

America and the Challenge of a New World Order:
A Quest for Peace

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Today we have a very critical moment in the history of our nation and our world. The events that swirled around our heads this week promise to get hotter during the coming week and weeks and months. I hope to interpret some of them today and to share with you that which I see. I want to speak from the subject today: "America and the Challenge of a New World Order: A Quest for Peace."

Today former slavemasters and slavemistresses and the sons and daughters of former slaves are now sitting around common tables discussing a new world order. Old colonial curtains that separated people from people and left each of them in the shade, without the power of the sunshine to illuminate their lives and energize them, are falling or being snatched down. There are yet a few battles left in which the former slavemasters and mistresses have not yet heard the freedom bell ringing, and they are resisting coming to the table to discuss the new world order. Further, sons and daughters of former slaves are using various tactics: civil disobedience, work strikes, guerrilla warfare, keeping them entertained on a full-time basis, trying to remind them that the freedom bell is ringing. Human rights for all human beings is now in order, and the discussion of the new world

order is the first item on the agenda.

Let's look at the world's people. Half of all human beings on earth are Asian. One-half of Asians are Chinese. One-eighth of all human beings are African. One-fourth are Nigerian. To the south our neighbors in Mexico, Central, South and Latin America speak Spanish. Arab OPEC supplies 43% of the world's oil. The Arab OPEC nations have 141 billion dollars of the world's monetary reserves which is one-third of the world's monetary reserves. About 70 billion, or half of those monetary reserves, are U.S. dollars. America is 4% of the world's population.

If we are unified as a nation using the sum total of our talents and spirits and discipline we may continue to have an impact or a leadership role in the new world order. But we no longer have a monopoly on technology, on nuclear power, or technology, or scientific knowhow, or brains, or the desire to be free. We no longer have the luxury, nor can we afford, racial polarization on various aberrations and expressions of petty apartheid. The issue is not about transportation to school - it's about edification at school. We know that the issue is not the bus, it is us. And a multiracial education must be our personal, local and national goal for we must develop the capacity to live with each other and not apart from each other. The highest and best contribution that we can make to our children is to insulate them from that which they do not understand as opposed to isolating them from that which they do not understand.

We are 4% of the world's population. We must be unified. We can't afford dope as a diversion - a generation of frustrated young people, misled oftentimes by their parents, putting dope in their veins rather than hope in their brains. We cannot afford it. A generation of children victimized by parental detachment cannot be left alone to rear themselves. We cannot afford it. Superficial teaching rather than sacrificial teaching. We cannot afford it. Five hours a night our children watching television opting to be entertained rather than educated. We cannot afford it. Building more jails and fewer schools. We cannot afford it. Costs in a state university in this nation that we attend for four years would be less than \$20,000. The penitentiary scholarship for four years is between 72,000 and 130,000 dollars. And thus education and employment are much cheaper than ignorance and incarceration. We just can't afford it. Race must not prevail over reason. We just can't afford it. When the crisis comes, using pill power to cop out because we don't have the will power to cope with. We just can't afford it. We must be that generation that is sober and sane, who knows that might at right is a temporary measure. But history teaches us very clearly that ultimately right is might.

Military authority is very temporary, for ultimately moral authority is the strongest authority in all the world. Today our challenge is not to acquire military authority - we have the capacity to overkill the world more than 30 times. Our great problem is a

deficit in moral authority. Too few people believe us in the world. And too few of us now believe in ourselves. We need moral authority. We need to be right. We need to be honest. We need to be honorable. We need to be consistent.

In the last ten years there has been a radical redistribution of power in the world. America must make a hard shift - a radical shift - from using a military power to be the world's police to using a high sense of purpose and scientific knowhow to be a part of the world's salvation. America's attitude must shift from superior-over to equivalency-with and sometimes dependency-upon. The American educational system has bred all Americans on a false sense of self-sufficiency and independence. We are interdependent. We need the world and the world needs us. But the world will not accept us unconditionally. Some of our habits and attitudes and ways of dealing with people must stop and change.

Racism is the cancer in the American soul. Racism blinds us. Racism distorts our vision. Racism interrupts our flow of logic. It divides our communities, it splits our concept of justice, it distorts the image of God. Racism is untrue scientifically. Racism is unfeasible economically. Racism is unhealthy psychologically. Racism is immoral theologically. We can't be our brother and sisters' keeper - we must be our brother and sisters' brother and sister.

And thus we have the challenge to save our nation as we rise from this abyss, from various collision courses. Iran and its policies of

oppression was on a collision course with the human rights renaissance. The collision course was not averted - a revolution took place. Nicaragua on the Somoza, its various expressions of tyranny, put that nation on a collision course with a quest to human rights. The collision was not averted - a bloody revolution took place. Panamanians and their quest for selfhood, and America over the Panama Canal zone, was on a collision course. Because of the leadership of President Carter a war was averted. South Africa, apartheid and human rights, is on a collision course with 75 nations of the world. A war can be averted, but it is a matter of a few short years. Israel and the Arab states are on a collision course. It's a matter of days. Russia, America and Salt II are left with the possibility of escalating war, escalating peace. It's a matter of days.

I just returned a few days ago from South Africa. And there I was reminded all over again of some grave decisions that America must make. America must make the decision - and make it soon - to not allow our special interests to conflict with our national interests, and not to allow our greed to conflict with our need. The United States and South Africa are in partnership. The United States recognizes South Africa diplomatically. Upon that basis 350 U. S. corporations do business there. South Africa and America exchange scientific personnel, are in nuclear collaboration, together they have military contingency plans. The presence of U.S. business there is not to make life more humane for the Africans - it's to reap the highest profits in the world

because no blacks are recognized as citizens, thus have no legal status, thus have no union recognition in fact, and thus that cheap labor is exploited. America hires about 100,000 people there - our businesses do - about 60,000-65,000 are black non-union recognized workers. Our presence there does at least as much to stabilize the white Afrikaner middle class as it does to help a handful of blacks. And what does it really matter if the blacks in South Africa make a few more rams but do not have the right of citizenship, do not have the right to vote, do not have the right to own land, do not have the right to live in the city, do not have the right to protest for right, do not have the right to add the legitimate grievances, can be unilaterally arrested for five years without any show cause? The agenda in South Africa is not affirmative action for a few, it is liberation for the masses. They are not unaware of their slave status. Something on the inside has told the black South African that he ought to be free. And as they look where the various Colonial curtains have fallen something tells them they are next and that they can be free. And thus it is a matter of time. I would urge this University and all under the sound of my voice to make a decision in South Africa and choose to be on the right side of history. There's a revolution there. We can make the right decision.

I call for a reassessment of U.S. and South African relationships. We must examine this American-South African partnership. We must demand of the major corporations there that they obey the law. We

found that General Motors and Ford are in fact selling equipment to the government. We see the cars rolling down the street, the police cars and military vehicles. And even though they technically get around the law by saying they're not using U.S. parts, they're using British and Canadian parts, but none the less, 20 million black South Africans see a partnership between Ford and General Motors in South Africa, a relationship between that and enslavement. The affirmative action programs are good. The removal of petty apartheid signs within American industries is good. And yet that at best speaks to the issue of decency. It does not speak to the issue of dignity and power and citizenship which are the real agenda in South Africa.

Mobil and Caltex are in fact conduiting oil to the South African government. IBM is in fact making parts and fixing parts of military machinery there. We must monitor at the highest level of this government the conduct of our companies there. Secondly, this investment is one option that must be exercised and why? If there were a relationship between investment and enfranchisement, we should fight for investment. For so long as there is this enfranchisement there must be disinvestment. It really boils down to that. We have a choice there. One is accommodation. To stand and expand upon the status quo. The other is to declare that to be a part of our territory and fight for the liberation of those people. But since we fight communism as a threat much easier than we fight racism as a threat, it's less likely that we're going to fight for liberation. We must radically disengage in the name of human rights. Those are live options for us.

We talk with various Afrikaner business leaders who argued a mass of progress in the last 10 years. If there is progress, giving you the benefit of doubt, what is the basis for the progress? They said, number one, the fall of Belgium, British, French and Portuguese colonial curtains to the north has had an impact. This investment has slowed down economic growth. It has had an impact. South Africa can generate 3 to 3½ percent of its need for growth annually internally, but it needs about 7 percent. It needs 600 million to 2 billion dollars a year in new capital. That's difficult to get in the climate. It needs new markets to expand to, but it costs 75 nations of the world.

When the climb to apartheid is an international crime against humanity it is difficult to get those new markets, and thus economic pressure has worked. The uprisings in Zuado have created economic uncertainty and the sports and cultural isolation has had a tremendous psychological impact within South Africa for there's a generation of young white South Africans who want to join the world - they want to join the Olympics - they want to join the human race. And therefore the challenge of their parents to drop a system so evil, so ungodly, so unkind, so economically unfeasible and thus our pressure, moral and economic, is stimulating change in South Africa. We have two options left in South Africa. There'll either be a tremendous economic stimulus to run the economic order head on with the political order and bring about rational change. If that does not happen there will be a bloody black-white protractive charismatic campaign for

liberation. And no matter what the choice is, there will be a liberation movement in South Africa. Apartheid will not reign supreme eternally. We must make the decision.

The critical question has to do with America, the Middle East, black people in general, Andrew Young in particular. I want to lay out, if you will, the vital interests of blacks in the Middle East. If there's any one gain that blacks must make in the 80's that they didn't make in the 70's, the 60's, the 50's, the 40's - we must join the world. We must rise above ghetto and reservation thinking and join the world with the sum total of our minds, our bodies and our spirits. What happens anywhere in the world directly affects us, indirectly and quickly. And thus we must join the world.

Why are we interested in the Middle East? One, we have an investment and an interest in a vibrant American economy. We must assess any interference with the economy that will represent serious economic dislocation for black people. Major economic dislocation is one of the real possibilities in the Mid East crisis.

Secondly, we have an interest in justice and equality. We must assert human rights for all human beings. Israeli security is a human right. PLO recognition is a human right. Just as black-white human rights in South Africa must be fought for, to deny human rights to any group creates an imbalance in human affairs that is a threat to all human beings everywhere. That must be our challenge.

We have an interest in peace rather than war. We are 30 plus

percent of the ground forces in the military. We suffer disproportionately physically in hot war. We suffer economically in cold war. We have a national interest. We are part of the nation. Israeli rejection by America will cost, and is unthinkable. Arab rejection will cost and is impossible. But it is of interest first for national survival. War threatens Israel. U.S. economic instability threatens Israel. U.S. energy fears create an economic excuse by whites to surface latent anti-semitism. Israel must give the U.S. a way out. The U.S. must ultimately choose peace and not sides. A no-talk policy, a foreign policy position that limits the U.S.'s ability to negotiate for peace, increases the chances for war. That is against the best interest of Israel, the United States and the world. The Jews must never back white America, knowing what America some of us do, into a corner and allow its latent anti-semitism and racism an excuse to surface. The economic security of the United States is so threatened by the present arrangement that I am afraid that when the crunch comes it will treat the Mid East treaties like an Indian treaty. Kissinger must assume some leadership in helping to get the nation beyond this impasse.

We support without any provocation the intent and the integrity of Andrew Young. Andrew Young was a fall guy. He was undercut by State Department politics. The State Department declaration of total unawareness of any contact with PLO is deceptive. The State Department's appearance of clean hands is an illusion at best, and a

cover-up at worst. It leaves the false impression that Andy was unilateral, inconsiderate, inconsistent, headstrong and dishonest. That is inaccurate. There is a tremendous struggle in the United States and the world to include PLO in peace talks. The fact is PLO is recognized by 104 nations in the world and Palestinian people as a bargaining agent for 4 million Palestinian people.

I refer you to several evidences of these behind-the-scene goings-on. At Camp David when Mr. Begin, Mr. Sadat and Mr. Carter met they discussed the Palestinian question at length and in detail. Because of Mr. Begin's politics they were not called Palestinians, they referred to them as "refugees," but they discussed them. Ambassador Milton Wolf to Austria had three official contacts with the PLO. It's a fact, Mr. Strauss, within two days ago, met to discuss with them a PLO recognition proposition. He could not have discussed a proposition without having talked with the people he was proposing for. President Carter in his attempt to get Mr. Saul Linowitz and Strauss to mobilize U.S. Jewry to try to soften Mr. Begin's hardline approach is a fact of record.

Arabs have linked the PLO issue with oil and energy just as Nigeria linked the American lifting of sanctions to Nigeria's relationship with this nation. Just as Nigeria used her leverage to make Ms. Thatcher change her tune by nationalizing British Petroleum holdings and putting a half billion pounds on the world market and by threatening to cut off consumer relationships she changed her tune. The Arabs do have the ability to make this nation change its tune. You can look

at it or ignore it. I would advise you look. If I come to you today interpreting the weather don't get mad at the weatherman: I don't make it rain, I'm just telling you there are clouds, and I know it's going to rain.

The hard fact is, the U.S. ambassador must support, number one, U.S. interests, secondly, Allied interests, and thirdly, peace if it's possible - and in that order. There is a very delicate internal international showdown that's about to occur in the U.S. and in the U.N. next week. On the one hand there are Arab-Palestinian interests, there are Israeli interests. The U.S. must clear the way for peace and save both nations and not have a war over either. If not, we will live with the consequences of whatever decision we make.

What makes this decision so grave? These people that we have read little about and know little about, except in very stereotypical terms with their dress and their culture that is so strange to us, called Arab OPEC nations. Who are they? Let's investigate them for a minute.

The Middle East is important to both hot and cold war because politics is the flashpoint there for the big power confrontation. Peace there is essential because Arab OPEC supplies 43% or 21 million barrels per day of the free world's supply of oil without which there would be worldwide depression of major proportions. The bulk of this oil - 19 million barrels per day, 40% of the free world's total - or 750,000 barrels per hour passes through a narrow strait called the Straits of Oman, which is only 20 miles wide. In the wrong hands,

the flow of this oil could be stopped or interrupted.

The world's monetary reserves; dollars, sterling, and other foreign exchange, are heavily concentrated under the control of the oil-producing governments in the Middle East. Arab OPEC has monetary reserves of \$141 billion or 30% of the world's total, and over half of that \$141 billion is U.S. dollars. By selling U.S. dollars and sterling on the one hand and buying minerals and commodities on the other they could precipitate a monetary crisis on the one side and propel inflation on the other side by raising the prices of minerals and food. I tell you, Andrew Young was dealing with something critical and delicate and imminent.

Geographically the Arab nations in the Middle East and North Africa are strategically situated from a military standpoint. Without them the southern flank of NATO would be exposed. North and East Africa would also be exposed. The Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean would be vulnerable. The entire southern shore of the Mediterranean would be in potentially unfriendly hands. The position of Europe both economically and militarily would be grave. Thus Europe would probably seek accommodation, as would Japan, and the United States would be left with fewer friends and allies.

In about two years or less Russia will become an importer of oil and would love to assure its sources of supply for its own needs in the Middle East. No one group, more than black America, has suffered from a deprivation of human rights. As a nation, we must be for

human rights for people everywhere. This is a moral force against which our enemies around the world cannot contend. We witnessed, I repeat, in Iran and Nicaragua what happens to a government when it loses its moral force. There is a widespread civil disobedience against which no army can effectively stop. Andy Young, as part of the U.N. Security Council was seeking a postponement with the PLO official which would give the efforts of Strauss and others some time to reduce the Israeli anxiety about security which would stop the threatening rhetoric of PLO and allow the U.S. to protect its vital economic interests.

As a diplomat Andy could not have come down and danced to the tune of war stories and casualties and atrocities and bowed to the politics of fear or intimidation. Beyond the bloodstain of war and the clouds created by threats, the main calling is the sunshine of peace and new relations. We understand war, rumors of war, threats of war. The Jews call PLO murderers and they're right - they murder. The PLO call the Jews bomb-raiders and they're right - they bomb-raided. Raiders murder - murderers raid. But such is the tragedy of war. That's why we need peace.

A no-talk policy creates war or a threat of war. PLO says it won't recognize Israel and they're wrong - they must - they will. Israel says it won't recognize PLO - it will. Khrushchev pulled off his shoe and said he'd bury America. War talk. Khrushchev is buried - America stands. And economic envoys with cultural and economic trade

and military agreements role over his graveyard and history moves on. Mao, with all of his sayings and posters whipped a quarter of the world's population into a frenzy about the U.S. The U.S. and China are now allies. Mao is gone. The adversaries must use the rhetoric to keep their troops mobilized, but neither must bind the peacemaker.

In that difficult crisis Andy was given a contradictory assignment. He was asked to fly, and then in his job description it was illegal to use wings. A contradiction. The Kissinger agreement did not even talk with PLO at the U.N. It is an international absurdity and a crime against a civilized community. We must talk with the devil in hell. I talk with the Klu Klux Klan. I talk with South Afrikaners. I talk with anybody. I want to face Mr. Arafat and tell him I understand your quest for peace, but your threatening rhetoric is a deterrent. When you keep threatening you do not symbolize justice, you symbolize tyranny. I want to tell Mr. Begin your hard line cannot survive in the real world. We must talk. The most basic link in civilization is communication.

Ignoring human problems, like China for 30 years, will not make them go away. Problems of human beings are organic - they grow, they don't go. Why was there conflict in Andy's stories? He protected the interests of his government as an act of patriotism and protection for his President. A man lies if his interest is deception. Andy's intent is clear. His integrity is intact. Andy's always been pro-Israel. He's also pro-peace. He's pro-United States. The pendulum

of opinion will move and his service will make a martyr of Andy. We cannot be that light and superficial on critical issues any more. His conduct was not an act of treason, or subterfuge, or corruption, or ignorance. With each passing day new revelations will transform his crucifixion into a resurrection.

In the spirit of that concern, and the impending nature of that crisis, Andy went to the Jewish ambassador and shared with him his dilemma and appealed to him to keep the matter in quiet diplomatic channels for fear it would acerbate American black and Jewish relations, for fear it would fan the flames of PLO interests in this country. But the ambassador over-reacted, wired the matter to Tel Aviv, they over-reacted, made a public issue, there was a Jewish outcry, a political outcry, a press outcry for Andy's firing. Carter had a choice between a protest and Andy. Andy relieved him of the choice by stepping back. But the fact of the matter is, once a baby is born, once a baby is about to come forth, water breaking, blood spilling, mother crying, all the forces in the world cannot stop reality when it bursts forth upon the human scene. It's irreversible.

I do not want the result of this debacle to weaken us externally as we grapple in the U.N. or weaken us internally as blacks and Jews and blacks and whites mill together in this mission. Black-Jewish relations are important. Black-white relations are important. Black-Arab relations are important. Black relations with the rest of the human community are important. The price that we pay for friendship

can't be that we betray our sense of conscience, however, or suppress our better judgment. What else do we have to offer to anybody?

Our silence on world issues is perceived of as our ignorance, our indifference. We are not ignorant. We are not indifferent. Our silence may be perceived of as an expression of cowardice and impotence. We're not cowards. We're not impotent. We have something to say, and we will be heard. We marched together - Jews and blacks in the South - in our struggle for decency. We began to pull apart in our struggle for power. Blacks are the moral support foundation for Jewish interests in this nation. Black support for Jews has been steadier and more predictable than white support. Blacks have never been anti-semitic. We are Judeo-Christian. We know the pains of rejection. We don't believe in it. In times of peace and prosperity Jews are white - it's called the majority privilege. In times of crisis Jews identify with blacks as part of the rejected and the displaced. In the struggle we march and die together.

In the struggle to move up, Jewish resistance to affirmative action and quotas helped to resurrect white resistance to our interest. Slavery and apartheid - this is why we fight for quotas. We're not going to apologize, not going to take it back. We're going to keep on fighting for it for these reasons. Slavery and apartheid were institutional and personal rejection and denial of rights to blacks. Quotas were an attempt by us to gain institutional guarantees and commitments for our future reparations. Our allies fought our inter-

ests. We must expand these Jewish-black dialogues around the country. They are teaching the Odegaard case in Washington where the demagogic term, "reverse discrimination" originated. We were on different sides of the table. In the case of Baake, the outright Jewish support for Baake - we were on different sides of the issue. The Israeli-South African relationship - we're on two different sides of the issue. The John Tate-Coetzee fight in South Africa which humiliates black people, it insults us. Bob Arum, the Jewish promoter here and Saul Kerznik, the Jewish promoter there, have insulted us. They have not been challenged.

There's a tension about the Andrew Young matter, Union leadership domination, the Koch administration and blacks in New York. We cannot sweep the crisis under a rug. We must solve this matter because we believe in justice and we believe in peace. No one who is honest with you can underestimate the depth of this division, this festering sore. And yet no one can overestimate the need for reconciliation to heal this wound. Blacks and Jews, blacks and whites, blacks and Arabs, blacks and the world community must reconcile. We must face facts at every college campus level, church-synagogue level, business level, political level. No one meeting between a select group of blacks and Jews can solve this matter. You can set the course. We can lay out guidelines. We can create a framework for peace, but it's a serious matter.

My conclusions: we must call for an investigation relative to

Andy, the U.N., the forced resignation. We want a full disclosure of the facts. Andy Young was spied upon by electronic surveillance, by the Israeli government. That's a threat to Andy and U.S. security and it's illegal. Ambassador Wolf met three times with the PLO. There was no hue and cry. Moshe Dayan said U.S. sanctioned bombing of south Lebanon as long as it was not U.S. equipment. What other equipment is there? The U.S. predicts a no-PLO communication. Is this honest? We look at Camp David and others. I repeat, a no-talk policy is an international absurdity, a crime against a civilized community. And so I say this to you today - this is a critical moment in national affairs, in black-Jewish relations, in the Middle East conflict.

And I conclude with this: peace is harder than war, but we've got to have it. Peace is still more difficult than war, but the fruits are sweeter. Peace is still wiser than war, but a hardhead remembers war ravishes, war kills, war destroys families, war limits future possibilities, war leaves fatherless boys and girls, war makes widows, war maims bodies and makes confused minds and heavy hearts, war is a threat to human existence.

To be a wise generation we must beat our swords into plowshares, beat our spears into pruning hooks, study war no more, stop killing and start healing. In the face of this we must not fret because there will still be some suffering, there will still be a little more dying, but suffering breeds character. "To live is to suffer," Bonnhoffer

said. To suffer is to survive, to survive is to find meaning in that suffering. Suffering when it's an honor is redemptive. Suffering breeds character. Character breeds faith. And in the end faith will not disappoint. During this troubled hour let's rise above our limitations, rise above our fears, rise above our anxieties, accept peace, study war no more.

Thank you and God bless you.