the tape from the news camera. A reporter for the local NBC-affiliate, who came to his cameraman's aid, received hospital treatment for minor facial injuries. One NOI guard was arrested and charged with assault and theft.⁹⁰ Seeking to extricate the media from the resulting flap, the reporter and the cameraman did not press charges.⁹¹

At the University of the District of Columbia in March 1988, two students protesting Louis Farrakhan's appearance at the school said they were assaulted by several Nation of Islam security people. The students said the guards hit and kicked them and tore up their signs. One received hospital treatment for a concussion.⁹²

Also in a university setting, at a 1990 event at Yale Law School, a security guard accompanying Abdul Alim Muhammad, who runs the Nation of Islam's Abundant Life AIDS clinic, reportedly approached a student holding a sign captioned, "Anti-Semitism Doesn't Only Hurt Jews," tore the sign out of the student's hands and threatened, "Next time, I'll break your neck."⁹³

The record of verbal confrontation spinning out of control has a pedigree nearly 10 years old. After Farrakhan delivered a controversial speech at Madison Square Garden in 1985, and left the arena, an unknown number of his security guards brawled with a small group of stagehands as the latter were removing chairs from the stage while some female followers of Farrakhan were still on stage. One Garden worker was treated at the hospital for head lacerations and released. A spokesman for the Muslim group said, "the sisters were apparently in a danger zone" and that the stagehands had used "abusive language" against them.⁹⁴

CLASHES WITH POLICE

The Nation of Islam itself is characterized by a culture of hostility toward legitimate law enforcement authorities, with whom there have been several violent clashes resulting in arrests. In 1994, in a fracas at the NOI's Harlem mosque, eight police officers were beaten, one's gun and another's radio were taken, after they responded to an apparently spurious "911" emergency call. According to news reports, as the first pair of officers ascended a staircase in the building, approximately a dozen men poured down upon them from above, sending the officers tumbling down, struggling to hold onto their radios and weapons.⁹⁵ After an injured officer pointed out one of his alleged assailants, *The New York Times* reported, officers at the scene observed people from the mosque talking to the man, who then disappeared.⁹⁶ The Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, which represents the New York Police Department officers, filed a lawsuit against the Nation of Islam for the injuries to PBA members.

Last year's incident was a reprise of a fatal clash two decades earlier.

A similar confrontation at the same mosque in 1972 left one police officer dead and four others wounded. According to press accounts, shots were fired from both inside and outside the building during the incident. Nonetheless, Farrakhan characterized it as a premeditated attack by the police.⁹⁷

Other clashes with police have left officers injured and one NOI member dead. In February 1994 a Richmond County, GA, jury convicted two Nation of Islam members of felony obstruction of an Augusta police officer. In a scuffle with four Nation of Islam defendants, the female officer was thrown to the ground, suffering a fractured vertebra and a separated shoulder. She was investigating a 911 call that the men were impeding traffic. In the scuffle, the men disarmed the officer and threw her gun into a sewer.⁹⁸

Members of the NOI's Fruit of Islam have also clashed with police in Washington, DC, (1993, 1988) and police and sheriff's deputies in two separate incidents in Los Angeles City and County (1990) — one with fatal results — after routine traffic stops spiralled into physical confrontation.⁹⁹

FARRAKHAN: “BLACKS SHOULD HAVE A MIND TO KILL”

Louis Farrakhan and other NOI leaders have stoked this atmosphere of overheated suspicion and hostility with incendiary rhetoric. Farrakhan has defended rapper Ice T’s “cop killer” lyrics, asserting, “blacks should not only have the heart to die, they should have a mind to kill.”

And after Farrakhan returned from a trip to a 1986 gathering of terrorists and militants in Libya, then-Farrakhan spokesman Khalid Abdul Muhammad threatened that if Farrakhan were ever “harmed,” NOI members would “walk up to the car where your police officers are taking a break and blow their damn brains out.”¹⁰⁰

In 1987, a Federal court in Atlanta heard testimony that Khalid Abdul Muhammad, convicted of social security fraud, had attempted to suborn a follower to give perjured testimony about his scheme. According to an FBI agent’s account of conversations with Muhammad’s followers, Muhammad said after his arrest that FBI agents should be dismembered and informants beheaded. Muhammad had been NOI “Minister of Defense” and “Supreme Captain,” according to the group’s tabloid. In those posts, he performed security and disciplinary functions and led the Fruit of Islam in patrols of housing projects in Chicago in a forerunner of the NOI’s security patrols elsewhere. Despite Farrakhan’s written assurance to the judge that the NOI chief would discipline Muhammad, when Muhammad was released from prison Farrakhan made him his national spokesman.

Farrakhan’s own ruminations are laced with conspiracy theories in which law enforcement authorities figure. In his famous “UFO” speech, Farrakhan recounted being beamed aboard a UFO and taken to a “mother ship” to meet the late Elijah Muhammad, who imparted assorted wisdom. Based on this epiphany, the NOI leader said he had learned that the Bush Administration had met to “plan a war against the black people of America, the Nation of Islam and Louis Farrakhan...under the guise of a war against drug sellers, drug users, gangs and violence....”¹⁰¹

In a paroxysm of paranoia, Farrakhan asserted that much “gang activity is fomented, manipulated, and kept alive by outside forces from within the white community and oftentimes by the very police themselves....” He said many young blacks are “recruited by corrupt police to sell drugs to our people” and “are killed if they violate police instructions by hit squads from within the police departments.” The source of these revelations? “This is what we are learning from so-called gang leaders throughout the country.”¹⁰²

Nation of Islam officials have also made excuses for lawless behavior. The most egregious example is then-national assistant Khalid Abdul Muhammad’s praise for the Los Angeles riots. According to the *Los Angeles Times*, Muhammad said, “When white people did the same thing...it was called the Boston Tea Party. All of you are invited to the Los Angeles tea party.”

“WE ARE THE HEZBOLLAH OF AMERICA”

The Nation of Islam has flirted with terrorist regimes, from Libya and Iraq to The Sudan for more than a decade. The romance raises the specter of publicly funded security firms — their quasi-law enforcement role cloaked in the official authority of the U.S. government — whose leaders hobnob with HAMAS and Hezbollah.

The NOI's links to Libya are well known. Briefly, the Muslim group has obtained substantial funds from Gadhafi, notably a \$5 million loan, which Farrakhan said he used to start up the Nation's POWER personal products line.¹⁰³ Libya also channeled funds via BCCI (Canada) to a Libyan intelligence front in Washington to finance trips to Tripoli by the NOI and American radicals, according to a Canadian parliamentary investigation and a prosecution by the U.S. Attorney's Office in northern Virginia.¹⁰⁴ Farrakhan's "Foreign Minister" and other minions have attended gatherings of international terrorist outfits, militants, and other American radical groups in Tripoli and Benghazi.¹⁰⁵ Farrakhan himself and his "Foreign Minister" have traveled to Tripoli for meetings with the Libyan strongman, whom *The Final Call* dubbed the "TRUE HERO of liberation struggle," notably on the anniversary of the U.S. air raid on Tripoli. At least one gathering attended by Farrakhan — in violation of a travel ban imposed on Americans by President Reagan after Libya was linked to terrorist attacks in Europe — offered training seminars on weapons and explosives.¹⁰⁶ The Libyans also paid \$250,000 in travel and other expenses to stage a pro-Gadhafi demonstration in Lafayette Park,¹⁰⁷ across from the White House, in which the Nation of Islam played a leading role.

Farrakhan's contacts with other outlaw states are less well known. The NOI leader visited Khartoum in 1994, where he met with Gen. Omar Hassan Ahmed al-Bashir, the Sudanese head of state and Dr. Hassan Abdullah al-Turabi, who heads The Sudan's ruling party, and is the power behind the throne. Farrakhan's party included his chief of staff, Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad, who heads the New Life Self-Development security company in Chicago, and Farrakhan's son, Assistant Supreme Captain Mustapha Farrakhan, who is a consultant to N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. in Washington.¹⁰⁸ The younger Farrakhan is also deputy to N.O.I. Security Agency president William/Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad, in the latter's role as Supreme Captain of the Fruit of Islam.

Under Turabi's sway, The Sudan has become a launch pad for Islamist terrorism, which threatens Egypt, Algeria, Tunisia and other Muslim (but non-Islamist) regimes, and which reached American shores with the 1993 bombing of the World Trade Center. Bankrolled by Iran, The Sudan has provided safe haven for accused terrorists, training at camps staffed by Pasdaran (Iranian Red Guards Corps) instructors, and other services, while it pursues a bloody civil war against Christians and animists in the country's mineral-rich south.¹⁰⁹

Terrorist groups of all stripes — Shiite, Sunni, and secular — maintain representatives in Khartoum, including HAMAS, Hezbollah, the Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and the Abu Nidal organization.¹¹⁰ Until recently, The Sudan sheltered Carlos "The Jackal."

Sheikh Umar Abdel-Rahman, who is on trial in New York for his alleged role in a conspiracy to bomb the New York-New Jersey commuter tunnels, the United Nations, the George Washington Bridge, and the Federal Building in Manhattan lived in Khartoum after being expelled by Egypt. After Rahman left Khartoum for the United States, Turabi maintained contact with the blind cleric, meeting with him on a 1992 visit to New York, according to Egyptian press reports. Several defendants in the conspiracy case are Sudanese. One of the scheme's masterminds — a Sudanese who pleaded guilty and implicated all but one of the other defendants — told a government informant that high level contacts at the Sudanese mission to the U.N. would provide a vehicle with diplomatic tags, which the accused plotters could use to enter the underground garage and blow up the U.N. building, according to the transcript of the taped conversation introduced at the 1995 World Trade Center II trial.

Farrakhan lieutenants have attended at least two conferences in Khartoum graced by a *Who's Who*

of international terrorism. The Nation of Islam's "Foreign Minister," Abdul Akbar Muhammad, participated in meetings of the Popular Arab Islamic Conference (PAIC) organization, a Turabi vehicle for promoting cooperation among Sunni, Shiite, and secular militants and terrorists. There he and other NOI members have rubbed shoulders with ranking figures from some of the world's bloodiest terrorist groups and regimes. Representatives from Hezbollah, HAMAS, and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad attended the PAIC, according to *Jeune Afrique*. The gathering attracted mullahs from Iran and Afghanistan; delegates from Syria, Kashmir, the Jama'a al-Islamiyya (Islamic Group) of Egypt, whose imam is Umar Abdel-Rahman, and whose armed wing has murdered Western tourists and Egyptian government officials; the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) of Algeria, whose Armed Islamic Group has murdered journalists, government officials, and Westerners, and is suspected of involvement in the hijacking of an Air France jet in December 1994; the outlawed Islamist extremist An Nahda of Tunisia; the Abu Nidal organization; the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP); Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP); and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine - General Command (PFLP-GC); according to other news reports and *The Final Call*.

Turabi told the gathering that they must oppose the enemies of Islam in the West with all their strength, and drive fear into their hearts, according to a clip of the proceedings broadcast by the Canadian Broadcasting Company's "The Fifth Estate" program. The crowd chanted, "America must be destroyed," and "Death to the Jews."

A column carried in *The Final Call* said the 1993 PAIC gathering "saluted...the reconstruction of Iraq which was savagely destroyed by the U.S." and its allies, "rejected" Western "claims of Libyan 'complicity'" in the bombing of Pan Am 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, and "demanded the release of all prisoners unless their guilt has been proven. This includes Sheikh Umar Abdel-Rahman, the blind cleric held in U.S. jail for allegedly masterminding the World Trade Center bombing."¹¹¹

Earlier this year, Abdul Akbar Muhammad, the "International Representative of the Nation of Islam and Brother Louis Farrakhan," delivered a statement to the 1995 PAIC on Farrakhan's behalf. "Islam is the only force left in the world that threatens world dominance by the international bankers and the governments and systems which they manipulate," Farrakhan's statement read.¹¹²

Abdul Akbar Muhammad also told the delegates to the 1995 PAIC conference that the Muslim world must "stand against the onslaught coming from the West." He said, "The American government is using the power of its dollars and propaganda against Islam," and gave as an example what he termed "buying" a witness in the Rahman conspiracy trial in New York.¹¹³

No shrinking violet, Muhammad used the 1995 PAIC meeting to make new friends. When he met Sheikh Naim Qassem of Hezbollah after a news conference at a Khartoum hotel, Muhammed found a translator to convey his greetings. "Tell the Sheikh we are the Hezbollah of America," the smiling Muhammad ordered.¹¹⁴

CONCLUSION

Through contracts to guard Federally assisted housing projects, the American taxpayer is subsidizing a *de facto* arm of a group distinguished by bigotry and racial separatism, along with hostility to the police and praise for riots; a group proud of hobnobbing with terrorists abroad and outlaw street gangs at home.

The Nation of Islam teaches bigotry and racial separatism and seeks a separate black state. Its doctrine that whites are a devil race has been an article of faith since founder W.D. Fard's day. More recent declarations from Farrakhan's lips include: "murder and lying comes easy for white people"; "Your [whites'] history is written in the blood of the human family. It comes out of you like the web comes out of a spider";¹¹⁵ Jews are "sucking the blood of the black community";¹¹⁶ "They're plotting against us even as we speak";¹¹⁷ "You can't say 'never again' to God, because when He puts you in the oven, 'never again' don't mean a thing"; the government is pursuing "a war against the black people of America...under the guise of a war against drug sellers, drug users, gangs and violence."¹¹⁸

Assertions that the companies "are not affiliated with" the Nation of Islam fly in the face of the evidence of deep ties. The issue is control, not separate incorporation. Nation of Islam officials serve as officers of the security companies. NOI representatives themselves describe intimate relationships among the NOI and the security firms. By their own admission, the companies operate "under the guidance and direction of the Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan."¹¹⁹

The fact these firms perform a quasi-law enforcement function at public housing projects clothes the guards' actions in the official authority of government. This renders the guards' abuse of their authority — beating private citizens and assaulting police officers — not only "condoned vigilantism," but vigilantism on the taxpayers' tab.

The public would never stand for hiring a security firm run by Ku Klux Klan leaders. The widespread public tolerance of NOI security reflects a patronizing view that racism, bigotry, and violence, when practiced by blacks, are somehow permissible.

NOTES

1. Allen R. Myerson, "Black Muslim Guards Are Accused of Flogging 4 Boys at a Dallas Mall," *The New York Times*, June 16, 1995. Nora Lopez and Todd Bensman, "4 security guards held in beating of youths at mall," *The Dallas Morning News*, June 14, 1995.
2. "The proper handling of God's men: Supreme Captain sets true example for Black manhood," *The Final Call*, April 20, 1992.
3. Prepared testimony of Abdul Arif Muhammad, counsel for N.O.I. Security Agency, Inc., *et al.*, submitted to the U.S. House of Representatives, Banking Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight, March 2, 1995.
4. James Popkin, "Propagandists or saviors? How guard firms tied to the Nation of Islam operate," *U.S. News & World Report*, September 12, 1994. David Jackson and William Gaines, "The Business of Security," *The Chicago Tribune*, March 13, 1995.
5. Cancelled checks obtained from Baltimore housing authority.
6. Lamont X. Curry, "NOI Security Inc.: Making the difference in the community; Muslims aid elderly," *The Final Call*, April 20, 1992.
7. Curry, "Muslims bring peace to another housing project," *Ibid.*, August 25, 1993.
8. Some NOI officials have not only adopted Muslim names upon joining the organization, but have changed their Muslim names afterwards, e.g. William Johnson Muhammad/William Muhammad/Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad, who uses several names contemporaneously.
9. N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. does not appear to operate in Boston. However, a company owned by Eric Straughter, the nephew of Farrakhan's East Coast Representative and Boston Nation of Islam Minister Don Muhammad, provided security to 40 Boston developments. Straughter Associates lost its state license and special Boston Police powers after Straughter and two associates were indicted February 4, 1994, on fraud charges. Earlier this year a jury convicted the three of mail fraud, falsifying invoices to the Federal government, aiding and abetting and conspiracy. The jury found that they collected more than \$1 million for no-show patrols. (Judy Rakowsky, "Jury Finds Firm Cheated on Public Housing Security," *The Boston Globe*, April 4, 1995.) This may be the work to which New Life was referring in its Chicago proposal.
10. Prepared testimony of Abdul Alim Muhammad, p. 9.
11. Testimony of Leonard F. Muhammad, House Banking Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight, March 2, 1995. Notes from C-Span videotape.
12. In the District of Columbia, Maryland, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, California, and Texas.
13. Richard Muhammad, "Community, police, Muslims form united front," *The Final Call*, June 29, 1992.
14. N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. Articles of Incorporation, District of Columbia. Ernest X. Brooks was secretary of N.O.I. Security in 1990 and 1991. Brooks was also a director of a Chicago entertainment company, whose co-directors were Fruit of Islam Chief and N.O.I. Security president William Muhammad, and Farrakhan's son Mustapha. The company, formed in 1992, was dissolved by the State of Illinois the following year.
15. November 18, 1991, letter, attached to prepared testimony of Abdul Arif Muhammad, House Banking Committee, Subcommittee on Oversight hearing, March 2, 1995.
16. Articles of Incorporation, State of Illinois.
17. William/Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad, NOI Fruit of Islam Supreme Captain and N.O.I. Security Agency Inc. president, in "The proper handling of God's men: Supreme Captain sets true example for Black manhood," *The Final Call*, April 20, 1992.
18. The full text, a paraphrase of remarks made by Dion Muhammad, identified as Vice President and Executive Director of N.O.I. Security, is: "[T]he growth and success of the company is based on the guidance of the Honorable Louis Farrakhan, the discipline of the Nation of Islam, the direction of Supreme Captain Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad." (Curry, "Muslims bring peace....")
19. David Jackson and William Gaines, "Nation-linked guards earn tenant distrust," *Chicago Tribune*, March 13, 1995.
20. David Jackson and William Gaines, "HUD probing Nation of Islam firms, CHA boss," *Chicago Tribune*, May 17, 1995.
21. "Cleveland's winning TEAM moves *The Final Call*," *The Final Call*, November 30, 1994.
22. David Jackson and William Gaines, "The power and the money: Farrakhan prospers as ventures flounder," *The Chicago Tribune*, March 12, 1995. According to the *Tribune*, the first company accumulated more than \$15,000 in unpaid

judgments and \$93,000 in unpaid withholding taxes. Leonard F. Muhammad then liquidated the company as the IRS was about to seize its accounts.

23. "The proper handling of God's men: Supreme Captain sets true example for Black manhood," *The Final Call*, April 20, 1992.

24. See Steven Barboza, *American Jihad: Islam After Malcolm X*, (New York: Image Books/Doubleday, 1994).

25. Curry, "Muslims aid elderly," *The Final Call*, April 20, 1992.

26. "The proper handling of God's men: Supreme Captain sets true example for Black manhood," *The Final Call*, April 20, 1992.

27. "Dear Customer" letter "From Our President" signed, "Abdul Sharrieff Muhammad," in flyer.

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29. Transcript of sentencing hearing, *U.S. v. Harold Moore Vann, A/K/A Dr. Abdul Muhammad, A/K/A Khalid Abdul Muhammad*, U.S. District Court for the Northern District of Georgia, Atlanta, February 19, 1987. Before he went to prison, Muhammad was Supreme Captain of the Fruit of Islam. Farrakhan replaced Muhammad when the latter was incarcerated. Upon his release, however, Muhammad became Farrakhan's "national assistant" or "national spokesman," depending on the reference.

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Exhibit S



FACT FINDING

REPORT

The Other Face of Farrakhan: A Hate-Filled Prelude to the Million Man March

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

1995





Anti-Defamation League

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THE OTHER FACE OF FARRAKHAN: A HATE-FILLED PRELUDE TO THE MILLION MAN MARCH

On Monday, October 16, 1995, hundreds of thousands of black men took part in the Million Man March on the Mall in Washington, D.C. Organized by Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI), and Benjamin Chavis, the ousted executive director of the NAACP, the march was billed as a day of atonement for black men with the goal of fostering unity and self-improvement among African-Americans.

Over the weekend preceding the march, a much smaller number of black men and women attended the "Black Holocaust Nationhood Conference" held at two Washington, D.C., high schools. For two days the conference halls rang with raw bigotry. "We have lost over 600 million at the hands of the white man in the last 6,000 years," declared the keynote speaker, Khalid Abdul Muhammad of the Nation of Islam. "That is 100 times worse than the so-called Holocaust of the so-called Jew, the imposter Jew." Approximately 600 people attended Saturday evening's session at McKinley Tech High School in Northeast Washington, and between 1,200 and 2,000 attended Sunday's gathering at Coolidge High School in the Northwest part of the city. A large percentage of the attendees were young people. About a dozen members of the Crips and Bloods gangs were present, some in T-shirts bearing the slogan: "Don't Smoke the Brother."

The conference represented a segment of Farrakhan's following that holds tightly to the minister's racist teachings. In the view of these militants, blacks are at war with American society, and vice versa. Accordingly, many habitually use the rhetoric of violence and hate. But unlike Minister Farrakhan, they make no effort to occasionally moderate their expressions.

The relationship between this faction and Minister Farrakhan is fluid. They avow fervent loyalty to him, while he plays a subtle game of sometimes embracing and at other times ignoring them. Over the weekend, march co-organizer Benjamin Chavis disavowed any connection between the march and the Black Holocaust conference, but conference director Malik Zulu Shabazz said: "We are right in line and in tune with the Million Man March leadership." Shabazz also reportedly stated: "Louis Farrakhan in Houston in June was informed of the conference and we asked him whether it would be okay to have it on the weekend of the Million Man March, and he approved us." As for Farrakhan himself, he has made no public statement on the matter.

A ROSTER OF BIGOTS

Speakers at the conference included several pro-Farrakhan black figures known for advocating a variety of anti-white, anti-Asian, anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic and homophobic views. Prominent among these were:

- Khalid Abdul Muhammad, an aide to Farrakhan who has repeatedly expressed virulent bigotry. Farrakhan dismissed him in 1994 as his national spokesman after Muhammad's notorious

hate-filled speech at New Jersey's Kean College, but later reinstated him as a minister in the Nation of Islam.

- Steve Cokely, a former Chicago mayoral aide who has accused Jewish doctors of deliberately injecting black children with the AIDS virus.
- Leonard Jeffries, former head of the black studies department at City College of New York. Jeffries has taught that blacks — “Sun People” — are by nature humanistic and communal, while whites — “Ice People” — are harsh, unfeeling oppressors of blacks. He has also asserted that “rich Jews” controlled the slave trade and that Jews in Hollywood plotted with the Mafia to destroy black people.
- Alton Maddox, a radical activist attorney who was suspended from practicing law for his defiance of court orders in the case of Tawana Brawley, an upstate New York girl who fabricated claims that she had been kidnapped and raped by white men.
- Tony Martin, a professor of Africana studies at Wellesley College, who has taught that Jews dominated the slave trade and assigned his classes to read *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, a Nation of Islam book that purports to prove this charge.
- Malik Zulu Shabazz, organizer of the conference and leader of its sponsoring group, Unity Nation. Shabazz is a former Howard University student activist, well known for having led the audience in an anti-Semitic call-and-response routine as a warm-up for a Khalid Muhammad speech at Howard in February 1994.

SUPPORT FOR FARRAKHAN

The gathering, which clearly regarded itself as the militant contingent of the Million Man March, repeatedly expressed support for Farrakhan. The conference audience cheered as Shabazz declared, “This is a Farrakhan stronghold,” and erupted in chants of “Farrakhan, Farrakhan.” At the same time, the participants sought to keep Farrakhan on his traditional race-baiting course.

The various speeches throughout the conference functioned as a crescendo to the appearance of the final speaker, Khalid Abdul Muhammad. Alton Maddox, for example, called Muhammad “the conscience of the black liberation movement.” When Muhammad’s turn came to speak, he received a thunderous ovation from the audience.

Prior to Muhammad’s speech, the tone was set in remarks by other speakers. Malik Zulu Shabazz, in his address, used threatening language: “Newt Gingrich is a Georgia cracker. Who does he think he is trying to tell Farrakhan what to say? To hell with Newt Gingrich. He better not come to work tomorrow.” Explaining why women were excluded from the Million Man March, Shabazz said: “Sisters, we do not want you here for security reasons. I’m putting my life on the line. I’m coming prepared to die or kill.” He added: “The Caucasians and the government are arrogant, trying to tell us how to suffer. America should be glad that every black man is not on a killing spree for all the suffering they have done.”

“GO STRAIGHT TO HELL”

Speaking before a cheering audience, Quanell X — identified by *The Chicago Tribune* as “Nation of Islam National Youth Minister” — reportedly proclaimed to the crowd: “Are 6 million lives worth more than 150 million black lives? All those Jews can go straight to hell.” Dozens in the hall stood and cheered. He singled out a white reporter in the room and asked the audience to eject him: “We ought to just turn the lights out and boot your ass out.” Muhammad applauded as the reporter was then shoved out of the auditorium. Quanell X, a 24-year-old from Houston whose original name is Quanell Evans, earlier declared in an interview: “I say to Jewish America: Get ready ... knuckle up, put your boots on, because we’re ready and the war is going down.”

Steve Cokely reportedly encouraged blacks to foster violence among whites: “Any time we can instigate ... white-on-white violence, it is in our interest.” He also stated: “Every time you see Newt Gingrich, know that his pimp is Rupert Murdoch and know that Rupert Murdoch’s daddy is Rothschild of Europe. Rothschild owns Murdoch and Murdoch owns Gingrich and Gingrich has got the Contract on America.” *The Washington Times* reported that Cokely “repeatedly used a racial epithet” to refer to Colin Powell, Christopher Darden (a prosecutor on the O.J. Simpson case) and other blacks who work within the system. Concerning Darden, Cokely said: “He needs to be at the Million Man March, right up front, on his knees.”

Alton Maddox, alluding to Farrakhan’s use of the term “bloodsuckers” to describe Jews and others, said: “You’d better be glad that the only thing we are doing is calling you bloodsuckers.” He added: “This ain’t about ceremony. This is about blood. The price of victory is blood.... You got to spill some blood if you want to be free.” Urging Farrakhan to heed the militant message that pervaded the Black Holocaust conference, Maddox said: “Khalid Abdul Muhammad ... is the conscience of Louis Farrakhan.”

Praising Farrakhan, the writer Amiri Baraka (formerly LeRoi Jones) reportedly said: “All of you ain’t Muslims, Christians, communists. But Louis Farrakhan has done his job by bringing us all together.” Baraka also reportedly read a poem scorning Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas as a traitor, and said that General Colin Powell “already killed brown people, he’ll kill the blacks next.”

Leonard Jeffries reportedly called Justice Thomas “Uncle Thomas” and “Sambo Tom,” and George Washington and Thomas Jefferson “slave-master Founding Father bastards.”

“ARCHDEVIL” POPE

Ashra Kwesi, described by conference materials as a professor and Egyptologist, called the Pope the “archdevil,” according to *The Washington Times*. The newspaper also reported that Kwesi described Vatican leaders as “a lot of white faggot boys” and the 12 apostles depicted in a painting of the Last Supper as “a whole lot of white faggot boys.” He claimed that Jesus was “an African revolutionary” persecuted by white Jews and Romans, and that white people “stole” Christianity from the ancient Egyptians.

Introducing Khalid Muhammad, conference organizer Malik Shabazz said:

We want to bring on the former national spokesman for the Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan. We want to bring on the national assistant to the Honorable Minister Louis Farrakhan.... We want to bring on a man who gives the white man nightmares. We want to bring on a man who makes the Jews pee in their pants at night.... My big brother, Dr. Khalid Abdul Muhammad!

NO MERCY

Muhammad took the podium, flanked by four members of the Black Panther Militia of Indianapolis. In total, six to eight Black Panther Militiamen were visibly present, attired in black pants and in sweatshirts bearing the Black Panther logo.

Addressing the assembly, Muhammad made clear that he has not moderated his anti-white, anti-Jewish and anti-Catholic views. "We want to try the white man today," he said. "We want to hold court on this devil today. Hold court on this cracker today.... We will find this cracker guilty beyond any reasonable doubt ... with no recommendation for mercy... We want to keep this cracker on death row with no possibility for a stay of execution." He also made reference to "a no-good cracker named Newt Gingrich, another cracker named Dole, another cracker named Bill Clinton."

Muhammad's attacks on Pope John Paul II and Catholicism were greeted with laughter and applause. He said: "Elijah Muhammad taught that the Pope of Rome is the Anti-Christ" and "the dragon of the Book of Revelation." Referring to the Pope's recent trip to Africa, Muhammad said: "It makes me sick to my stomach to see black people running over each other just to kiss this cracker. Who in the hell is the Pope of Rome?" Muhammad's answer: "He's an imposter, he's an idol, he's a false icon that must be torn down."

Referring to Jews, Muhammad said: "The nerve of them to get angry with him [O.J. Simpson attorney Johnny Cochran] because he paralleled Mark Fuhrman with Adolf Hitler. Look at it, so-called Jew. Look at it, imposter Jew. Somebody must call you what you are. Somebody must look you in your cold lying blue eyes and pull the cover off of you today. I don't give a damn about you and I will give you hell from the cradle to the grave." He also referred to the nation's leading black institution of higher learning as "Coward Jewniversity."

In an interview with a reporter at the conference, Muhammad described the Million Man March as "the time of the black man's rise and the white man's demise."

EXTREMIST LITERATURE

A number of racist, anti-Semitic and extremist materials were distributed at the conference. Among these was *Blacks and Jews News*, a newsletter produced by the Nation of Islam's "Historical Research Department," that charges that "the Jewish opinion of Blacks" is parallel to Hitler's. The periodical promotes and defends *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, the NOI book that fabricates and distorts historical fact for the purpose of demonizing Jews as a group.

Also available was a Chicago-based publication called *Frontline*, which contains an article asserting: "The abundance of melanin in Black humans produces a superior organism physically

and spiritually. This is why all the founders of the world's great religions are Black." Elsewhere in *Frontline* is a pointed reference to the "*Jew York Times*" (emphasis in the original), and an attack on Colin Powell as a "sell-out" and a "Black Devil" who "may run for President of The United Snakes" (sic).

A flier distributed at the conference, promoting a group called the New Afrikan Liberation Front, declares: "For too long now our people have been mislead (sic) down a fruitless road of integration and assimilation into the US nation state." It calls for "Land, Independence & Reparations," and lists among its stated principles "The right to self-defense and armed struggle for national liberation."

Items for sale included: a collection of speeches by Louis Farrakhan; videotapes of news programs that featured Farrakhan discussing the upcoming Million Man March; *Message to the Blackman in America*, a book by the late Nation of Islam leader Elijah Muhammad; a videotape of Khalid Muhammad's appearance on the Phil Donahue show; and audiotapes of Steve Cokely speeches, which Cokely himself hawked to conference attendees. Vendors sold Million Man March T-shirts, buttons and other paraphernalia.

PART OF THE FAMILY

The extremism of the Black Holocaust Nationhood Conference contrasted sharply with the broad-based Million Man March, which was intended to expand Farrakhan's influence beyond his traditional constituency. The march included large numbers who came not to pay homage to Farrakhan but to embrace the march's message of atonement and responsibility, as well as to demonstrate solidarity with their black brothers.

Nevertheless, the crowd that assembled at the Black Holocaust conference is, for better or worse, part of Minister Farrakhan's retinue, and there is no evidence that he wishes to disown them. Neither during nor after the conference did he criticize the gathering or the hate-filled rantings of its speakers, some of whom were Nation of Islam officials. In addition, Farrakhan's quiet promotion of Khalid Muhammad to the status of a Nation of Islam minister after having earlier demoted him plainly indicates that he regards these extremists as an integral part of the Farrakhan family.

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Exhibit T



RESEARCH
REPORT

**The Nation of Islam:
The Relentless Record of Hate**
(March 1994 - March 1995)

ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
1995





Anti-Defamation League

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The Nation of Islam: The Relentless Record of Hate

Documenting the Bigotry of Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam, March 1994-March 1995

Introduction

In 1995 we enter a second decade of media attention focused on Minister Louis Farrakhan and the Nation of Islam. During the mid-1980s, coverage of the black Muslim organization primarily centered around Farrakhan's hideous, often violent pronouncements against Jews, whites, Christians and homosexuals. But in more recent years, as the Nation of Islam has steadily expanded in both size and influence, stories in the press suggest that NOI has lost its edge, become more mainstream, and has even emerged as a legitimate representative of a large segment of the black community.

There have been several attempts by NOI to sanitize its public image. For the past few years, NOI has promoted the activities of several security companies it operates, claiming they have eliminated drugs and crime from public housing projects. In Washington, DC, it has constructed a treatment clinic that promises to deliver a cure for AIDS. NOI recently purchased tracts of farmland in Georgia, along with a fleet of trucks it claims will transport farm-fresh vegetables to stores in black communities. And a restaurant complex built on Chicago's South Side with money donated by NOI members was opened to the public in late February. "This is a blueprint for economic development and investment in our neglected communities," Farrakhan announced at the restaurant opening.

Such economic exploits make it possible for the Nation of Islam to distract onlookers from the group's message of bigotry. They help to cultivate an image for Farrakhan as a leader who deeply cares for the welfare of blacks, and who is encouraging the principles of economic self-help. But Farrakhan's rhetoric tells a different tale, and reveals a frightening agenda. Press reports that the NOI leader has softened suggest that the media has stopped listening to the words of Farrakhan and his representatives. For if they did stop to hear what these individuals are serving up at public arenas and college campuses around the country, or were they to glance at the pages of NOI's bi-weekly, *The Final Call*, there would be no mistaking the ongoing message of bigotry.

The Nation of Islam does not hide its prejudices. The organization's philosophy has been, from its earliest days, racist to the core. Its founder, Farad Muhammad [also known as W.D. Fard], taught that the white race was produced thousands of years ago in a failed laboratory experiment by an evil wizard named Yacub. This pernicious belief remains the backbone of Nation of Islam theology, and is a palpable influence on the organization's oratory.

But in recent years, NOI appears to have "broadened its horizons," borrowing heavily from what would seem an unlikely rhetorical source -- the propaganda of white supremacists. In speeches before thousands of enthusiastic listeners, Farrakhan has breathed new life into the

long-discredited anti-Semitic myths of the white hate movement. He claims to deliver a message of uplift to the black community, but Farrakhan's words actually have the opposite effect. They further the cause of those most hostile to racial equality, while providing blacks themselves with nothing but misplaced anger and frustration.

At a gathering in Chicago on March 19, 1995, passing his lecture off as a scholarly history lesson, Farrakhan promoted the anti-Jewish conspiracy theories of white supremacist writer Gary Allen, whose book, *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, has been heavily distributed by the John Birch Society. Farrakhan lavished praise upon Allen's work, announcing that "I'd like to get 10,000 copies of it, have everybody read it."

Referring at length to Allen's claim that Jewish international bankers financed the Nazis, Farrakhan announced that during the Holocaust, "Little Jews died while big Jews made money. Little Jews [were] being turned into soap while big Jews washed themselves with it." In contrast, Farrakhan stated, "We [blacks] didn't kill one Jew.... We were not involved there.... That was your white brother, Hitler.... How in the hell can you call us anti-Semitic?"

In the interest of attacking Jews, Farrakhan has paid homage to the rhetoric of white racists, ignoring the pain that similar words have inflicted upon the black community. Such behavior is nothing less than anti-Semitic.

In the pages that follow, excerpts from the speeches of various NOI lieutenants demonstrably follow the same narrow pattern of thought, and all subscribe to an identical primitive world view. This, of course, is because these individuals are not isolated figures, each with an active, independent imagination. All were taught in the same "school," and are the product of a well-organized, highly structured movement that peddles a slick package of odd but appealing notions to a growing number of African-Americans.

More than a year has passed since Minister Farrakhan dismissed Khalid Abdul Muhammad as his national assistant, claiming it to be a disciplinary measure for the raucous, hate-filled speech Muhammad delivered at New Jersey's Kean College. Several lessons emerge from that episode.

First, as the rhetoric in the upcoming pages will illustrate, when Khalid Muhammad spoke at Kean he was not spreading ideas alien to core NOI beliefs. Muhammad's "take no prisoners" style of delivery may be unique, but his essential message does not differ much from those of other NOI ministers. Farrakhan made this clear last February when he criticized Muhammad for the "manner" of his Kean College speech, but upheld its poisonous allegations as "truths."

Farrakhan's dismissal of Khalid Muhammad, after his words at Kean were exposed by ADL in a *New York Times* advertisement, also demonstrates the importance of rooting out bigotry and holding it up to the public spotlight. Farrakhan did not exhibit any signs of disgust with Muhammad's "manner" in the days that followed the talk at Kean. Muhammad remained Farrakhan's national spokesman. It was only when citizens learned of Muhammad's

hatemongering and voiced their condemnation that Farrakhan was forced to suspend his representative.

The statements that follow demonstrate that the record of NOI's hatred continues to write itself. As long as such words of division are expressed by NOI--or any group--public exposure remains the most potent response for ADL. When Americans are confronted with injustice, they deserve the chance to reject it. This report furnishes citizens with the means to do so.

The excerpts below, taken from speeches Minister Louis Farrakhan has delivered over the last twelve months, demonstrate the Nation of Islam leader's refusal to depart from a bitter, divisive message of racist and anti-Semitic scapegoating.

April 12, 1994: Press Conference at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Houston, Texas

On Jews

"*Birth of a Nation* was the first great movie that made a Jewish person a millionaire, but how did they depict us, and how are we depicted in film today?"

April 22, 1994: Interview with Barbara Walters on 20/20 April 22, 1994

Defending Khalid Muhammad

"While I rebuked the vile manner of his speech, I said I stand by those truths that he spoke.... If he calls Jews bloodsuckers of the black community, if we're going to be honest, in the 60s, many Jews were the merchants, they were the landlords, they were the furniture persons that we bought furniture from, they were the clothiers that we bought clothing from. And they grew in strength from our trade with them. Today, it's the Arabs and Koreans and others."

On the Assassination of Malcolm X

"I was not in any way involved in his murder. But don't leave out the United States government. Don't leave out the FBI who had worked for years to separate Malcolm from the Honorable Elijah Muhammad."

April 30, 1994: University of Toledo, Toledo, Ohio

On Whites

"Is it wrong for me to remind you that you have suffered at the hands of white people? If I don't remind my people of what you people [whites] have done, you might get the mind to do it again."

"You're being set up for the slaughter, because they [whites] know you are the people of God."

When rich whites need a kidney or a heart, they say, "get us a nigger! When you're killing each other, they can't wait for you to die. You've become good for parts."

June 4, 1994: University of Nevada, Las Vegas

On Homosexuals

Farrakhan declared in a falsetto tone, "I'm a woman in a man's body trying to get out."

"Your Bible tells you that effeminates are not going to see the Kingdom. I didn't write it, it was here when I came."

July 1, 1994: Interview with the *Baltimore Jewish Times*

White Control

"The problem has always been in the past that when we came up with ideas for our advancement, whites came up with the financing to bring our ideas to fruition. If there were certain things whites didn't like, they would be changed because they had the purse strings."

Message to Jews

"Meyer Lansky was not a nice person. Bugsy Siegel was not a nice person. But I wouldn't tell those raising money for Israel not to accept money from this man because he's involved in illegal [activities.] My point is even if my ideas are not proper from the Jewish point of view, why should you tell the members of my own family not to receive me? That's very arrogant. We, as a family, are trying to work out solutions to our problem, and I do have something to offer."

"Hell, if you don't want to give us your money...we'll fund the NAACP. And we'll work to punish corporations that pull away their money. After all, we as Muslims have a growing influence in America, and we've never used it to boycott one...Jewish enterprise. Don't threaten us. Because we can threaten too."

On Khalid Muhammad

"My desire was to curtail him [Khalid Muhammad] in terms of expression and language, but never to curtail any truth that he speaks."

Jews and the Slave Trade

"The reason my research focused on the Jews was that when I mentioned Jewish involvement, there was an outcry.... One of the faults we have with Jews is this: you are a very miniscule part of the population of America, but a very major part of the influence. What made you do that?... What do you know that makes you the powerful, influential, and well-living people that you are? And what don't we know that makes us the weak, ineffectual, powerless, degraded people that we are?"

July 26, 1994: Hartford, Connecticut

On Jews and Whites

"I'm not anti-Semitic, not a hater of Jews and whites; it's not your complexions or your faith that has messed up the world. It's the way you think."

"They [whites] are sick and their world has made us sick. I'm not dealing with well people. I'm dealing with sick people who have made us sick through a corrupt leadership."

"Why do you call white men 'The Man?' Because he has access to power, he has dominion, and he rules. So he has access to dominion even though [he's] not fit. Don't think raw knowledge and power is a trial for those who have it. When you have the power to deny others of rights...then the power you have makes you a devil."

"White men have been in control of black and Hispanic men."

"Whites made blacks call them 'massa.' Many whites still want blacks to call them 'massa.'

"Racism is a sickness. White people you are sick and have spread your disease to black folk."

"Rape of black women made us lighter so we believe we are better than our darker brothers. They put hate into us."

A White "Conspiracy"

"We are killing each other because an enemy put us at odds with each other."

"Because the juice [O.J. Simpson] did it better than anyone else they made a hero of him, so they could make money off him.... And now they sic a white woman on him because they don't want the money to go out of the family."

Economic Threats

"We want you to know white people, we know how to strike you in the pocketbook."

January 17, 1995: Nation of Islam headquarters in Chicago, Illinois

Responding to the Indictment of Qubilah Shabazz, Daughter of Malcolm X

Blaming the U.S. Government

"The...government of the United States...created division within the Nation of Islam and exploited it, and made the Nation of Islam and its leadership the number one organization targeted for destruction. The same forces that denied Malcolm X protection after his house had been firebombed as a result of a hostile environment created by the government, have now exposed Malcolm's daughter Qubilah to a similarly hostile environment which has likewise been created by the wicked machinations of the same government."

"The ultimate aim of this government is to destroy Louis Farrakhan by planting the seeds of public contempt and hatred toward me through manipulation of the media."

Blaming the *New York Post*

"It is no coincidence that after I spoke to nearly fifteen thousand black men early last year in New York City, that the *New York Post* launched a series of attacks on me, which included numerous and vicious lies which were calculated to expose me to aversion and hatred among my own people."

February 26, 1995: Saviour's Day Speech in Chicago, Illinois

Farrakhan's "Jewish Conspiracy"

"Well, what had the Founding Fathers learned from the history of the activities of privately owned banks in Europe? That history begins with the rise of Meyer Amschel Rothschild. I want you to just put on your thinking caps. We're going down now into the valley, and I want all of you in this audience to walk with me. Meyer Rothschild said that he did not care who governed so long as he controlled the purse strings."

Referring to the five sons of Meyer Rothschild: "They worked and maneuvered and manipulated until they gained control of the central banks of England, France, Austria, Italy and Germany. The control of these central banks went into the hands of individuals whose interests were not necessarily in harmony with the best interests of that nation."

"Wars were fought. And in order to fight a war, governments had to borrow money. They borrowed money from these central banks. The central banks waxed rich because they loaned money and charged interest, then took over when one side prevails [sic] against the other, and when governments could not satisfy the indebtedness, then some of the natural wealth of that country flowed to the bankers.

They would loan money to both sides in the conflict, 'cause they really didn't care who won or who lost. I mean it's hurtful, but a Jew--Rothschild--loaned money to Adolf Hitler. A Jew. Rothschild. Goddamnit you better not open your mouth to call me no anti-Semite! Rothschild and Paul Warburg loaned money. Hitler killed little Jews while Rothschild and Warburg stayed in the finest hotels in Europe. But damn it, if you can't call Rothschild anti-Semitic and Warburg an anti-Semite, then you don't open your mouth against me."

"In 1913, something happened. Four things were set up in the year 1913. First, the Federal Reserve Bank, the IRS, the FBI and the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. All were set up in the same year. Is that a coincidence? Or is there a tie in?"

"How did we get into World War II? You say Japan attacked Pearl Harbor. Yes, they did, but what were the forces that created in Japan the desire or the need to force them to attack America? You don't know that. But when America went to war after the attack on Pearl Harbor,

she had to borrow money. There were the international bankers again. They financed all sides. And how many millions of Americans lost their lives? Suppose Hitler was trying to destroy the international bankers controlling Europe, but he went about it by attacking a whole people. All Jews are not responsible for the evil of the few who do evil.... But certain Jews have used Judaism as a shield."

March 19, 1995: Mosque Maryam, Chicago, Illinois

Jews, Whites and the Holocaust

"The international bankers have always wanted what they called a 'balance of power' in the world.... The Warburgs, the Rothschilds who financed Hitler. German Jews financed Hitler right here in America.... International bankers financed Hitler and poor Jews died while big Jews were at the root of what you call the Holocaust. Why don't you tell that one? Go back and tell your editors I want to put this in the paper tomorrow. You got a hell of a nerve to open your mouth to call me an anti-Semite when your own people have been the worst anti-Semites in the world."

"Little Jews died while big Jews made money. Little Jews [were] being turned into soap while big Jews washed themselves with it. Jews [were] playing violin, Jews [were] playing music, while other Jews [were] marching into the gas chambers. We wasn't there. We had nothing to do with it. But why all of a sudden am I anti-Semitic -- tell me!"

"How many of you were involved in the Holocaust, raise your hand. You see what I mean. We didn't kill one Jew. And if there were a Holocaust today, damn it, you wouldn't find most of these harming one hair on the head of a Jewish man, woman or child. So we were not involved there.... That was your white brother, Hitler. Aided by your white Jewish brother. Warburg and Rothschild, Lord Milner and Schiff, and Lube[phon] and Kuhn. It's your brothers. Hell, if they killed two million, one million, five million, six million, we didn't have nothing to do with it. The Pope -- that's your brother...that was your brother, your white brother. He looked the other way. But when it came to open...those camps, those death camps, the first man to open it, was a black man. Goddammit, how in the hell can you call us anti-Semitic in the face of your own damn evil to your people?... I'm angry as hell, and sometimes if I didn't cuss I'd kill."

Farrakhan's Jewish Conspiracy

"The international bankers from the House of Rothschild...sent their sons into five countries...and through manipulation and money...they gained control of the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Bank of Italy, the Bank of Austria, and private concerns began to print money in Europe. The Rothschilds would finance both sides of all the European wars. They always wanted to get their hands on the Central Bank of America. And they finally did. On December 22, 1913, Congress passed into law the Federal Reserve Act."

"How did the rich make America's debt grow? The easiest way to get money is to start a war.... The moment the international bankers took control of the money by taking control of the Central

Bank of America, the Federal Reserve, a war broke out in Europe and the British sent Lord Weissman to America to encourage America's involvement in the war. The Germans didn't start any war with America. Let's deal with the truth because your government is filled with liars and thieves and it's time now."

"1917. America gets into the war. At that time, \$1 billion in debt. Now America got [sic] to borrow money to finance the war effort. Who's she borrowing from? Who's America in debt to?... After World War I was over...Max, Felix and Paul Warburg, all three of them brothers, and Lord [Alfred] Milner, another financier of Hitler. They met representing their countries at the Paris Peace Conference.... When they go to war they...take territory from one, give it to another...here come the international bankers again, financing both sides of the conflict."

"The root of communism and the root of capitalism is from the same group of people. They ['international bankers'] started both philosophies, they financed both philosophies, and when Russia was strong, they said, now we have a balance of power. Under Karl Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, financed by wicked bankers, many of whom were Jews. Now look man, I'm going to stop right here. This old crap that you use called anti-Semitism, that's a smokescreen.... Are white people sacred? You're damn right they're not.... If white people have done evil to the darker people of the world and somebody points it out, does that mean I'm anti-white?... If I point out your evil, all of a sudden I'm a racist. You're just frightened of truth. You don't mind writing it in your books, but don't let one of your ex-slaves read your books and then read you."

"Let me read you something. This is on page 46 of this little book called *None Dare Call It Conspiracy*, by [Gary] Allen, which I'd like to get 10,000 copies of it, have everybody read it. If it's a lie, I didn't tell it, I'm just reading now."

"Did you hear my Saviour's Day lecture? Did you hear me condemn all Jews? [Crowd: "No!"] I condemned the wicked ones and they would be sometimes even more wicked because they got revelations.... Right after that, a full page ad in *The New York Times*. Taken out by whom? ADL...These are the watchdogs for the international bankers. They are the watchdogs for the secret government that manipulates presidents and Congress.... Almost all of your black congressmen are honorary citizens, members of the Knesset. Did you know that? Most senators, black and white, honorary members of the Knesset."

"The international bankers are waxing rich in this East-West struggle.... The arms race? Who did it enrich. The international bankers."

On Jews and the Slave Trade

"How did I get to be an anti-Semite.... What have I done? I told the truth about Jewish involvement in the slave trade. Your own writers say the same thing. Well, if they're not anti-Semitic for writing it, how the hell am I anti-Semitic for reading what they wrote and then saying it?... I didn't write your history, you wrote it. And then the sad thing, when you confront

them with what their scholars have said, they say, 'Well is this part of the old conspiracy talk?'"

On Homosexuals

"You have become swine. You love filth. Homosexuality growing so, so now you can't even have a slumber party, because little girls are having sex with little girls and little boys are having sex with little boys. And it's alright to you now."

"When I was coming along, if you were a homosexual, you had to hide it, because that was unacceptable behavior.... Homosexuality has to be looked at. Pastors, you don't want to talk about it anymore. Why? Because many pastors are homosexuals.

"The Holy Koran refers to homosexuality as an abomination, meaning it is so utterly loathsome in the sight of God.... I hope I ain't hurting no feelings."

Jews and Hollywood

"I want to say to those who are Jews. You want us to take your own to task. That's why when Farrakhan speaks, you go to every black leader you can and you say to them, isn't there something you can say about Farrakhan? Well, I'm asking you isn't there something you can say about them damn freaks in Hollywood? Your own kin...that claim to be Jews."

"You want black people to attack me because you say I'm a racist. But Jews won't lift your voice against your own brothers who are making themselves wealthy off of the weakness and the ignorance of the people. Why don't you call Hugh Hefner into question? Why don't you call David Geffen into question?... Where is the guts in the Jewish community? Where is the righteousness in the community that you won't even condemn your own criminals? Meyer Lansky."

Threatening Jews

"Now there's a new Israel. You may not want to believe it, but the God that I represent is the same God you read about in the Old Testament.... The Israel that it's talking about is the Nation of Islam in the West...I know you're plotting against us [Jews], but I want to tell you what my God is poised to do for you.... I want you to look at the national calamities that our God will bring against his evil nation."

"Master Farad Muhammad...He is the God of Israel...Our God can't wait for you to make your move.... He dares you to touch me. Come on, if you want to die.... All of these wicked ones who have given Judaism a bad name, they are the members of the synagogue of Satan.... I warn you in the name of Allah, leave us alone. Your time is just about up."

The following excerpts are from speeches delivered in the last year by Louis Farrakhan's former national assistant, Khalid Abdul Muhammad. Portions of an obsessively anti-Semitic, racist, anti-Catholic and homophobic speech delivered by Muhammad at New Jersey's Kean College were published by ADL in January 1994 in a full-page *New York Times* advertisement. Exposure of Muhammad's bigotry brought forth a wave of condemnation from blacks and whites, public and private. Shortly, thereafter, Louis Farrakhan publicly dismissed Khalid Muhammad from his position in the Nation of Islam, but allowed him to remain a member of the group. Since that time, Muhammad has not backed down. Instead, he has repeatedly reaffirmed his belief in the "truth" of his poisonous Kean College message, and has sharpened his attacks on peoples of all color and creed. The crude, unrestrained remarks that follow make this clear.

March 23, 1994: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Threats to Whites and Jews

"To the whites and 'white Jews' in the audience, I say: It's gonna be a rough ride, buddy.... Buckle your seat belts...because I didn't come to pin the tail on the donkey, I came to pin the tail on the honkey."

"I'm going to go buck wild on you...like a pit bull on your Jew backside."

"Don't hide tonight, rabbi. Come up front and we'll run your raggedy behind out of here with the truth."

"Bring me your rabbis and I'll strip your butts naked."

March 29, 1994: Friendship Baptist Church, Brooklyn, New York

Politicians in the Black Community

"When it's time to speak out these negroes don't speak out. When the rugged Rabbi Dr. Goldberg or Goldstein or Gold something went into the mosque and killed them in cold blood and they're fleeing the mosque, the no-good so-called Israeli soldiers opened fire on them and mowed them down in the street. An old raggedy rabbi said at the eulogy that all of the Arabs mixed together are not worth one fingernail of one Jew. Where was Reverend Jackson? Where was Kweisi Mfume? Where were the negroes from the NAACP? Where were these boot-licking negroes?"

"Kill our baby here in Crown Heights and then the old no good damn Jew goes to Israel. No cry of moral outrage. If one of us had done that Jesse Jackson would have been the first to repudiate and all the negroes would have jumped on his bandwagon."

Questioning the Holocaust

"Tell us you lost six million. Historians, scholars, scientist, they went to some of the death camps...it wasn't six million, it wasn't five million, it wasn't four million, it wasn't even three million.... Some of them say we'd be hard-pressed to get one and a half million."

"Everybody talks about what Hitler did to you. What did you do to Hitler?...What made that man so mad at you?"

Reports on the six million Jews killed by Nazis were "bloated, exaggerated, probably fabricated."

Claims of Jewish Control

"You wonder why I call it Jew-nited Nations...Jew York City...Jew-niversity. Because you control it."

Threats of Violence

"I want to be one of the flame-throwers of God, break white folks' backs. I want to give you hell all the way to your graves. I ain't scared to die and I'm ready to kill."

April 1, 1994: Fort Worth, Texas

Addressing Jews

"Our holocaust is much worse.... We're still in our ghettos. The Jews are out from under Hitler's yoke. We're still here."

"I don't know all Jews. If you can introduce me to some good Jews and find a good Jew that is not a bloodsucker, I would be happy to meet them."

"Why don't you understand us Jew? Because you don't want to understand us. **We** are the chosen people of God."

Threats of Violence

To protestors outside: "You're lucky you just got words out of me and I didn't give you the bum's rush and black-boot stomp the hell out of you."

On Whites

Throughout the speech, Muhammad referred to whites as "devils."

April 19, 1994: Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Comparative Suffering, Trivializing the Holocaust

"You [Jews] talk about the death marches. What about the death marches in Africa? You said that by the summer[of 1937] there were over 400 ghettos. We, the sons and daughters of Africa, are still in the ghettos."

"We set forth here tonight that the black holocaust was 100 times worse than the so-called Jew Holocaust."

"You say you lost six million. We question that. But for the sake of argument we'll give you that. We lost 600 million."

"'Schindler's List' is really a 'Swindler's List'"

"You make me sick--always got some old, crinkly, wrinkled cracker that you bring up, saying 'this is one of the Holocaust victims.' God damn it! I'm looking at a whole audience of Holocaust victims."

"The Holocaust lasted 10 years; ours lasted 500. How can you compare, buddy? You are so arrogant."

On Whites and Jews

"I am going to be like a pit bull. That is the way I'm going to be against the Jews. I am going to bite the tail of the honkies."

"I love Colin Ferguson, who killed all those white folks on the Long Island train. God spoke to Colin Ferguson and said, 'catch the train, Colin, catch the train.'"

May 3, 1994: Harlem, New York

On the Pope

"The Pope is not the vicar of Christ. The Pope is a representative of the Anti-Christ."

May 12, 1994: NBC's "Donahue"

On Whites

"There is a little bit of Hitler in all white people."

May 13, 1994: Oakland, California

On Black Politicians

"We don't want no butt-licking, butt-poking negro politicians with a slavery mentality."

On Whites

"The problem in Oakland isn't with the crack, but with the cracker."

"White folks, we're in serious trouble. You've got nowhere to hide. I'm gonna be as a pit bull dog and lock my jaws on your backside and only Louis Farrakhan has the keys to unlock it."

On Homosexuals

"Those brothers who don't got a white girl on their elbow, got a white boy. We got some Ex-Lax to get it of your system."

"I hate a black man who acts like a white man. But what's worse than that is a black man who acts like a black woman."

Denigrating the Holocaust

"Your Holocaust is indeed the worst holocaust ever filmed. You say you lost 6 million. We lost over 600 million over the past 6,000 years. Ours is one hundred times greater. They want a special corner on suffering even."

"Jews have gotten over \$100 billion in reparations, but you won't apologize.... You make me sick talking about Holocaust survivors."

On South Africa

"Mandela sold us out.... Mandela's the biggest clown in the big top.... I say give 'em [whites] 24 hours to get out of town. If they don't, kill everyone white in sight. Kill the men, kill the women, kill the children, kill the blind, kill the crippled. God damn it, kill them all."

May 22, 1994: Dorchester, Massachusetts

On Whites

"The white man has his Armistice Day, Memorial Day, Armed Forces Day. The white man honors the killers--General Eisenhower, Patton, Westmoreland.... But when the oppressed stand up there is a cry of moral outrage."

On South Africa and Jews

"So-called Jews are sucking our blood in South Africa. There is no real freedom in South Africa. The white man controls.... We owe the white man nothing in South Africa. All is ours. South Africa is devil-ruled, demon-controlled."

May 29, 1994: Riverside, California

Addressing Jews

"I don't give a damn what you say about me, you bagel-eating, hook-nose, lox-eating so-called Jew."

"The so-called Jew is Jew-wish--he wishes he was a Jew.... You wanna-be Jews, we're gonna strip you buck naked before the world. There's no place for you to hide. You lied for too long telling that you are the chosen people."

Addressing Whites

"Everywhere I go I wanna give the white man hell from the cradle to the grave. This is a new generation of blacks and we say to you, white man, you either stop or drop."

"Brothers, don't let this no good cracker tell you about Aristotle, Plato, Socrates; the white man has a frequent liar program."

"You can't out-devil the devil. The white man's nature is to lie and steal. You have to beat the white man in righteousness. You can't beat him in evil and wickedness."

June 29, 1994: Emanuel Evangelistic Temple, Milwaukee

Referring to O.J. Simpson: "Our brother over a period of time, to some degree, strayed away from the family. He left his black wife and decided to live a life sleeping with the enemy."

November 1, 1994: State University College, Rochester, New York

On Whites

"How could all 13 men at the Last Supper be white? If we were at the Last Supper, we must have been in the kitchen."

"I ask white people to reason with us. The nerve of you to call me a bigot, a racist, or an anti-Semite. By the end of the night we'll see who the real racists are."

November 7, 1994: New York University

On Jews and Arabs

"Who is it that is sucking our blood in the black community--the so-called Arab and the so-called Jew."

On Reparations

"We lost over 600 million over the lost 6,000 years in general, and in specific, 150 million in the last 400 years coming over in slave ships. But nobody wants to pay reparations for pain and suffering...everyone gets reparations but the black man and woman."

"You [Jews] have a Holocaust Museum that costs over 200 million to build. [You] got four billion dollars from America and you have billions more for reparations. But [the] sons and daughters of Africa don't even get."

On Jews, Whites and South Africa

Referring to the relationship between Israel and South Africa, "Not one Jew would like it if an African country had a relationship with Nazi Germany."

Referring to whites in South Africa: "I am talking about self-defense.... I am giving them [whites] a chance to leave, but if they don't leave, we should go to war with them. This is a war and in any war there is bloodshed."

November 16, 1994: Bethel AME Church, New Haven, Connecticut

On the Holocaust

"The Jews were never in bondage. Yet the Jews want to corner the term. The Jews think they were the only ones who suffered. The Jews never suffered. Jews never even lost their names."

"So how many were there? You can't even agree on how many. Was it six million? Five million? Two million. We'll even give you seven million. We lost 600 million men, and you [Jews] want to have a Holocaust?"

On Jews

"[Jews] say they are the descendents of Abraham. Everyone is a descendent of Abraham. Besides, if you were Abraham's descendents, you would do his work, but you don't. Jews polluted everything."

On Christmas

"The true meaning of Christmas is heathen, vain, ignorant, backward, white pagan worship and idolatry."

February 21, 1995: Interview with the *Daily Challenge*, a New York City black daily

On His Kean College Speech and its Aftermath

"The Honorable Minister Farrakhan said he found my words spoken at Kean College 'vile in manner, repugnant, malicious, mean-spirited, spoken in mockery of individuals and not in the spirit of Islam'.... I think the context of my comments need to be put in perspective. The topic I spoke on, *The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews*, was chosen by the students. The human side of me said I did what I was supposed to do and, so, I have no apologies. And, if I had the opportunity under the same circumstances, I would do the same thing again."

"President [Bill] Clinton, Vice President [Al] Gore, the U.S. Senate and the United States House of Representatives, in a history-making decision, passed a House Resolution condemning my speech. There are some Negroes--not blacks--who would have probably committed suicide. But to me, it is a great honor for the enemy and our oppressors to attack me all the way from their high offices and the corridors of their power elite. That's the way I want to be remembered by my children...as one the enemy did not praise and did not love but had nightmares about."

The following are excerpts from the Nation of Islam's bi-weekly publication, *The Final Call*. The paper often promulgates anti-white and anti-Jewish conspiracy theories, many of which are, ironically, co-opted from the rhetoric of white supremacists.

Columnist Abdul Allah Muhammad, in his column, "Eleven Fifty Five," March 30, 1994:

"The vicious attack being mounted against us [NOI] is the result of the realization by a wicked Jewish cabal which seeks to solidify its world rule, that not only are they unable to make Minister Farrakhan and his followers dance to their tune, but the Black leaders they once controlled are slipping from their grasp."

James Muhammad, *Final Call* editor, in his column, "Up Periscope," January 25, 1995:

"Mossad and the ADL are kissing cousins who are only out for their selfish personal interests and do not care about the welfare of United States citizens."

James Muhammad, March 30, 1994:

"If it weren't for the Jews and their control and manipulation of the media, a good man's message of uplift to Black and oppressed people would be free of the false charges of anti-Semitism and hate. I'm referring to Minister Louis Farrakhan and his message."

Abdul Allah Muhammad, April 13, 1994:

"It is the height of duplicity for Jews to deny to the general public that they control every institution which affects life in America, while bragging to each other that the 'conspiracy theories' are not theories at all, but that the conspiracy is an absolute fact."

"I hope nobody wastes my time and effort to try to 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."

Reporter Cedric X Welch, April 27, 1994:

"[Jews] have dominated the original people of the planet earth and are planning to unite the world under one currency and one world order."

"The activities of the Masons were controlled by a certain secret society comprised of Jewish members and these Jews were the instigators of the periodic revolutions that threw the world into convulsions."

Reporter Jerome Jackson, May 25, 1994:

"The political rise of Nelson Mandela is a smokescreen for the economic rape committed by

Jewish financial powers well-entrenched in South Africa.

James Muhammad, November 16, 1994:

"The fact that white people once lived on the level of beasts underscores their humble beginning. As they were blessed to advance to now dominate the peoples of the planet, however, they've lost their humility."

The Rhetoric of Farrakhan's Other Representatives:

Leonard Farrakhan Muhammad, Nation of Islam Chief of Staff

At an April 1994 press conference held after NOI filed a suit against the *New York Post* for \$4.4 billion:

"We are making a legal response to the Jewish controlled media and those reporters that we believe have unfairly, inappropriately and illegally associated the name of Minister Louis Farrakhan with the death of Malcolm X."

January 23, 1995, reacting to Senator Bob Dole's demand that HUD investigate NOI Security's housing contracts:

"I don't care if people call me paranoid but I see a well-orchestrated pattern of attack on the Nation of Islam."

Conrad Muhammad, Minister of New York's Mosque No. 7

April 19, 1994 at Boston University:

On Jewish Organizations

"It is the Jewish leadership--those like Abraham Foxman and others--who actually are not representing the best interests of the Jewish community, because they're squandering time and resources focusing on phantom anti-Semitism in the black community, leaving the flanks of the Jewish community exposed to true anti-Semitism that exists in this society."

"I don't think that the American media is creating this controversy [between blacks and Jews].... It is organizations like the ADL and others that prevail upon the media to keep this thing going."

In an interview with New York magazine October 24, 1994:

Alleging Jewish Control

"The thing about the Jews is, you have great intellectual talents and you are very skilled at grafting yourself onto natural talent, but you don't have a lot of it yourself.... Look at the way the Jews exploit all of our singers and athletes."

Abdul Alim Muhammad, Nation of Islam Health Minister

February 24, 1994 at University of Wisconsin-Madison:

On Whites

"All of you whites don't have nothing to fear from AIDS. If AIDS kills the niggers, well you whites would think that was pretty good."

" Seventy percent of black high school students in Washington drop out. Of the black students that do graduate, 60 percent are functionally illiterate...that is the [educational] policy that they [whites] use to keep you ignorant. So they can use you for their tool."

"Caucasian means a pale face and weak bones. They [whites] are divinely given power to rule for now. But what drives them is death. And that's what's going to happen to everyone on earth. Their rule is the power to kill."

"Why would you kill, white race? It is to preserve your whiteness. We didn't invent segregation, did we?... We didn't invent apartheid. These are systems to keep white people apart from black people."

"[Whites] kill men, women and children all over the earth, reducing the world population down by approximately a billion people.... Because you come out of Europe and start slaughtering the original inhabitants of that land...you European people. You converted to Judaism a little over 1,200 years ago, and now you're masquerading as though you are the original Jews.... How could you be a chosen people; you just ordinary white folk."

The "AIDS Plot"

Muhammad also said there is "enough evidence" that AIDS is a man-made disease being used by the U.S. government against blacks.

Harold Muhammad, Minister of New Orleans Mosque

Interview with the *Times Picayune* April 11, 1994:

On Jews

"Jews claim that they're the chosen people of God.... We've scanned the globe; we can't find any other people who fit the biblical description of God's chosen people other than us. So therefore there's some lying going on, and Minister Farrakhan challenges that as a man of God. And it angers the Jewish community that someone would have the audacity to challenge their claim to being God's chosen people, which has been historically unchallenged before."

Interview with the *Louisiana Weekly*, May 7, 1994:

"Jews use us as cannon fodder. I'm going to say the truth...Lets look at the Jewish/Black relationship. They are the landlords, we are the tenants. We're the artists, we are the talent when you look into the sports arena. They are the managers, the owners. We access them as bankers, lawyers, CPAs--they control our talents.... They control the media.... We're not vocal, we need to be vocal. The Jews make up six percent of the population in this country. They are much more vocal than we are."

Eric Muhammad, leader of the Brooklyn-based Black African Holocaust Council, and member of NOI

Interview with the *Daily Challenge*, December 12, 1994:

Comparative Suffering

"We [the Council] represent the disenfranchised and the downtrodden because we believe that no has truly had a Holocaust but us. No one has suffered as much; no one has been robbed of name, language, God, religion and culture as us. They [the Jews] use the word Holocaust because it's profitable to them but it is not real."

On Whites

"I am a black separatist. I firmly believe that it's impossible for black and white to co-exist peacefully. It's not in the nature of white people."

Don Muhammad, Minister of Boston Mosque

On an October 1994 segment of his weekly radio program:

The Hamitic Myth

"There is hardly anyone in this listening audience who doesn't know that the connection of slavery and blacks being suited for slavery because they were inferior is tied to the Hamitic myth of blacks. And it was the Rabbis who had created the Hamitic myth of blacks being inferior."

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Exhibit U

PRESS RELEASE

ADL "Deeply Disappointed" Over Louis Farrakhan's Scheduled Address At Student-Run Conference At UC Berkeley; Calls On University To Follow UC President Mark Yudof's Lead And Condemn "Merchants Of Hatred"

Published: 03.08.2012

San Francisco, CA, March 8, 2012 ...The Anti-Defamation League today expressed its deep disappointment over the decision of the annual University of California (UC) Afrikan-Black Coalition (ABC) Conference's student organizers to invite Minister Louis Farrakhan, the anti-Semitic, racist, and homophobic leader of the Nation of Islam, to deliver an address to them on March 10, 2012. The ABC is comprised of African-American students from across the entire UC system. Their annual conference is taking place this year for the first time on the UC Berkeley campus.

Nancy J. Appel, ADL's Associate Director, stated:

For over thirty years, Louis Farrakhan has been notorious as a purveyor of hate against Jews, whites, and the lesbian gay bisexual and transgender community, among others. It is unconscionable for the organizers of the ABC Conference to have honored him with this invitation to address their annual

gathering. Granting Farrakhan this privilege is a slap in the face to all members of the diverse UC Berkeley community who strive to make their campus as inclusive and welcoming as possible for everyone.

Despite Farrakhan's ugly bigotry, however, ADL does not challenge his or the conference organizers' right to have him speak on campus. Nonetheless, ADL has asked the UC Berkeley administration to exercise its own free speech rights by unequivocally condemning Farrakhan's hate mongering and removing any indicia of administration support for his message from the conference.

Appel continued:

We urge Chancellor Birgeneau to follow the example that President Yudof set in yesterday's open letter to the UC community in which Yudof utilized his free speech rights to 'to condemn merchants of hatred when they come into our community' and urged others to do the same.

ADL's fully updated backgrounder, "[Farrakhan In His Own Words](#)" is available on our website.

Exhibit U-1



ENTERTAINMENT & ARTS

Who runs Hollywood? C'mon

BY JOEL STEIN

DEC. 19, 2008 12 AM PT

I have never been so upset by a poll in my life. Only 22% of Americans now believe “the movie and television industries are pretty much run by Jews,” down from nearly 50% in 1964. The Anti-Defamation League, which released the poll results last month, sees in these numbers a victory against stereotyping. Actually, it just shows how dumb America has gotten. Jews totally run Hollywood.

How deeply Jewish is Hollywood? When the studio chiefs took out a full-page ad in the Los Angeles Times a few weeks ago to demand that the Screen Actors Guild settle its contract, the open letter was signed by: News Corp. President Peter Chernin (Jewish), Paramount Pictures Chairman Brad Grey (Jewish), Walt Disney Co. Chief Executive Robert Iger (Jewish), Sony Pictures Chairman Michael Lynton (surprise, Dutch Jew), Warner Bros. Chairman Barry Meyer (Jewish), CBS Corp. Chief Executive Leslie Moonves (so Jewish his great uncle was the first prime minister of Israel), MGM Chairman Harry Sloan (Jewish) and NBC Universal Chief Executive Jeff Zucker (mega-Jewish). If either of the Weinstein brothers had signed, this group would have not only the power to shut down all film production but to form a minyan with enough Fiji water on hand to fill a mikvah.

The person they were yelling at in that ad was SAG President Alan Rosenberg (take a guess). The scathing rebuttal to the ad was written by entertainment super-agent Ari Emanuel (Jew with Israeli parents) on the Huffington Post, which is owned by Arianna Huffington (not Jewish and has never worked in Hollywood.)

The Jews are so dominant, I had to scour the trades to come up with six Gentiles in high positions at entertainment companies. When I called them to talk about their incredible advancement, five of them refused to talk to me, apparently out of fear of insulting Jews. The sixth, AMC President Charlie Collier, turned out to be Jewish.

As a proud Jew, I want America to know about our accomplishment. Yes, we control Hollywood. Without us, you'd be flipping between "The 700 Club" and "Davey and Goliath" on TV all day.

So I've taken it upon myself to re-convince America that Jews run Hollywood by launching a public relations campaign, because that's what we do best. I'm weighing several slogans, including: "Hollywood: More Jewish than ever!"; "Hollywood: From the people who brought you the Bible"; and "Hollywood: If you enjoy TV and movies, then you probably like Jews after all."

I called ADL Chairman Abe Foxman, who was in Santiago, Chile, where, he told me to my dismay, he was not hunting Nazis. He dismissed my whole proposition, saying that the number of people who think Jews run Hollywood is still too high. The ADL poll, he pointed out, showed that 59% of Americans think Hollywood execs "do not share the religious and moral values of most Americans," and 43% think the entertainment industry is waging an organized campaign to "weaken the influence of religious values in this country."

That's a sinister canard, Foxman said. "It means they think Jews meet at Canter's Deli on Friday mornings to decide what's best for the Jews." Foxman's argument made me rethink: I have to eat at Canter's more often.

"That's a very dangerous phrase, 'Jews control Hollywood.' What is true is that there are a lot of Jews in Hollywood," he said. Instead of "control," Foxman would prefer people say that many executives in the industry "happen to be Jewish," as in "all eight major film studios are run by men who happen to be Jewish."

But Foxman said he is proud of the accomplishments of American Jews. “I think Jews are disproportionately represented in the creative industry. They’re disproportionate as lawyers and probably medicine here as well,” he said. He argues that this does not mean that Jews make pro-Jewish movies any more than they do pro-Jewish surgery. Though other countries, I’ve noticed, aren’t so big on circumcision.

I appreciate Foxman’s concerns. And maybe my life spent in a New Jersey-New York/Bay Area-L.A. pro-Semitic cocoon has left me naive. But I don’t care if Americans think we’re running the news media, Hollywood, Wall Street or the government. I just care that we get to keep running them.

--

jstein@latimescolumnists.com

Exhibit V

BACKGROUND

Farrakhan: In His Own Words

Published: 01.12.2013

For more than 30 years, Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI), has been a notable extremist figure, railing against Jews, white people and the LGBT community.

In recent years, Farrakhan has embarked on a wide-ranging campaign specifically targeting the Jewish community, a campaign that has featured some of the most hateful speeches of his tenure as head of NOI. Farrakhan has alleged that the Jewish people were responsible for the slave trade and that they conspire to control the government, the media and Hollywood, as well as various black individuals and organizations. He frequently denies the legitimacy of Judaism – or Jewish claim to the land of Israel – arguing that Judaism is nothing more than a “deceptive lie” and a “theological error” promoted by Jews to further their “control” over America’s government and economy.

Over the years, Farrakhan’s speeches have attracted a range of politicians and other public figures. He draws thousands of attendees to his speeches, which gives him the dubious distinction of being quite possibly America’s most popular anti-Semite.

During a speech at Washington, D.C.’s Watergate Hotel in November 2017, Farrakhan told his audience that the Jews who “owned a lot of plantations” were responsible for undermining black emancipation after the Civil War. He also endorsed the second volume of the anti-Semitic book, “The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews,” which blames Jews for promoting a myth of black racial inferiority and makes

Exhibit W

PRESS RELEASE

Nation of Islam Leader Reprises "Vintage" Anti-Semitism; ADL Says Farrakhan's Racism 'As Ugly As It Ever Was'

Published: 08.02.2013

New York, NY, March 1, 2010 ... Louis Farrakhan, the racist and anti-Semitic leader of the Nation of Islam, used his annual address to revisit vintage anti-Semitic and racist themes, with accusations that "Zionists" control Congress and that the "white right" was attempting to set up the assassination of President Barack Obama, according to the Anti-Defamation League (ADL).

During his annual Saviours' Day address in Chicago, titled "The Time and What Must Be Done," Farrakhan accused "Zionists" of having undue control of Congress and the Obama Administration and charged that elected officials from both parties align "whenever something comes up that Israel does not like ... because the Congress is controlled."

"Anyone who thought the old Farrakhan was gone is sadly mistaken. He never was gone," said Abraham H. Foxman, ADL National Director. "This is vintage Farrakhan: anti-Semitism, racism conspiracy theories about Jews and money. Farrakhan's racism and anti-Semitism is as ugly as it ever was. Indeed, with age it appears to be getting worse."

Among the conspiracy theories and remarks from Minister Farrakhan during his 3-and-1/2 hour speech to an audience of an estimated 20,000 followers at The United Center

Exhibit X

PRESS RELEASE

Louis Farrakhan Puts His Anti-Semitism On Full Display; Deepens Conspiracy Theories About Jewish Control

Published: 08.05.2013

New York, NY, March 19, 2010 ... Louis Farrakhan, the anti-Semitic and racist leader of the Nation of Islam, has "returned again to his old bigotry, and ramped up his virulently anti-Semitic rhetoric" in a series of recent speeches.

The Anti-Defamation League (ADL) said the recent Farrakhan lectures – rife with conspiracy theories about Jews and Israel, and Jewish control of government, finance and Hollywood– leave little doubt that "anti-Semitism and racism remain a central part of his message."

The series of three speeches, beginning with his February 28 Saviours' Day Speech and culminating with an address on March 14 at Mosque Maryam in Chicago, put Farrakhan's use of anti-Semitism on full display. Farrakhan repeated accusations that some Jews belong to a "synagogue of Satan" and that Jews control the entertainment industry, exploit Black performers for their own financial gain, and were disproportionately involved in the transatlantic slave trade.

"There is no doubt that anti-Semitism and racism remain a central part of Farrakhan's message, as well as that of the Nation of Islam," said Abraham H. Foxman, ADL National Director. "The large crowds he attracts demonstrate that his bigotry and hate continue

Exhibit Y

BLOG

Anti-Semite Louis Farrakhan Teams Up With Notorious Holocaust Denier at Saviours' Day 2019 Conference



Published: 02.17.2019

February 18, 2019

[Louis Farrakhan](#) and the Nation of Islam teamed up with a Holocaust denier and anti-Semitic ideologue to attack the Jewish religion and blame numerous ills of modern society on Jews, during the keynote event at the Nation of Islam's annual [Saviours' Day](#) conference in Chicago.

Speaking before a crowd of several thousand at the United Center and an unknown number on a livestream, Farrakhan was preceded by [Michael A. Hoffman II](#), who suggested that ancient Jewish texts are equivalent to teachings "from the church of satan." Hoffman is a well-known Holocaust denier who has denounced belief in the

“fake homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz-Birkenau,” though he did not reiterate those beliefs at this event.

When he took the podium, Farrakhan unleashed a torrent of attacks on Jews, claiming that anti-black racism “was started by Jewish rabbinical leaders” in ancient times, and that Jewish racism towards Africans is ultimately responsible for the “enslavement... colonization...dehumanization...[and] denial of self-determination” to black people throughout history. Farrakhan based much of his mischaracterization of Judaism on a distorted reading of the Talmud, an ancient compilation of legal and ethical debates among rabbis. Attacks on the Talmud were first instigated by Christian and Muslim polemicists in the early Middle Ages, and have become a staple of extreme anti-Semitic ideologues. Tonight Farrakhan claimed that Talmud created “the poisonous belief that justified and guided the entire institution of the transatlantic slave trade and the continuous exploitation of our people.” He also attempted to sow ill will between Jews and African Americans by saying that “sharecropping can be traced to the Talmud.”

Farrakhan reiterated classic anti-Semitic beliefs about Jews and money, claiming for example that Jewish principles “have exploited the American people through institutional usury and predatory lending practices.” He rehashed the tired cliché that the federal reserve is run by “a family of rich Jews.”

Farrakhan also blamed Jews for “pervasive rape culture...sex trafficking and prostitution,” and for emasculating black men. The latter theme was elaborated upon in an earlier speech by NOI official Brother Wesley Muhammad, who said that “Jewish genius had feminized the black male. The NOI is standing in between the demasculazination of the black man... this is why they hate Farrakhan.” Farrakhan outrageously claimed that ancient Jewish texts condone pedophilia, and that “pedophilia and sexual perversion exercises in Hollywood can be traced back” to Jewish religious texts.

Several times Farrakhan attempted to link current Israeli policy with his allegations against Jews and Judaism. When he attacked Jews for allegedly valuing the lives of their six million coreligionists who died in the Holocaust over the lives of all the other non-Jews on the planet, he added, “That’s how cheap they think of Palestinian life. The life of the gentiles. Only their life is sacred.” Later in the speech he referred to Israel’s effort to come to grips with an influx of refugees from Africa, saying, “Israel sees the black youth as a problem for them. Israel, a government after black youth. Well let me tell you something Israel, you’re making a very big mistake and you’re hastening your doom. You leave my black brothers and sisters alone because you fear what they’re gonna become because they listen to Farrakhan.”

Referring to the controversy over the struggles of Women’s March leaders Tamika Mallory, Linda Sarsour, and Carmen Perez to forthrightly condemn Farrakhan and his anti-Semitic bigotry, Farrakhan claimed that “the wicked Jews want to use me to break up the women’s movement.”

Farrakhan also claimed that “talmudic principles run the American jurisprudence system” and have informed the movement to create and maintain the right to legal abortion in this country. He described Margaret Sanger, who opened the first birth control clinic in the U.S. and established organizations that served as the precursors for Planned Parenthood, as a “so-called Jewish woman,” who “didn’t want black babies so she tried to get rid of as many as she could.” In fact, Sanger was of Irish Catholic extraction.

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BACKGROUND

Farrakhan: In His Own Words

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For more than 30 years, Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam (NOI), has been a notable extremist figure, railing against Jews, white people and the LGBT community.

In recent years, Farrakhan has embarked on a wide-ranging campaign specifically targeting the Jewish community, a campaign that has featured some of the most hateful speeches of his tenure as head of NOI. Farrakhan has alleged that the Jewish people were responsible for the slave trade and that they conspire to control the government, the media and Hollywood, as well as various black individuals and organizations. He frequently denies the legitimacy of Judaism – or Jewish claim to the land of Israel – arguing that Judaism is nothing more than a “deceptive lie” and a “theological error” promoted by Jews to further their “control” over America’s government and economy.

Over the years, Farrakhan’s speeches have attracted a range of politicians and other public figures. He draws thousands of attendees to his speeches, which gives him the dubious distinction of being quite possibly America’s most popular anti-Semite.

During a speech at Washington, D.C.’s Watergate Hotel in November 2017, Farrakhan told his audience that the Jews who “owned a lot of plantations” were responsible for undermining black emancipation after the Civil War. He also endorsed the second volume of the anti-Semitic book, “The Secret Relationship Between Blacks and Jews,” which blames Jews for promoting a myth of black racial inferiority and makes conspiratorial accusations about Jewish involvement in slave trade and the cotton, textiles, and banking industries. Farrakhan believes this book should be taught in schools.

In 2018, Farrakhan continued his anti-Semitic commentary in public appearances and on Twitter, where he warned his 335,000 followers about “the Satanic Jew.” In an October 2018 speech marking the 23rd anniversary of the Million Man March, Farrakhan told his followers, “When they talk about Farrakhan, call me a hater, you know how they do – call me an anti-Semite. Stop it, I’m anti-termite!”

Below, a selection of hateful and conspiratorial statements made by Farrakhan about Jews, Jewish conspiracies, the Holocaust, Jewish involvement in the slave trade, Israel, dialogue with Jews, whites, the U.S. government and the LGBT community: