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JAN 3 - 1984

AN OPEN LETTER TO REV. JESSE JACKSON

December 27, 1983

Dear Jesse:

As with your August-September '83 European junket with my far-left-wing Congressman, Ron Dellums, which ended in disaster when the Soviet Union shot down KAL 007, forcing cancellation of the previously scheduled rump summit meeting with KGB Dictator, Yuri Andropov, your present leap into the Syrian tinderbox via your proposed "moral mission" to Syria, purportedly to facilitate the freedom of Lt. Goodman, is a colossal blunder. In the European case, you successfully covered your tracks by taking refuge in London's Black Ghetto. So preoccupied was the world with the Soviet Union's incredible arrogance and inhumanly callous attitude in the aftermath of shooting down the airliner, that you almost escaped notice. However, from this Syrian fiasco, I think you will find there's no easy hiding. You shall find that there are heavy dues to pay for such staggering insensitivity, ignorance, and ineptness.

Obviously, you're seeking ways to inflate your image as a recognized, effective world leader. I am, and I am sure many others are, disappointed that you chose the low road of demagogy and the hustler's tack of risking sinking the ship in order to insinuate yourself into the center of a scene where you have no business. It's like a diplomatic Sit-In, ridiculous on it's face. It is highly improper for you, as a declared Presidential Candidate, pursuing matching funds, Secret Service protection, and the whole bit, to

consciously and with calculation, deliver yourself as a willing tool into the hands of the Syrian ultras and their Soviet Advisors, surrounded by a coterie of international terrorists.

#### FOREIGN FIASCOES AND DOMESTIC ESCAPADES

Your naive pronouncements and suggestions on disarmament, for instance, are downright embarrassing, showing that you haven't the vaguest idea of what national defense is all about. Nor do you appreciate the relationship between our defense establishment and the complex political forces at work in the world, such as the different phases of Communism, International Terrorism, Arab and Israeli Nationalism, Super Power Confrontation, National Liberation, Religious and Ethnic strife, and the struggle between Democracy and the various forms of Totalitarianism. Your myopic sorties into these areas may produce headlines for you, but, for sure, very little confidence in you.

#### YOUR CREDIBILITY----GAP BECOMES A-----GRAND CANYON

No one will believe that you are dealing with Syria solely for humanitarian concern for Goodman's welfare. Obviously, you're playing politics, pretending you are more concerned about Goodman than the President, and that you have connections that will make you more effective in obtaining his release. This is predictable, if extravagant, sophomoric exuberance, born of a terrible alienation from power, admirable in cheerleaders and agitators, but a fatal flaw in the persona of a would-be statesman.

### SYRIANS MIGHT RELEASE GOODMAN

It is conceivable that the Syrians, seeing opportunity knocking, just might release Goodman to you, through you, or because of you. But you can be sure that it will be a calculated move on their part to undercut the President and to get one up on him in the international propaganda arena. This is the same thinking that drove the Iranian kidnappers, after they had occupied our Embassy and taken the personnel hostage, to ostentatiously free the black men and white women. This was done to manipulate and divide the American people, by tossing bones to what the Iranians perceived as two oppressed factions inside the USA. I have found this belief to be an article of faith throughout the Third World, and amongst Communists everywhere, leading them repeatedly to try driving wedges between the American people and their elected representatives, i.e., the Government. The motives of the Syrians, in the present situation, are precisely the same. Do not allow yourself to be used as a pawn against your own country, thinking it will win you Brownie Points in the Presidential Sweepstakes.

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## LIMITS OF EXTRAGOVERNMENTAL DIPLOMACY

It is dangerous enough that we Americans have a tradition of everyone formulating, promulgating, and implementing their own favorite foreign policy --- something unheard of, even unthinkable, in most countries of the rest of the world, regardless of the forms of government involved. Extragovernmental diplomacy is a process which you, along with many others in the black movement, myself included, used to great advantage for progress. Indeed, lobbying for international public opinion and support is a respectable tradition - resorted to in pursuit of redress of grievances by people the world over. Our own Abolitionists lobbied the relevant world for the termination of the slave trade and the abolition of Slavery; W.E.B. DuBois' convened the historic series of Pan African Unity Movement meetings, which laid the foundation for national liberation in black Africa; Malcolm X's work in internationalizing our Civil Rights movement and elevating it to the level of Human Rights, by lobbying the Organization Of African Unity and Communist and Third World governments. Still, a line must be drawn somewhere. In the present case, you are not lobbying against injustice. You are running for President, and undertaking ill-advised unilateral actions which are undermining the official diplomacy of our Government.

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## WALK LOUDLY AND CARRY A LITTLE STICK

Your attempt to smuggle Civil Rights Movement tactics into the arena of international diplomacy, especially as it relates to the life and death struggle between Communism and Democracy, is a woeful error, and violates all reasonable limits. I don't know what the common denominator is between you and your friend, Andrew Young, who also believes in walking loudly and carrying a little stick. But he learned, through his derailing, that when it comes to the diplomacy of state, one must listen to a different drummer than one heeds when organizing a Civil Rights protest demonstration against the local yokels.

If you are putting forward this series of fiascoes as the quintessential expression of "black politics," instead of simply a man, who is also black, running for president, then you are stepping on a whole lot of tender toes, creating a situation where even black people must oppose your tactics, in order to rescue their "blackness" from your dim politics. Many blacks vehemently disagree with both the form and content of some of your actions. Your actions are ruthless, shortsighted, and grossly opportunistic. It is this proclivity on your part, to fly off half-cocked on a shallowly conceived ego-tripping gambit, which restrains even the widow of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the man to whom you pose as heritor, from supporting your candidacy. You need to go back into the woodshed for a season, and get your stuff together before letting it all hang out again. Maybe you should purge the ranks of your advisors of the unreconstructed '60s radicals, many of

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whom are ideological US-Haters, ex-SNCC racists, and outright Pro-Communists, like my Congressman, Ron Dellums. You have already been called on the carpet and nearly forced to register as an agent for a foreign power for accepting at least \$10,000 from the paymaster of international terrorism, Lybian dictator Moamar Khdafy.

I suggest that you stop chasing "headlines at any cost", and moderate your "destroy Ronald Reagan at any cost" attitude, because it is blinding you to the best interests of your own country. The deadly serious events unfolding in Beirut and environs is not just another march across the Edmund Pettis Bridge. There is a complex mix on and under the table. You are not privy to the subtleties and nuance of the situation. Therefore it is highly inappropriate for you, with such limited information, to dabble so deeply in such troubled waters.

You have just played your Race Card, which has always been the Ace of Spades up your sleeve. It has always worked for you before. Maybe, you hope, it will work for you again. I am sure that these events of our times are self-revealing to you. So that you might see that as much as you may have been held prisoner by your color in the past, even though you now are free, you are still a prisoner of color in your view of the world. This typifies one of the most challenging problems facing America at this time - an identity crisis amongst the vital vanguard elements of the political leadership of one of its most volatile and strategically placed peoples. Coupled with your Third World Worship, your attempt to employ Third World tactics of playing one power off against the other, is a very dangerously unacceptable ploy.

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You have premised this escapade on the most provocative pretext: that somehow our President and his representatives, who are duly briefed for dealing with this situation in a coordinated and strategic manner, somehow do not care enough about Lt. Goodman to work for his release. The clear implication and insinuation, and universal inference - a factor which cannot possibly be lost upon you and your advisors - is that the President and his advisors didn't bother to deal with Goodman's case because he is black. This is an asinine and dangerous postulate. You have advanced it, and I predict that it will come back to haunt you. The other black men and women in the Marines, and other branches of our military, will resent this inference. The families of those black marines who have lost their lives in this awesome confrontation, will likewise resent your making light of the blood of their loved ones, as your rhetoric tends to strip their deaths of all value and meaning. And, finally, the American people are going to resent a cheap publicity stunt, diverting our national resources and machinery of state, crudely using the sacrifices of our fighting men and women as chips in the bargain.

Yours for Peace And Justice,

Eldridge Cleaver

Eldridge Cleaver

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