## From 1967 to October 7: The History of an Antisemitic Cartoon from the Civil Rights Era to the Harvard Encampment

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## **Abstract**

This article restores to history the saga of a antisemitic cartoon and broadside first published by the Student National Coordinating Committee, a civil rights organization, in the summer of 1967 and reprinted by Students and Faculty for Justice in Palestine at Harvard University after October 7. It demonstrates the long durée of the vocabulary, solidarities, and platforms over more than fifty years and how a set of discourses was institutionalized within the progressive Left that later bore fruit on 10/7. The article also points to similarities and differences in the way this imagery and text was received and the possibilities of interventions after October 7 to break a cycle lasting half a century.

Keywords: Israel, Palestine, civil rights, Black-Jewish relations, universities

Since the massacre on the October 7, 2023, where Hamas terrorists invaded civilian residential communities and attacked a rave in the desert of Southern Israel near the Gaza border, carrying out war crimes that included massacres of entire families at home, gunning down free-spirited festival-goers as they ran for their lives, burning kibbutzim to the ground, raping women, and carrying off hostages including toddlers and old ladies into captivity, universities across the West have erupted as the epicenter of activism around the Israel-Hamas war. For months, campuses were sites of constant demonstrations, which culminated in winter/spring 2024 with encampments that spread across the United States and overseas.

Harvard University, as perhaps the most elite university in the world, emerged almost immediately as a site of both solidarity and scrutiny. Only days after 7 October, student groups signed petitions that sought to "contextualize" how they condoned violence—these same pupils seemed shocked when their names were released and

they were publicly called to account for their statements.1 Then, Harvard was also criticized for not issuing a public memorandum about the massacre (as it had institutionally commented on many recent domestic and foreign concerns); after days of studious reticence, it took the public shaming of a former president and donors closing their checkbooks for leaders to issue a tepid statement—one that was amended a second time for failing to take a stand.<sup>2</sup> Months of restiveness followed, with dozens of allegations of verbal and physical antisemitic attacks against Jewish and Israeli students, which drew Congressional investigation—and required federal subpoenas due to compliance failures.3 The sitting President Claudine Gay, who famously remarked "it depends upon the context," to whether calls for Jewish genocide constituted antisemitism that violated university policy before a House committee, 4 later stepped down and much of the Harvard antisemitism task force has now resigned.5

Yet, a curious incident occurred in mid-February that directly linked 1967 to the post-10/7 realities at Harvard and beyond. Social media began to circulate an advertisement promoted by Faculty and Students for Justice in Palestine at Harvard University (first issued by Harvard Undergraduate Palestine Solidarity Committee and the African and African American Resistance Organization), a flyer featuring an antisemitic image that fifty years ago became the touchstone of a decade-long confrontation between (what I am calling) transnational Black Power vs. Jewish Power, which reordered both domestic and global politics and was the first iteration of many debates of the post-10/7 era.<sup>6</sup> How the use of this cartoon again—in a different context and response than in the original context but meant to evoke similar solidarities and framings as fifty-years ago-encapsulates a half-century of political and ideological evolution that led to 10/7, as well as some historically based insight into the future.

Yet it was not clear on its face how millennials in a Cambridge dorm room decided to use *this* imagery—not exactly part of the woke vernacular in 2024—to promote their activities. Did they even know its origin and significance, then as now?!

The drawing by a cartoonist named Kofi Bailey was older than most of their parents (!) and was originally printed in a broadside of the Student National Coordinating Commission (SNCC) newsletter of July-August 1967 (Fig. 1). The image depicted a hand tattooed with a Star of David around a dollar sign, which held the ropes of two nooses strangling the figures of Egyptian premier Gamal Abd-al Nasser and the boxer-convert-to-Islam Muhammad Ali, as, from the left of the frame, a brown arm with biceps and forearm emblazoned "Third World" brandishing a scimitar inscribed "Liberation" came to cut them down. (In case it isn't sufficiently self-explanatory, the cartoon implicated Israel and the Jews, rendered indistinguishable by the star, with the help of the United States and its holy dollar, in murdering not only Black and Brown peoples, but Arab nationalism and Islam, to be saved by the sword of Third World solidarities.)



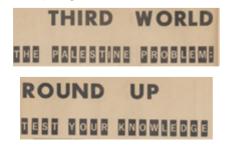
To be fair, this wasn't even the most antisemitic of the illustrations that accompanied the article (which were not featured in the flyer)—there was an unsubtle sketch of Israeli General Moshe Dayan in uniform with the Star of David on his chest and dollar signs on his lapels (Fig. 2); alongside, few eye-raising, unattributed photos, two captioned "Gaza Massacres—1956: Zionist lined up Arab victims and shot them in the back in cold blood. This is the Gaza Strip, Palestine, not Dachau, Germany" (Fig. 3), and another of smiling women with weapons described as "Zionist Jewish Terrorists" (Fig. 4).







While it was not reproduced in the Faculty and Students for Justice in Palestine at Harvard advertisement, these images accompanied a centerfold of text in the June-July issue of the SNCC newsletter. While Iim Foreman, the International Affairs Commission director of SNCC (who had a storied career in the civil rights movement) had initially commissioned a research brief on the 1967 war for internal circulation within the organization, it appears that the SNCC newsletter editor decided to publish it instead as a two-page feature. Entitled "Third World Round Up—The Palestine Problem: Test Your Knowledge," the quiz promised to provide a new interpretation of "news and analysis of what's happening around the world and how it relates to our struggle here," especially since "the white American press seldom, if ever, gives the true story" (Fig. 5).7



The thirty-two-point informational spread (allegedly lifted almost in its entirely from Palestine Liberation Organization propaganda booklets provided by Arab embassies<sup>8</sup> including one entitled "Do You Know?: Twenty Basic Questions About the Palestine Problem," with major similarities to the SNCC text<sup>9</sup>) queried such 'facts' of brutal Zionist colonialism with the aid of Western Powers, couched in antisemitic conspiracies, as,

Do you know . . .

1. That Zionism, which is a worldwide nationalistic Jewish movement, organized, planned and created the "State of Israel" by sending Jewish immigrants from Europe into Palestine (the heart of the Arab world) to take over land and homes belonging to the Arabs?

And

- 2. THAT in this operation, they received maximum help, support and encouragement from Great Britain, the United States, and other white western colonial governments . . .
- 15. THAT the Zionists conquered the Arab homes and land through terror, force, and massacres? That they wiped out over 30 Arab villages before and after they took control of the area they now call "Israel."

And

28. THAT the U.S. Government has worked along with Zionist groups to support Israel so that America may have a toe-hold in that strategic Middle-East location, thereby helping white America to control and exploit the rich oil deposits of the Arab nations?

And

29. THAT not only have American Zionists and their cousins in Europe poured billions of

dollars into Israel since its founding, but they have also promoted a propaganda campaign to cover up their true aims, plans, objectives? That they have prevented the world from knowing the truth of the Palestine Arab refugees who were and still are victims of Zionist, British, and U.S. Aggression against them?

And

31. THAT the famous European Jews, the Rothschilds, who have long controlled the wealth of many European nations, were involved in the original conspiracy with the British to create the "State of Israel: and are still among Israel's chief supporters? THAT THE ROTHSCHILDS ALSO CONTROL MUCH OF AFRICA'S MINERAL WEALTH.

(Harvard students merely summarized these bullet points by omitting any antisemitic overtones, noting only that SNCC "likened Zionism to an imperial project" on their poster.)

As in 1967, as will be discussed, once the advertisement was discovered by online pundits, it triggered a firestorm, with Jewish students, faculty, and alumni (as well as many outsiders) outraged over the antisemitic overtones of the cartoon. Harvard Chabad condemned the cartoon as "Reprehensible. Bigoted. Hateful."10 Harvard Hillel urged an investigation in its "call upon our administration to take action against virulent antisemitism at Harvard."11 Divinity School student Shabbos Kestenbaum, who is party to a lawsuit against Harvard for breaking Title VI antisemitism clauses, suggested that "with professors like these, it's easy to see why we Jewish students don't feel safe in class."12 Prominent professor and former Medical School dean Jeffrey Flier wrote, "Star of David on a hand choking the Third World . . . No debate about this being antisemitic."13 Rabbi David Wolpe, who resigned within its first week from the Harvard Antisemitism Task Force, alleging it as not empowered to do its job effectively by the administration, added, "the cartoon is despicably, inarguably antisemitic. Is there no limit?" <sup>14</sup>

HFSJP then quickly swapped out the original cartoon for a photograph of Black Power leader Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture), who was the chair of SNCC in 1967 and its chief promoter of Black-Palestinian solidarities, having once quipped, "the only good Zionist is a dead Zionist," and defended the PLO's armed struggle. (Interestingly, no one seems to have commented on an even more inflammatory graphic on the flyer's bottom left that appeared in both version of the advertisement of Huey Newton meeting Yasser Arafat in 1980 taken from The Black Panther, an often virulently antisemitic periodical supporting political violence.) This too brought further condemnation. By this point, the Harvard administration had had enough: President Alan Garber characterized the cartoon as "flagrantly antisemitic,"15 and a disciplinary committee was tasked with reviewing the advertisement. (No action subsequently seems to have been taken, nor any individuals named for producing this poster amongst students or faculty.) Ultimately, HFSJP deleted these social media posts and issued an apology, writing "it has come to our attention that a post featuring antiquated cartoons which used offensive antisemitic tropes was linked to our account. We apologize for the hurt that these images have caused and do not condone them in any way. Harvard FSIP stands against all forms of hate and bigotry, including antisemitism."16

It's perhaps no surprise that some of these themes appeal to Harvard faculty and students again today as their poster speaks to a moment in the making and unmaking of solidarities around Israel/Palestine that began in the 1960s. Yet unlike the anticlimactic dénouement of the circulation of the cartoon in this occasion, the original publication of the SNCC cartoon had much more long-lasting effects that have in fact structured the kinds of debates that are being had on campus today. Indeed, it is perhaps no coincidence that this very cartoon was resurrected from the archive, a literal illustration that

1967 was the first iteration of the discourse of the post-10/7 moment. It is important to contextualize the origins of this cartoon within the evolution of SNCC, the civil rights movement, and the Black-Jewish alliance as well, since these precursors to the incident itself had important consequences for its aftermath—up until today.

This article does not presume to summarize the entirety of the history of African-Americans or Jews in the United States, nor the relationships between them and the mythologies that have surrounded it.17 Yet, the SNCC incident intervened in a critical moment in the histories of both identity politics groups—that were increasingly able to identify as hyphenated Americans<sup>18</sup> in the 1960s—after nearly fifty years of projects of Jewish patronage (perhaps exemplified by the Julius Rosenwald education project19) and heavy and disproportionate activism of Jewish-Americans within the civil rights movement in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>20</sup> This was also a moment when African-American and Iewish-American radicals saw America/Amerika as an alien Diaspora where full liberation and equality had yet to be realized. Yet, the origin stories of how each of these identity politics groups came to the United States—one taken in chains as slaves from Africa, the other trying to liberate themselves from political and economic subjugation in Europe by mass immigrationmeant that their experience of the ethnic revolution of the 1960s as hyphenated Americans could never be analogous. Further, despite both the real ideological and tactical congruences of the community, by mid-century the hype of Black-Jewish alliances often obscured that the historical paths of these two identity politics groups had already diverged sharply.

Despite often humble immigrant beginnings when many European Jews came to the USA (including times and places in American Jewish history where Jews were not only associated with African-Americans, but even considered black!<sup>21</sup>), which often did not free them from the experience of antisemitism, after World War II,

American Jews ultimately gained access to institutional advancement through the GI Bill, the ending of university quotas, and new social programs.<sup>22</sup> Some Ashkenazi fair-skinned Jews were even increasingly seen as a subcategory of white ethnics who "passed" in American society as part of a social construct that coded (Jewish) whiteness as a symbol of assimilation, ascendancy, and authority against the color line.<sup>23</sup> While some American Jews protested that their white-adjacent status never amounted to the true privileges and protection of "whiteness" as a non-Christian minority who remained victims of antisemitic prejudice and violence<sup>24</sup> and that most American Jews immigrated to the United States after the end of slavery so could hardly be held culpable for the original sin of American society,25 many American Jews26 became increasingly associated with the power structure and even white supremacy. The recategorization of Jews from powerless minority to part of the oppressive "majority" threatened their continued activism in the movement for racial equality and their status as an American minority.<sup>27</sup> (Simultaneously, it also sowed the seeds of a new Judeo-Christian establishment unthinkable on the Right in previous generations, which is not the subject of this study, but is a remarkable phenomenon worthy of further research.)

Meanwhile, African-Americans continued to suffer from structural racism and a lack of opportunity imposed by the immutability of Blackness. While the "Great Migration" had brought many African-Americans out of the South,<sup>28</sup> anger was building in overcrowded inner cities which periodically erupted into violence.29 Furthermore, many of the opportunities afforded to Jews by the GI Bill were not accessible to African-Americans and yet another war in Vietnam was also decimating the Black community.30 Black-Jewish interactions became increasingly charged in the 1960s despite (or because of) the disproportionate involvement of Jewish-Americans in the civil right movement, as both the Black and Jewish establishment were confronting demographic, geographic, and generational change. Further, as many middle-class Jewish-Americans started moving out of the old immigrant urban neighborhoods and made a successful transition to suburbia,<sup>31</sup> African-Americans (as well as working-class Jews) were literally and metaphorically left behind.

Despite the aspirational alliance forged by Blacks and Jews in the United States—most often immortalized in the iconic image of Reverend Martin Luther King Jr. and Rabbi Abraham Joshua Herschel marching arm-in-arm in Selma—tensions were already mounting by the 1960s over whether this partnership was equitable, necessary, and sustainable.

The evolution of SNCC fell squarely into the new dilemma of the mid-sixties. By 1966, under Carmichael's new leadership, SNCC had shifted from an organization focused on Southern civil rights to a Northern international human rights agenda. It also began to question whether white participation, often with an ethos of classical liberalism and gradual change, was in fact holding back Black progress and whether African-American autonomy and resistance (including a shift away from non-violence) was a more appropriate means to the end of liberation and equality. Even before the 1967 war, SNCC had already initiated a process of purging white activists (mostly Jews) from its ranks even before the Israeli-Palestinian conflict captured their imagination.<sup>32</sup> As those like Norman Podhoretz pondered "My Negro Problem and Ours,"33 Black intellectuals from Harold Cruse to James Baldwin reflected on the what they considered the problematic role of Jews as 'middleman' in continued African-American misery, even going so far as to explain (if not justify) antisemitism within their community of the basis of this status.<sup>34</sup> The tensions between Black radicalism and the Black establishment were also accelerating as new figures came to the fore; while Stokely Carmichael was cutting his teeth (allegedly his first protest was with his Jewish friends from the Bronx High School of Arts and Sciences) in activism and Malcolm X was galvanizing a new generation of young

African-Americans,<sup>35</sup> those like Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King himself were moving leftward, especially with Poor People's Campaign and his opposition to the Vietnam War.<sup>36</sup> So too was the Jewish establishment confronting an new, often a USA-born cohort of "New Jews" (and later "Radical Zionists") who were seeking to understand their own roots as hyphenated Americans and reconnect to traditions lost in the processes of Americanization and suburbanization and who were oriented toward activism as part of the civil rights and anti-Vietnam struggles.<sup>37</sup> While both communities were often facing similar crises, they were also on a collision course by the 1967 war.

Yet, whilst SNCC had already begun to take an interest in a broader global agenda and solidarities with the Third World under the leadership of Carmichael from 1966, the 1967 war proved to be a transformative moment not only in centering these agendas, but also in linking a philosophy of domestic oppression at the hands of Jewish middleman in the Black ghetto to the backstreets of the Middle East. Until 1967, Israel/Palestine had not been a focus of Black-Jewish relations, beyond general support from both communities for the founding of the State of Israel in 1948.<sup>38</sup> Most saw Israel as a new country borne out of international shame of the Shoah that was struggling to get on its feet—the Palestinian issue was not a subject of significant attention. (Not least because the Palestinian Liberation Organization itself was not founded until 1964 and had not yet attained a place on the world stage.) With its swift victory in six days over combined Arab armies led by Nasser's Egypt that June, Israel (and Zionism) was suddenly transformed from a state of plucky yet powerless pioneers, destitute European and Arab-Jewish refugees, and traumatized Holocaust survivors into a veritable bully on the block in the bad neighborhood of the Levant.<sup>39</sup> While the 1948 war had already earned the enduring enmity of the Arab world and inaugurated the revanchist ambitions of the Palestinian people after their national Naqba ("The Catastrophe"), the

nineteen-year interregnum meant that, for its early years, the State of Israel was still largely understood as a David and Goliath narrative in international eyes. 40 Yet, after the 1967 war, Israel had Jewish-Zionist power and was holding it over the Palestinian people; Israel had prestige and a new role in Cold War power dynamics; and perhaps most importantly, with its Ashkenazi Jewish leadership and population (although Israel today is a minority-majority country of "brown" and "black" Jews from Arab Lands and Africa), Israel was perceived as a "white" colonizer in a de/ postcolonial moment. Suddenly, domestic issues were bound up with an international agenda which put Jews and Israelis in the cross-hairs of global controversies—indeed, the issue of the SNCC newsletter served as the first public shotover-the-bow of the clash between two incipient and dueling transnational movements, that we might call by shorthand Black and Jewish Power, over the Israel-Palestine question which has endured until today.

Unlike the reaction to the Harvard SNCC cartoon, which seemingly petered out in the days following the deletion of the post, the uproar over the original newsletter became a kind of dress-rehearsal for the proxy battles between Black and Jewish power over the next decade. Jewish organizations swiftly condemned the broadside, decrying its antisemitic content and even likening SNCC to the Ku Klux Klan for its racist and violent attitudes. 41 (They also noted that SNCC were acting as Arab-Soviet pawns, or at least parroting their propaganda,—making clear that dilemmas of the Cold War and the Color line. 42) While most Jewish groups avowed not to let the incident prejudice the entire Black-Jewish project, they retreated their financial and ideological support of the organization. Even some Jewish radicals—notably Theodore Bikel<sup>43</sup> and Jonathan Golden<sup>44</sup>—who had been actively involved in the civil rights movement and had worked closely with SNCC in the South, publicly pilloried their former ally and resigned in protest. The Black establishment too quickly distanced themselves from the new radicalism of SNCC, as moderates like Whitney Young of the National Urban League, Bayard Rustin, A. Philip Randolph each issued statements in opposition to the newsletter.<sup>45</sup> (Martin Luther King Ir. would not comment on the article as he claimed he hadn't seen the publication but generally reiterated his opposition to antisemitism.46) Yet, SNCC itself, in a series of press conferences and further articles, refused to apologize or back down, despite the loss of both financial support and friendships.<sup>47</sup> While the group itself was radically diminished by the 1970s, the generation of radicals it had produced like Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Eldrige Cleaver, Huey Newton and the Black Panthers, and other intellectuals and activists made antizionism, the Palestinian cause, and an Arab-African alliance the new centerpiece of their agenda over the next decade, culminating in the "Zionism is Racism" resolution in the United Nations.

The story of this generational confrontation between Black and Jewish Power remains to be told. (In full disclosure, the author is writing a book on this subject.) Yet the SNCC scandal foreshadows these future clashes and is an important case study in the broader history of the period.

There are several important themes that are relevant to understanding October 7 and its aftermath that this story of a sketch from 1967 to 2024 encapsulate. The first is that the international solidarities—and Israel's isolation within the progressive movement—in the post-10/7 moment are not spontaneous; rather they emerge from a half century of deep, yet still uninterrogated, alliances. There remains profound nostalgia and nominal reference to the Black-Jewish partnership, yet, since 1967 this has largely collapsed under the weight of the Israel-Palestine conflict (and affirmative action). Not only did the African-American community turn away from the Black-Jewish alliance, it was actively cultivated as participant in a new Arab-African-American association. This has had a seismic effect on Jewish and Zionist communities

in the United States who found themselves quickly abandoned by the progressive camp after October 7, but also new institutional orientations from the Arab-Black and Brown coalitions within the "squad" in Congress to the NAACP's recent support of arms ban for Israel to encampments on university campuses. Interestingly, much like some of the criticism raised by Jewish organizations to the SNCC cartoon, that evoked Arab slave trading and anti-Blackness within Arab nationalism of the period, there has been new breakdown of the Black-Arab alliance by African-Americans who are questioning whether it is in their interests. Yet, there seems to be far too much water under the bridge, including on Israel/Palestine, to see a reinvigoration of the Black-Jewish alliance.

The second intervention here is to highlight the set of discourses that were institutionalized in the 1960s has been easily accessible in new iterations to today's generation, including Harvard faculty and students. The fact that framing of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has changed little on the progressive Left for decades—in a way that is completely ahistorical and ignores any developments in the history of the region—is in and of itself striking and perhaps even a significant causative factor for 10/7. Moreover, that radical students and faculty are still utilizing documents and cartoons from 1967 shows direct continuity between past and present. Further, that antisemitic imagery and vocabulary, including tropes drawn from Soviet

and Arab propaganda, has been allowed to incubate within progressive circles and be utilized in the wake of 10/7 shows how deeply violence against Jews has been tolerated and inculcated as part of the discursive articulation of solidarities for more than half a century leading up to 10/7.

Last but not least, this vignette demonstrates that youth culture, activism, and higher education remain epicenters of conflict off the battlefield. Just as in 1967, SNCC attempted to appeal to a generation of young radicals, so too did students and faculty at Harvard. It is important to see how this episode set a tone that inculcates a worldview, with the torch being once again passed today. The roots of 10/7 go back decades, but if these discourses are not disrupted for the future, one can only expect that what young people read and see today will only replicated including with mass violence against Jews. While produced under duress, the fact that HSFJP recognized that their content was offensive and antisemitic and apologized is perhaps a hopeful sign that the unlearning of some of these tropes is possible.

The SNCC newsletter of 1967 still represents the first shot over the bow of a conflict in the United States over Israel/Palestine that has left much scorched earth—even as the kibbutzim and moshavim of Southern Israel themselves burned on October 7. Learning from the history of this period may help understand the present and future of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in the American context today.

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- 38 See Roger Baumann, *Black Visions of the Holy Land: African American Christian Engagement with Israel and Palestine* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2024); and Robert G. Weisbord and Richard Kazarian, *Israel in the Black American Perspective* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985).
- 39 See Michael Oren, Six Days of War: June 1967 and the Making of the Modern Middle East (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002); and Tom Segev, 1967: Israel, the War, and the Year that Transformed the Middle East, trans. Jessica Cohen (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2007).
- 40 See Benny Morris, *Righteous Victims: A History of the Zionist-Arab Conflict, 1881–1999* (London: John Murray, 2000).
- 41 See "Jewish Groups Strike Back at S.N.C.C. Attack," *Chicago Tribune*, April 16, 1967, 119; "American Jewish Comm. Rebukes SNCC for Racism—Says Hate Talk Won't Deter Jews from Helping Negroes," *Philadelphia Tribune*, September 12, 1967, 3; "SNCC Attack Draws Attacks," *New York Amsterdam News*, August 19, 1967, 1; Gene Roberts, "S.N.C.C. Charges Israel Atrocities," *New York Times*, August 15, 1967, 1; and "Anti-Semitic Attack from Negro Newsletter Flayed," *Jewish Advocate*, August 17, 1967.
- 42 See "Jewish Groups Strike Back at S.N.C.C. Attack"—one Virginia Congressperson even suggested that SNCC should register as an official foreign agent!
- 43 See Theodore Bikel, "A Farewell to SNCC," Jewish Civic Leader, September 7, 1967. The article was apparently also reprinted in several other newspapers, with a given date of August 25, 1967. Also see Aimee Ginsburg Bikel, "What Happens to a Dream Gone Wrong?: Civil Rights Icon Theodore Bikel Left the SNCC, but He Never Left the Cause of Justice," Tablet Magazine, August 16, 2016.

- 44 See "Golden Criticizes S.N.C.C. and Quits: Finds Its Antisemitism is Like Klan and Nazis," *New York Times*, August 22, 1967, 24; and Harry Golden, "Only in America: Revolutions Breed Terrorist Groups Such as SNCC," *Chicago Defender*, September 16, 1967, 10. The column was syndicated nationally as well.
- 45 See Kathleen Teltsch, "S.N.C.C. Criticized for Israel Stand," New York Times, August 16, 1967, 28.
- 46 Ihid
- 47 See "SNCC and the Arab-Israeli Conflict," *Movement* 3, no. 9 (September 1967): 2; Douglas Robinson, "New Carmichael Trip," *New York Times*, August 19, 1967, 8; Gene Roberts, "S.N.C.C. Charges Israel Atrocities," *New York Times*, August 15, 1967, 1; and C. Gerald Fraser, "S.N.C.C. in Decline After 8 Years in the Lead," *New York Times*, October 7, 1968, 51.