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Erasure and Demonization:  
Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism in  
Contemporary Social Movements

Sylvia Barack Fishman

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# **Erasure and Demonization: Antisemitism and Anti-Zionism in Contemporary Social Movements**

Sylvia Barack Fishman\*

## **Changing perceptions of Jews in America**

Waves of Jews emigrating to the United States from colonial to contemporary times were often fleeing active persecution, regarded as pariahs by surrounding Christians and Muslim majorities in their lands of origin. But in America, despite a range of difficult challenges, the status and image of Jews were both gradually transformed. Several excellent studies document how perceptions of Jews as a clearly defined “race” gradually eroded as the American twentieth century wore on.<sup>1</sup> Still, among children of the immigrant generation, and among Holocaust survivors and their descendants especially, many American Jews continued to believe that Jews were potentially vulnerable, and should remain vigilant to potential antisemitic flare-ups. Even Jews born in the United States often felt that White Anglo-Saxon Protestant America, while “exceptional” and much more benign than most countries of origin in its treatment of the Jews, still exhibited occasional signs of antisemitism. Even after American Jews had become “white folks,” many insisted that their Jewish “whiteness” was still different than that of the WASPs, whom novelist Philip Roth desig-

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nated “the real owners of this place,”<sup>2</sup> and Jewish often seemed to be “whiteness of a different color.”<sup>3</sup>

This Jewish sense of vulnerability was part of the motivation for American Jewish political and social activity on behalf of other oppressed groups and new immigrants: As sociologist Marshall Sklare demonstrated in his groundbreaking studies, many suburbanizing liberal American Jews in the 1950s and 1960s asserted that one of the most “essential” activities in order to be a “good Jew” was to “work for civil rights” and to help “attain equality for Negroes.”<sup>4</sup> Many Jews took as their foundational religious motto the biblical principle “Be kind to the stranger because you were strangers in the land of Egypt” (Deuteronomy 10:19), meaning that Jews are a people whose lives intersect with other oppressed peoples, and Jews are responsible for helping other oppressed peoples.

No longer stereotyped as foreign-looking, accented and struggling newcomers, successive generations of American Jews were increasingly (and sometimes negatively) portrayed as typifying the bourgeoisie or sometimes the nouveau riche. Satirical portrayals created by Jewish authors and filmmakers contributed: Herman Wouk, Philip Roth, and countless film and television screen-writers shone unflattering spotlights on aggressively upwardly mobile Jewish men and on Jewish women as the incarnation of spiritually bankrupt Judaism-as-consumerism. Ironically, among politically right-wing Americans, Jews were simultaneously stereotyped as communist “Reds” during and through the years leading up to the McCarthy/House Un-American Activities Committee hearings. Both sides of this negative stereotyping—the Jew as capitalist consumer and the Jew as “Red Menace”—reveal the durability of Jews as a distinctive, “othered” minority American group.

These (sometimes Jewish-created) stereotypes of Jewishness as epitomes of crass, materialistic, middle-class America probably played some role in the evolution of a more contemporary Jewish stereotype: the Jew as a “privileged white” American who benefits in myriad ways by not being a person of color. One of the corollaries of this belated designation of Jews

as “white” people is that Jewish peoplehood and distinctiveness is often denied. These stereotypes play into the current antisemitic tendency in progressive rhetoric to erase the peoplehood of Jews and thus their right to self-determination, by utilizing an unnuanced, binary political/economic scaffolding in which all persons or groups must be defined as either oppressors or the oppressed. Additionally, in some curricula, capitalism is identified “with white supremacy and racism” as “forms of power and oppression,” according to Williamson M. Evers.<sup>5</sup> This binary narrative and its accompanying stereotyped mischaracterizations are accepted by segments of the leftist and progressive world, including some faculty and students in academic institutions. They are seldom challenged as antisemitic. Indeed, within the academy antisemitism itself is often removed from discussions of racism.

Certainly, American Jewish involvement with the Civil Rights Movement was complicated, as Marc Dollinger explicates in a new book on the complicated interactions between the two groups, and the relationship between the two groups was always fraught.<sup>6</sup> Many Jews have been disturbed by the use of certain antisemitic language and tropes by individual Black Power activists and some clergy associated with the Black Power movement. Nevertheless, as scholar of religion Susannah Heschel accurately reminds us, “[t]he photograph of [Rabbi Abraham Joshua] Heschel marching out of Selma is still iconic.”<sup>7</sup> And through it all, overwhelmingly liberal American Jewish voting patterns, as well as statements made in numerous studies, show that concern about minoritized peoples has been a central focus of the Jewish self-images of many American Jews.

Today, antisemitic tropes are repeatedly articulated by celebrity public figures, including some who are persons of color. Some sports and entertainment celebrities have claimed that “white Jews are imposters who falsify biblical history in order to demoralize Blacks,” who are the “real Jews.” As John-Paul Pagano writes, “rappers, actors, comedians, TV personalities, and professional athletes broadcast bigotry about Jews to tens of millions of people.”<sup>8</sup> And yet, in academic settings, despite the

realities of the Holocaust in which Jews were massacred as an inferior “race,” antisemitism is not included in many definitions of “racial hatred,” because Jewish socio-economic success—according to these academic theories—obliterates the position of Jews as a minority; rather than an historical minority, they are portrayed as a mere subset of the privileged white majority.

American Jews continue to be measurably a largely politically liberal, left-leaning population, and many Jews perceive themselves as a group disproportionately involved in efforts on behalf of oppressed peoples. Many are deeply disturbed by one-sided mischaracterizations of American Jews, as well as polemical rhetoric defining Israel exclusively as a colonialist oppressor. Professor Laurie Zoloth describes typical anti-Israel canards and their potential impact on Jewish students: “To speak of Israel [on campus] is to speak of a ‘colonialist,’ ‘fascist,’ ‘ethnic cleansing machine’ ... the moral equivalent of defending apartheid in South Africa.”<sup>9</sup>

### **Describing Israel and the Jews as “colonialist oppressors”**

Even before, but especially after Israel’s 1967 preemptive strike against the surrounding Arab powers openly discussing her annihilation, Israel began to be pictured as a colonialist aggressor rather than a vulnerable democracy. Liberal Jewish activist Daniel Burg, who is on the board of Jews Committed for Justice, protests: “To conflate the military-industrial complex with America’s support for Israel is to play on ... antisemitic tropes about Jewish power and the way that Jewish power is leveraged in the world.”<sup>10</sup>

Most troublingly, lies and distortions about Israel, and a rejection of Israel’s right to resist, now echo in the liberal mainstream, as columnist Bret Stephens points out:

Anti-Zionism—that is, rejection not just of this or that Israeli policy, but also the idea of a Jewish state itself—is becoming a respectable position among people who would never support the elimination of any other country in any other circumstance. And it is churning up a new wave of nakedly anti-Jewish

bigotry in its wake... The progressive answer is straightforward: Israel and its supporters, they say, did this to themselves. More than a half-century of occupation of Palestinian territories is a massive injustice... And endless occupation makes Israel's vaunted democracy less about Jewish self-determination than it is about ethnic subjugation.<sup>11</sup>

Israel struggles to make this narrative more accurate and fair because, as Yossi Klein Halevi insists in his book, *Letters to My Palestinian Neighbor*,<sup>12</sup> narratives shape the way Israel and the Jews are understood. In its early years the Jewish State was often described as a small but plucky David struggling against the Goliath of large, surrounding Arab countries that had attacked Israel the day after statehood was declared (May 15, 1948), openly intending to annihilate Israel and its inhabitants. Israel's victory against what many saw as insurmountable odds seemed at the time almost miraculous. The secular Labor government and agrarian kibbutzim during Israel's early years attracted the support of both Jewish and non-Jewish admirers, including various unions such as the AFL-CIO, and many socialists. Israel's entrepreneurship in rescuing oppressed Jews—including Jews of color—from Yemen, Ethiopia, Morocco, India, Russia, and elsewhere received positive press coverage. At this point, Israel's image fit in well with the American Jewish self-image (although manifestly support for Israel was far from universal among American Jews, due to concerns about dual loyalty and other issues).

However, early positive images of “tiny,” courageous Israel were later replaced by negative images in many settings, especially liberal-leftist academic environments. Israel's armed forces appeared manifestly stronger than many had imagined when her anticipatory strike against lethal force in 1967 not only quickly defeated and pushed back the armies of large enemies massed around her borders but also put into her hands the Sinai peninsula, the Western Wall, the West Bank, and Gaza, along with nearly 1,000,000 Palestinian inhabitants. Israel's leaders initially offered to return much of the territory conquered in exchange for a peace settlement. However, after Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and other Arab countries were rearmed by the Soviet Union (in order to maintain a Middle Eastern



foothold), Arab League Summit members issued the Khartoum [Sudan] Declaration (1967), which is famous for containing what came to be called the “Three Nos”: no peace with Israel, no recognition of Israel, and no negotiations with Israel.

After 1967, Israel was no longer pictured in the media as a vulnerable underdog; subsequent descriptions seldom mentioned Israel’s small size and the fury of her enemies. Television news coverage, as well as print journalists and photographers, made the plight of the Palestinian refugees, crowded into refugee camps with extraordinarily high birth rates and palpably miserable living conditions, better known to the American public than many other international crisis situations. The Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) was formed at a Cairo summit in 1964 for the purpose of creating “liberated Palestine in Israel.” Fatah leader Yasser Arafat assumed the PLO leadership in 1969, providing the Palestinian cause with a vivid, charismatic, and undeniably ethnic and non-Western face. Partially due to Arafat’s lobbying, the United Nations adopted its notorious “Zionism is Racism” resolution in 1975; the resolution spread the idea that the concept of a Jewish state was morally problematic (without mentioning the existence of dozens of official Muslim and Christian states around the world). While US Ambassador to the United Nations Daniel Patrick Moynihan warned that the resolution made “anti-semitism international law,” it was not revoked until 1991.<sup>13</sup> Left-wing Israeli historians,<sup>14</sup> as well as non-Jewish opponents of the Jewish state, publicized what they often portrayed as episodes of Israel’s putatively immoral behavior during and after the 1948 War.

Not least, egged on by the malicious intervention of the USSR, leftist intellectuals in European countries like France and England, which had been forced by waves of uprisings to retreat from their own lucrative, far-flung, and bitterly resented colonial empires, now turned disapprovingly toward Israel, labeling the West Bank and Gaza as “colonial occupations.” Their rhetoric ignored Arab aggression and repeated rejection of peace overtures, as well as Israel’s immediate proximity to the territories and their acquisition in a defensive war, and instead conveyed the misinfor-

mation that the relationship of Israel to the “occupied territories” was identical to the relationship of England to India, France to Algeria and Indochina (where hundreds of thousands were massacred by the French), or, most recently, white minority rule in South Africa.

### **Anti-Zionism as a form of antisemitism**

In contemporary liberal journalistic accounts, historical events and contexts are routinely omitted, distorting Israel’s image, and Israel is judged by a different calculus than other nations. For example, the overt role of hostile Arab neighbors in the genesis of Israel’s 1948 War of Independence is typically ignored in many news stories and op-ed pieces dealing with the state’s formation, and some journalistic accounts assign motivations of “ethnic cleansing” to Israel’s military and political leaders. Currently it has become routine in liberal American journalism and scholarly writing to refer to the 1948 War by its Palestinian name, the *Nakba* or “catastrophe.”<sup>15</sup> Such historical facts as the Khartoum rejection of land for peace in 1967 are virtually never mentioned. Similarly, Arafat’s rejection of what historian Benny Morris considered “generous” offers and his reversion to terrorism after Oslo I and Oslo II (1993 and 1995) are seldom recalled.<sup>16</sup> David Hirsch writes that, in the common anti-Israel narrative, the Palestinians are viewed as “symbolic of all the victims of ‘the west’ or ‘imperialism,’ [while] Israel is thrust into the center of the world as being symbolic of oppression everywhere.” In this scenario, as Jarrod Tanny notes, “the Palestinian is the universal victim, the 21st century incarnation of the Marxist proletariat whose liberation would lead to the liberation of us all.”<sup>17</sup>

Journalist Bret Stephens warns about the false narrative in which Israel’s choices are indicative of “boundless greed for Palestinian land and wicked indifference to their plight”:

Israel’s enemies were committed to its destruction long before it occupied a single inch of Gaza or the West Bank. In proportion to its size, Israel has voluntarily relinquished more territory taken in war than any state in the world. Israeli prime ministers offered a Palestinian state in 2000 and 2008; they

were refused both times. The government of Ariel Sharon removed every Israeli settlement and soldier from the Gaza Strip in 2005. The result of Israel's withdrawal allowed Hamas to seize power two years later and spark three wars... Nearly 1,300 Israeli civilians have been killed in Palestinian terrorist attacks in this century: That's the proportional equivalent of about 16 Sept. 11's in the United States.<sup>18</sup>

The charge that Israel is colonialist is antisemitic—not only anti-Zionist—because it erases Jewish history. It is based on the false premise that the Palestinians are indigenous to Israel and the Jews are not—“the lie that there is no ancestral or historic Jewish tie to the land,”<sup>19</sup> Stephens insists. Examining the anti-Zionist assertions promulgated by some contemporary social movements and organizations illustrates the triumph of alternative narratives over historical fact. “Temple denial,” the claim that the Jewish Temple never existed in Jerusalem—and thus that the Jews have no historical connection to Jerusalem—is symptomatic and symbolic of the prevalence of such fake news. “There is nothing there,” declared Palestinian Authority Chairman Yasser Arafat at the end of Camp David (July 2000), an astonishing claim repeated frequently by Mahmoud Abbas and reasserted frequently on Palestinian television, as well as in newspapers and sermons. According to the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs’ Dore Gold, Abbas charges that Israelis indulge in “never-ending digging [and] threaten to make al-Aqsa look less significant and vindicate the Israeli narrative.” Temple denial contradicts classic Islamic sources referring to “the area where the Romans buried the Temple [*bayt al-maqdis*] at the time of the sons of Israel.” Repeating ahistorical claims, such as “there is no archaeological evidence that the Temple ever existed on the Temple Mount,” in the words of Yasser Abd Rabbo in *Le Monde* (September 2000), is an effective strategy. Repeated often enough, lies may become accepted as fact.<sup>20</sup>

### **Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions**

One of the most recognized names among non-sectarian organizations that promulgate anti-Israel narratives as they demonstrate for Palestinian causes is the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) movement. The

international conferences culminating in the United Nations World Conference Against Racism in 2001 set the stage for equating Israel with South Africa and launching movements to boycott Israel and Israelis, divest financially from Israeli ventures, and isolate and shun Israel internationally in every possible way. While the United States and Israel ultimately removed their delegations and left Durban over the openly antisemitic and anti-Israel rhetoric expressed there, the ideas launched in Durban took root and have become more accepted over time in many circles.<sup>21</sup>

A 2019 *New York Times* feature article clarified the BDS mission as still “loudly and proudly anti-Zionist,” noting that its “founding documents explicitly reject Zionism—the belief in self-determination for the Jewish people in the biblical land of Israel—calling it the “ideological pillar of Israel’s regime of occupation, settler colonialism, and apartheid.” Quoting co-founder Omar Barghouti, “A Jewish state in Palestine in any shape or form cannot but contravene the basic rights of the indigenous Palestinian population and perpetuate a system of racial discrimination.” Moreover, although its original 2005 doctrine espoused “nonviolent punitive measures,” the BDS movement regards “armed struggle as a legitimate right” and has welcomed “terrorists and their supporters” under their umbrella. Not surprisingly, the authors agree that there is “overlap between support for BDS and antisemitism.” Perhaps most disturbingly, the end-goal of BDS is not to “solve” the conflict but rather to eliminate the existence of Israel as a sovereign Jewish state.<sup>22</sup>

According to its own website, “The BDS movement works to end international support for Israel’s oppression of Palestinians and to pressure Israel to comply with international law.”

BDS language makes it clear that the original sin was the creation of the State of Israel in the first place: “For nearly seventy years Israel has denied Palestinians their fundamental rights.” BDS has three basic principles, listed below with some of their explanatory rationales:

1. “Ending its occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall.” This demand accuses Israel of forcing Palestinians into ghettos in order to steal Palestinian land. In Gaza—“the world’s largest open-air prison”—Israel is accused of committing “war crimes and crimes against humanity.”
2. “Recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality.” In this and the following demand, only Arab Palestinians are referred to as “indigenous” dwellers—Jews living in Palestine from ancient to modern times are non-existent. Israel is accused of subjugating Palestinians, who comprise “one-fifth of Israeli citizens,” to a “system of racial discrimination ... forcibly displacing Palestinian communities in Israel from their land ... [and] routinely and openly inciting racial violence against them.”
3. “Respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN Resolution 194.” “Since its violent establishment in 1948 through the ethnic cleansing of more than half of the indigenous people of Palestine, Israel has set out to control as much land and uproot as many Palestinians as it can. As a result of this systematic displacement, there are now more than 7.25 million Palestinian refugees. They are denied the right to return to their homes simply because they are not Jewish.”

Nathan Thrall describes the moral condemnation inherent in left-wing critiques as follows: “The B.D.S. movement casts the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a struggle against apartheid, as defined by the International Criminal Court.” Moreover, American struggles on behalf of persons of color, such as Black Lives Matter, and a variety of groups promoting justice for women, both causes that many Jews support, are widely viewed as being “intersectional” with the plight of the Palestinians.<sup>23</sup> In a response to Thrall, Israeli Brigadier General Yosef Kuperwasser argues that the BDS movement’s overt goal—beyond the three stated in its written literature—is, as articulated by As’ad Abu Khalil, a University of California professor and BDS activist, “to bring down the State of Israel.”<sup>24</sup>

Indeed, Barghouti stated in a 2014 UCLA address that Jews in Israel are “not a people” and that the UN principle of the right to self-determination therefore does not apply to the Jewish state.<sup>25</sup>

## Intersectionality

Berkeley professor Kimberlé Crenshaw introduced the term “intersectionality” in a paper for the University of Chicago Legal Forum in 1989 and later expanded and clarified it in a paper for the *Stanford Law Review*.<sup>26</sup> Crenshaw argued that women of color have more in common with other oppressed persons of any gender orientation than they may with either privileged white feminists or powerful male persons of color, because their lives, interests, and problems “intersect,” declaring, “the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism.” The idea that the lives of oppressed persons intersect, even when their circumstances seem quite different, quickly caught on, and it has been used by a broad spectrum of persons and causes.

The broadening of the concept of intersectionality has gained power today partially because of what the Reut Group calls “the Trump Factor,” which exacerbates the “ideological polarization” between Israelis, Americans, and American Jewish communities. They write:

Israel and Netanyahu’s close ties to the Trump administration, as well as to populist governments in Eastern Europe, have driven liberals and young millennials to question whether traditional ties to Israel are deserved or beneficial. The result is that it is easier today to depict Israel as a brutal oppressor in intersectional circles. These sentiments validate increasingly mainstream liberal opposition to Israeli government policy vis-à-vis the Palestinians.<sup>27</sup>

One corollary of the use of the term “intersectionality” today, commonly in use among American communities of color, is the idea that African Americans have much in common with Palestinians—and that Jews were responsible for African American oppression. Segments of the leadership of the American women’s movement have embraced this conviction and

declared themselves allies of oppressed Palestinians. In several episodes, women's movement activists who are Jewish and also support Israel have been silenced, snubbed, or even banned from participating in women's movement activities. At the same time, Muslim patriarchal power systems are steadfastly ignored by "intersectional" feminists, while Israel is singled out and condemned. This has created painful conflicts for American Jewish feminists who also are committed to Israel.<sup>28</sup> Those who speak out against this blatant unfairness in academic and professional feminist settings often encounter overt hostility, as professor Janet Freeman and others have testified. This is particularly painful for women who, like Freedman, identify strongly as lifelong active feminists and feel caught between their feminist and their Jewish Zionist passions and commitments.<sup>29</sup> Charging that intersectionality is dangerous to Israel, journalist Sharon Goldman explains that it is based on a concept of "shared victimhood" in which "there is no place for an ideology or an identity that is premised on the idea that Jews will no longer be victims."<sup>30</sup>

"Does feminism have room for Zionists?" asked Emily Shire in a *New York Times* op-ed (March 7, 2017). A lifelong participant in feminist causes, Shire wrote she is "troubled by the portion of the International Women's Strike platform that calls for a 'decolonization of Palestine' as part of the 'beating heart of this new feminist movement.'" Shire noted this was hardly the first time opposition to Israel was highlighted as "feminist." In "Columbia University's anti-sexual assault advocacy group, No Red Tape," for example, sexual assault survivors were compared to Palestinians (2015); "that same year the National Women's Studies Association (NWSA) voted to endorse the boycott, divestment, and sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel as an expression of feminism." Shire concluded defiantly: "My identity as a Zionist places me in conflict with the feminist movement of 2017. I will remain a proud feminist but I see no reason I should have to sacrifice my Zionism for the sake of my feminism."<sup>31</sup>

In these episodes, the charge is sometimes articulated that Jewish women belong to a particularly well-educated, high-status, affluent segment of the

American population, and thus are particularly “privileged.” But as columnist Bret Stephens argues, even wealthy, powerful, and privileged people can be—and frequently are—violently victimized by racists, and persons who represent oppressed peoples can themselves practice and promote violent racist persecution:

Jews in Germany were economically and even politically powerful in the 1920s. And then they were in Buchenwald. Israel appears powerful vis-à-vis the Palestinians, but considerably less so in the context of a broader Middle East saturated with genocidal antisemitism. American Jews are comparatively wealthy. But wealth without political power ... is a recipe for hatred ... privilege didn't save the congregants of the Tree of Life synagogue last year.<sup>32</sup>

Not least, it has occurred to historian Jonathan Sarna and other observers that the American Jewish attraction to the Civil Rights Movement was motivated at least in part by concepts somewhat similar to Crenshaw's original notion of intersectionality; that is, that prejudice is a kind of slippery slope, in which prejudicial attitudes and/or behavior against one minority group leads to similar offenses against others.<sup>33</sup> This of course makes the exclusion of the pro-Israel Jewish community from the current Intersectionality movement—and even from the classification of being a minority—deeply ironic.

### **Black Lives Matter / The Movement for Black Lives**

Black Lives Matter (BLM) was created in 2014 as a response to the shootings of unarmed Black men by police officers. In the past, this was exactly the kind of organization that American Jews supported,<sup>34</sup> but the rhetoric produced by the movement quickly alienated some Black leaders as well as wide swathes of American Jewry. African American public intellectual Jason D. Hill explained: “The leaders of Black Lives Matter have written a profoundly anti-Israel (and anti-American) manifesto in which they accuse Israel of ‘genocide’ and ‘apartheid,’ in addition to endorsing the ‘Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions’ movement.”<sup>35</sup>

Journalist Emma Green discussed exactly why the term “genocide” crosses a red line for Jews: “The word ‘genocide’ was coined to describe



the Holocaust. Six million Jews were systematically eliminated from the earth on the basis of blood and faith. Subsequently, a nation was formed where those who survived could go—including those fleeing the homes they tried to return to, only to be met with rejection and renewed violence.” Clearly, the accusation of “genocide,” has been trivialized in contemporary social movements: “Genocide means the deliberate wiping out of a group of people based on their ethnic or racial background.... But in the past 20 years the word Genocide has come to mean any kind of massive, racialized oppression,” notes history professor Cheryl Greenberg. By trivializing the scope of the Holocaust, painting the Jewish state in distorted colors, and lacing their statements with florid leftist anti-American language, Black Lives Matter has turned away many American Jews who actually support racial equality.<sup>36</sup> Those Jewish activists who do urge cooperation and support for BLM typically do not excuse the rhetoric, but rather urge American Jews not to take the language seriously, to look past it; in effect, to treat it as innocuous, as “just words.”

### **Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP)**

One of the most virulently antisemitic and destructive groups today, according to data on campus antisemitism from the Cohen Center for Modern Jewish Studies (CMJS) at Brandeis University, is Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP). Formed in 1993 in Berkeley, it is affiliated with the Palestine Solidarity Movement and Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights. In Canada, some SJP chapters call themselves Students Against Israeli Apartheid. Jewish Stanford senior, Elliot Kaufman, writing in *Commentary*, confirms that SJP are an “extremely well-organized national group” with a gift for persuasive, even intimidating methods and language.<sup>37</sup>

In addition to being extremely well-organized, SJP utilizes propaganda techniques that emphasize shock and emotion, rather than factual coherent dialogue. Some of SJP’s dramatic methods are described by a Jewish student at Rutgers University, who recalled: “During apartheid week the SJP club stood in front of the dining hall wearing white shirts with red ‘blood’ spatter ... [with] signs saying this is what the Jews did to

us.’ I felt extremely harassed ... I saw complete hatred.” Jared Samilow, writing about SJP tactics at Brown University, concludes, “We’re fighting an asymmetric war because the Zionist Jew is in fact *not* privileged. We can be attacked, and we are attacked, but we can’t effectively respond without being accused of supporting injustice and inflicting psychological distress on other students.”<sup>38</sup>

### **Israeli Apartheid Week**

Picking up from the assertion in Durban that Israel should be painted as the “new South Africa,” Israeli Apartheid Week is run on many campuses with student funds for campus programming. Recently the Jewish News Service reported: “It’s no secret that college campuses are often some of the most hostile environments these days for pro-Israel and Jewish students. From BDS resolutions to anti-Israel speakers, young adults are often on the defensive for openly supporting Israel ... for one week each year, many campuses across North America and around the world are transformed into hotbeds of anti-Israel programming and events known as Israeli Apartheid Week.” Personal accounts of these weeks assert that dramatizations characterize Israeli soldiers beating Palestinian women and children. Nevertheless, typically, student groups running such programs declare themselves to be resolutely against antisemitism, claiming that their programs are only for the purpose of education and turning public opinion against “Israeli occupation.”

Perhaps few students running Israeli Apartheid Week realize that the “racial politics” of South Africa or the United States cannot “be projected onto the Israeli-Palestinian conflict” because “nearly half of all Jewish Israelis have Middle Eastern roots” and a significant portion of them are persons of color, an omission that Stephens reads as progressive anti-semitism.<sup>39</sup> Not paying attention to Jewish status as one of the indigenous people of Israel, along with not paying attention to the large segments of Israeli Jews who are people of color and who are of Mediterranean and North African origin is a manifestation of the erasure and demonization tactic. The foundational image of Israel—as a white colonialist power oppressing Palestinians who—unlike Jews—are persons of color—is racial (and racist) “fake news.”

## **Antisemites on the Left and the Right agree: Jews are the problem**

Although this paper focuses on rising manifestations of antisemitism in the rhetoric of left-wing social justice organizations, it is important to note that right-wing antisemitism has flared up during the same time period and for some of the same reasons.<sup>40</sup> As Hannah Elka Myers puts it in the title of her summary of antisemitism in 2020: “The flames of anti-Semitism are growing higher, fueled by both the Left and Right.”<sup>41</sup>

Yair Rosenberg suggests it is perhaps not surprising that “conspiracy theorists seeking scapegoats to blame for the nation’s problems” are antisemites, because antisemitism itself “is the world’s biggest and most durable conspiracy theory. It ... blames powerful shadowy Jewish figures for all problems.”<sup>42</sup> Slogans and memes popularized by the Proud Boys and QAnon tell many of the same stories prevalent in anti-Zionist and anti-Israel narratives in contemporary progressive social movements. Both present ideas and versions of the recent and ancient past that are, at their worst, ahistorical and informed by canards like *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and at their best deeply distorted.

## **Echoes of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion**

Even while popular leftist American perceptions of Israel are intertwined with a tangled mass of negative ideas and images, antisemitism from the right, such as American white nationalists and neo-Nazi sentiments around the world, are demonstrably and disturbingly on the rise. George Soros is demonized and burnt in effigy, and tropes drawn directly from the infamous antisemitic forgery known as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* are common. Just a few years ago, American Jews read about and watched reports on flare-ups of antisemitic incidents in Hungary and France and elsewhere—but in the major metropolitan areas where most of them lived, the accepted wisdom was that antisemitism did not have a significant impact on the daily lives of most Jewish Americans. The general consensus among many observers of the American Jewish community was that antisemitism was relatively quiescent in the United States.

However, by the early months of 2019, hybrid forms of antisemitism, related in complex and not-so-complex ways to anti-Zionism, increasingly alarmed American Jews. Jews in the broader American Jewish community have become aware of manifestations of similar antisemitism merged with anti-Zionism in the world of political rhetoric. Increasingly, revivals of tropes common in antisemitic screeds like *The Protocols*—ideas such as Jews controlling world affairs, despite their small numbers, by working with worldwide networks of Jewish conspirators or by using their money to buy legislation—have been articulated by politicians and public figures on both the political left and the political right.<sup>43</sup> Some of the accusations are worse. In a 2016 talk given at Vassar College, for example, the Israeli government was accused of engaging in a “secretive, systematic plot to stunt the growth of, maim, and harvest the organs of Palestinians, thus colonizing not only their land but their bodies.”<sup>44</sup>

Upsurges in antisemitic and anti-Zionist rhetoric and incidents have already created palpable, historic changes for Europe’s Jews, as Joel Kotkin observes: “For millennia, following the destruction of the Second Temple and the beginning of the diaspora, Europe was home to the majority of the world’s Jews. That chapter of history is over. The continent is fast becoming of Jewish ghost towns and graveyards.” But unlike the antisemitism of Nazi and other totalitarian regimes, today right-wing antisemitism is “not nearly as powerful a threat to Jews as the alliance of Islamists and left-wing activists” who blame Jews “for being too linked to continental values.” One study, for example, shows that European anti-semitism has penetrated deep into Europe’s mainstream. Kotkin notes: “Today, barely half of Europeans think Israel has a right to exist.”<sup>45</sup> Paul Berman, and others, observe similar antisemitic and anti-Zionist trends among liberal United States leaders with dismay and apprehension, wondering if these “zealots of anti-Zionism” are catalysts and whether “the same miserable battle that has torn apart large portions of the European left [will] spread to America.”<sup>46</sup>

Conservative columnist Ross Douthat warns that liberal America has already internalized these anti-Israel messages and extended them to its

attitudes toward American Jews. Douthat sees a decline of the American philosemitism that made America exceptional for decades after World War II, marking the end of a time when both “American Jews and the American-Israel relationship were considered special cases.” In his view, arguments whirling around freshman Congresswoman Ilhan Omar’s repetition of toxic antisemitic tropes in her critique of Israel and her defenders are no accident. Douthat asserts that philosemitism is transitioning out, and being replaced by, a “left-of-center politics that remembers the Holocaust as one great historical tragedy among many, that judges Israel primarily on its conservative and nationalist political orientation, rather than on its status as a Jewish sanctuary, and that regards the success of American Jews as a reason for them to join white Gentiles in check-your-privilege self-criticism, ceding moral authority to minority groups who are more immediately oppressed.”<sup>47</sup>

### **Jewish critics expand their voices**

Antisemitic and anti-Zionist concepts have been internalized by highly educated, younger Americans, including some younger American Jews, especially those whose upbringings and chosen lifestyles are less “traditional.” Some Jews participate and some take leadership roles in general Israel-critical or anti-Zionist organizations. In addition, a range of specifically Jewish organizations expressing opposition to Israeli policies have emerged. These newer organizations occupy a broad spectrum, running from J Street, which defines itself as being both pro-Israel and critical of Israeli policies, to virulently anti-Israel organizations with little Jewish content, such as Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), which promulgate patently inaccurate calumnies such as the claim that Israel participates in police crimes against Black Americans. These and others build on the foundations of well-established organizations like the New Israel Fund (NIF) and Americans for Peace Now. The New Israel Fund in particular has supported and funded a broad range of entities working in Israel and the territories on behalf of civil and human rights, women’s rights, religious status, minority rights, and freedom of speech since its founding in 1979. The particular groups funded by NIF have been diverse over the decades, all the way from liberal Orthodox groups like *Ne’emanei Torah*

*ve-Avodah* to left-leaning—and well-publicized—critics of Israeli policies like Breaking the Silence, B’Tselem, and Yesh Din.<sup>48</sup>

## **J Street**

Today, progressive critics of Israel are most recognizably represented by Jeremy Ben-Ami and the J Street organization he founded in 2008, during the Obama presidential campaign.<sup>49</sup> Ben-Ami, who emphasizes that J Street is “pro-Israel” and that criticisms do not conflict with dedication to Israel, spells out his views in *A New Voice for Israel*. Perhaps J Street’s most familiar message is its “powerful indictment of mainstream Jewish advocacy groups that demand unquestioning support for Israel’s actions.”<sup>50</sup> In a recent fundraising letter Ben-Ami explains, “We started J Street to provide a political voice and home for Americans who believe in democracy, justice, tolerance and peace—and who want to see those values brought to bear on American policy in the Middle East.” Dismissing as non-threatening “a few tweets by progressive elected officials criticizing Israel using some ill-advised language,” Ben-Ami also clarifies, “While we oppose the global Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) Movement, we have been fighting legislation that seeks to penalize and criminalize those using constitutionally-protected tools to express their opposition to occupation.”<sup>51</sup>

Responses to J Street by the organized Jewish Zionist community have ranged from wary inclusiveness to condemnation. However, many younger American Jews have embraced the movement and enthusiastically expressed their gratitude that J Street gives them an address where they can express their ambivalence without feeling like “bad Jews” and lightning rods for establishment approbation.

## **IfNotNow**

IfNotNow, founded in 2014, is a newer and younger Jewish progressive group opposing the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. As Daniel Gordis points out, IfNotNow presents a one-sided picture in its description of its own founding and in ongoing literature articulating its goals: “Nowhere did it mention Palestinian violence against Israel, the

continued pledge of many Palestinians (including the Hamas government of Gaza) to destroy Israel, any mention of the Jewish right to sovereignty, or even the word ‘Zionism.’”<sup>52</sup> In addition to demonstrating against the occupation, IfNotNow is perhaps best known for press-covered pickets and protests of Birthright Israel. Their signs and rhetoric on these occasions criticize what they claim is Birthright Israel’s disproportionate emphasis on the Jewish peoplehood side of Israel’s story and its hiding or downplaying of Palestinian suffering.<sup>53</sup>

### **Jewish Voice for Peace**

One of the more radical and aggressively anti-Israel Jewish-associated organizations is Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), which was founded in 1996. JVP describes Israel’s situation as “a conflict ... between a nation-state, Israel, with one of the world’s most powerful and well-funded militaries, and an indigenous population of Palestinians that has been occupied, displaced, and exiled for decades.” Most recently, since 2017, JVP’s *Deadly Exchange* campaign has been spreading the vicious lie “that Israelis are training U.S. police officers to commit unnecessary shootings and other abuses, especially against racial minorities.”<sup>54</sup> According to Miriam Elman, “the allegations that form the crux of *Deadly Exchange* were first introduced as a supplement to JVP’s 2017 Passover Haggadah.” In its present articulation, *Deadly Exchange*

positions JVP at the forefront of the effort to stoke hatred of Israel and Zionist Jews through intersectionality, which BDS has morphed into a theory of generalized victimhood. According to the theory, Israel is a global oppressor of American minority communities and the source of the problems that these groups face. ... *Deadly Exchange* accuses five organizations in mainstream Jewish American life—the ADL, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC), The Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (JINSA), the American Jewish Committee (AJC), and Taglit-Birthright Israel—of deliberately conspiring to harm the innocent. According to JVP, these organizations are complicit in fostering “deadly exchanges” where American and Israeli security officials and experts “trade tips” that “extend discriminatory and repressive policing in both countries” including fatal police shootings of African Ameri-

cans and the “extrajudicial killings” by Israeli police of Palestinians in the West Bank.<sup>55</sup>

It should be noted that nowhere in JVP’s literature is there any acknowledgement that Jews have comprised an indigenous population in the area at any time, or that they may legitimately feel vulnerable to Arab aggression or violence. Regarding its organizational goals, JVP’s own statements note: “We support any solution that is consistent with the full rights of both Palestinians and Israeli Jews, whether one binational state, two states, or some other solution.” The same online organizational documents brag about lobbying the American government against military aid to Israel, and their association with the BDS movement. Thus: “JVP was the first major Jewish peace group to demand that American military aid be withheld until Israel ends its occupation. We are also the only major Jewish group to support the Palestinian civil society call for boycott, divestment, and sanctions.”<sup>56</sup>

Both IfNotNow and JVP often take part in college campus demonstrations. JVP’s “Deadly Exchange” platform utilizes an anti-Israel propaganda video charging that ADL and Birthright Israel “recruit American police forces to undergo ‘racial profile’ training by the IDF in Israel, in order to better control, detain, deport, and extra-judicially execute people of color in overpopulated American cities.”<sup>57</sup>

In addition to joining organizations that articulate Israel critiques, Jewish activists have devised additional ways to demonstrate their disapproval of Israeli policies. Some have disrupted Birthright Israel activities, as Farah Stockman recounts: “Activists have circulated petitions, staged sit-ins at Hillels on college campuses and blocked Birthright’s headquarters in New York.” Still others have staged “walkoffs from a handful of Birthright trips.”<sup>58</sup> However, in a new Brandeis CMJS study of 2017 Birthright Israel participants, Leonard Saxe et al. find that participants who are present for the entire trip find the Birthright Israel experience to be educationally even-handed. Their evaluation revealed: “Among participants, 76% reported that the trips ‘somewhat’ or ‘very much’ included thoughtful



discussion of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict,” although that figure was somewhat lower among “participants who identified as political liberals.” Significantly, “a majority of participants reported that they heard authentic accounts of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and that the trip allowed for diversity of opinion about the conflict.” Only 27% of liberal participants expressed the view that some parts of the trip “favored Israel’s perspective.”<sup>59</sup>

Still other critical American Jews distance themselves from the sins of white privilege not only by declaring themselves to be an “ally” of “minoritized” non-white populations but also by condemning other, less “woke” Jews. In its most extreme guises, it is as if Jews who wish to distance themselves are saying to antisemites: “Don’t hate me—I’m not that kind of a Jew.” A recent example of that strategy is a short op-ed by S.I. Rosenbaum, who asserted: “Even as white nationalists wish us dead, a shocking number of Jews have become willing collaborators in white supremacy ... kapos in the openly ethno-nationalist Trump regime, such as Stephen Miller or Jared Kushner. Thus we are capable of being both the target of racism and a part of its apparatus.”<sup>60</sup> That assertion and its hot-trigger language garnered many outraged and/or defensive responses. Some responses reflected a rupture that has been experienced by “numerous Jewish people ... [who] have chosen to devote all or part of their careers to racial justice, on matters ranging from the Black Lives Matter movement to criminal law reform to the Trump administration’s assault on immigrants ... they are standing with people of color to bring more justice to America.”<sup>61</sup>

Some analysts link problematic Israel-Diaspora relations to the putative decline of the status of American Jews themselves. The “golden age” of American Jewish liberal political and intellectual elite status may itself be threatened, according to a few extremely pessimistic political analysts such as Adam Garfinkle, founding editor of *The American Interest*. “Left of center Jews will become ever more alienated from Israel,” Garfinkle predicts, adding that “[s]upport for Israel will become a liability even for mainstream politicians within the Democratic Party.” Non-Orthodox

American Jewish populations will shrink, and many among the growing proportion of the Orthodox may choose to move to Israel, according to Garfinkle, while Israel “will be fine,” offering thriving Jewish life to “many forms of Orthodoxy” and “many forms of secular Jewish civilization.”<sup>62</sup>

### **Impact of antisemitism and anti-Zionism on younger Americans**

A majority of younger Americans have no memory of Jews as a disadvantaged and persecuted minority. They have broad lacunae in their knowledge of world history in general and the evolution of modern Zionism in particular. They have no memory of a world without a strong Israel, and little sense of how tiny the worldwide population of Jews is compared to other ethnic and religious groups. Young adult Americans in academic settings—including America’s youngest Jews—inhabit environments in which politically liberal, occasionally leftist, and sometimes anti-Israel views are freely expressed.

In interviews with young people active in anti-Israel organizations, Sina Arnold found that respondents singled Israel out by saying they could not support Israel because Israel’s establishment was artificial and violent. Arnold reported that the (highly ahistorical) impression of the respondents was that other countries may be presumed to have been created through peaceful and “organic” methods. Additionally, Arnold discovered that antisemitism is not perceived as a relevant issue in the same category as “racism,” “sexism,” and “capitalism”; she calls this phenomenon “antisemitism trivialization.”<sup>63</sup> Similarly, Karin Stogner interviewed participants in Intersectionality activism organizations and found that Jews are regarded as white supremacists in intersectional circles and that Zionism is not perceived as a national liberation movement with significant historical context but rather that Zionists are by definition perceived as a colonialist group.<sup>64</sup> Such anti-Israel rhetoric in contemporary social movements can be decentering, as attested to by a participant in an American Jewish focus group conversation conducted by Abby Dauber Sterne. Pro-Israel American Jews sometimes feel like being pro-Israel is countercultural:

There is often intersectionality here. Israelis have no idea of it and have no idea of how the left perceives them. Israelis don't understand how it feels for US Jews from all ends of the political spectrum who stick up for Israel. US Jews feel very complex, especially on campus, about what it means to be Jewish or Zionist in America. Israelis don't think about this. Israelis take it for granted. American Jews have to swim against the current. Israeli Jews don't.

A Brandeis University study of campus antisemitism and anti-Israel activity found that colleges differ substantially in terms of how aggressively anti-Israel organizations are on college campuses: "Some campuses, such as CUNY-Brooklyn, Northwestern, and many of the schools in the University of California system are 'hotspots' where the majority of Jewish students perceive a hostile environment toward Israel." On other campuses, such as Wisconsin, Rutgers, and Illinois, "hostility toward Jews and antisemitic harassment are relatively high, but do not seem to be highly connected to criticism of Israel." One of the biggest precipitating factors for an anti-Zionist and antisemitic climate on campus "is the presence of an active Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) group on campus." On some campuses, Jewish students say they are often "blamed for the actions of the Israeli government" because of their Jewish identity. Some of the worst campuses in that regard are Northwestern, UCLA and other University of California schools, NYU, and Texas. While a minority of students report harassment regarding either their Jewishness or anti-Zionism, those who have experienced either or both report vivid and disturbing incidents.<sup>65</sup>

Jewish students and other students who are pro-Israel are more likely to retreat from than to feel threatened by or react to unpleasant comments about Israel or Jews, argues a Stanford study, *Safe and on the Sidelines*, concluding that reports of campus antisemitism and anti-Zionism are exaggerated. "What emerges is not a picture of campuses ablaze with antisemitism and anti-Israel sentiment," the authors report, but rather "Jewish students feel excluded from both Jewish communal spaces and activist groups" because the activist groups are "strident, divisive, and rigid" and leave "little room for more nuanced debate," while the Jewish

communal spaces “stifle” or “exclude” or “pressure” them to support Israel vocally. Students in this study described rerouting their walking paths to class in order to avoid passing near anti-Israel demonstrations, and training themselves not to react emotionally to seeing swastikas (“maybe three or four ... maybe five ... maybe more than that....”) on campus. At the same time, some of the students interviewed also avoid Jewish communal settings, such as Shabbat dinner, because they feel unable to voice their concerns about Israeli policies regarding the Palestinian population.

Although the Stanford study found “many of our interviewees claim that they ‘don’t know enough about the Israel-Palestine conflict’ to render an opinion,” similar to subjects in the Brandeis studies, the *Safe and on the Sidelines* researchers charged that their respondents were “hardly the targets of hate” but were rather “avowing ignorance” simply as “a strategy for disengaging from discussions they found uncomfortable or irreconcilable.”<sup>66</sup> The anti-Zionist organizations utilize detailed historical arguments against the establishment of the State of Israel as well as against many of her past actions and her current policies, and students who disagree often feel that they are lacking the specifics to challenge the narratives presented.

### **Dishonest scales: delegitimizing Israel is genuitne anti-semitism**

This paper has demonstrated how statements by contemporary left-wing or “progressive” social justice organizations often incorporate four manifestations of antisemitism: (1) erasing the concept of an historical, defined Jewish people inside and outside of Israel; (2) erasing the much-documented experiences of the Jewish people as a persecuted and displaced minority who have sought self-determination; (3) erasing Jewish historical connections to the land as well as Israel’s foundational and internationally ratified *raison d’être* as a haven and homeland for the Jews; and (4) demonizing the Jewish State of Israel exclusively as an illegitimate displacer of persecuted minorities, and judging Israel by standards not applied to other nations and their policies.

Why is it central to contemporary antisemitic progressive narratives to remove Jews from the category of a minority people that has endured repeated and sustained violent persecutions for racial as well as religious reasons? If Jews are neither an historical people nor a genuine “minoritized” oppressed minority, according to current progressive ideologies, Jews cannot be the targets of racist hatred, and Jews have no particular right to national self-determination. Indeed, the very insistence that Jews comprise a nation or peoplehood, with an historical culture worth transmitting, as well as ties to an historical homeland, are ideas that are often vilified as Zionist “racism.”

Anti-Zionism brings to the table additional anti-Jewish calumnies, including most foundationally the false premise that the Palestinians are a people indigenous to Israel while the Jews are not. Equating Israel with the white ruling government of South Africa has not only been an axiomatic concept for organizations like the BDS movement and Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), unfortunately it also informs the anti-Zionist rhetoric of important American social justice movements like Intersectionality and Black Lives Matter.

Two examples from the working definition of antisemitism adopted by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IRHA) are particularly relevant to the erasure and demonization practiced by the social justice movements discussed in this paper: (1) “Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor,” and (2) “Applying double standards [to Israel] by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.”

As we have seen, several organizations whose declared *raison d'être* is related to social justice and advocacy on behalf of specific minoritized groups nevertheless issue written and verbal statements denying the existence of Jews as a people and as a minority; these statements are foundational to their attempts to delegitimize the existence of the Jewish State of Israel. In official and unofficial statements, members of the BDS,

Intersectionality and Black Lives Matter movements, as well as activists from Jewish groups like JVP and IfNotNow, disseminate one-sided narratives about what is often called “the conflict.” Omitting important contextual details and using inaccurate terms like “genocide” to describe Israel’s policies, they painfully distort the historical record.

Sometimes these distortions reflect genuine ignorance. However, it is urgent to recognize that organizations and movements purporting to criticize particular Israeli government policies often also reject Jewish peoplehood and the concept of Jewish self-determination. Both inside and outside Israel, individuals and groups have a genuine right to speak freely and to criticize specific Israeli governmental policies, as well as to discuss the suffering that occurs on both sides of the Israel-Palestine conflict. However, rhetoric that judges Jews and Israel by different standards than any other nation is judged is not mere “critique.” These are dishonest scales of “justice” and manifestations of antisemitism that should be recognized and called out.

## Notes

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- 9 Quoted in Kenneth S. Stern, *Antisemitism Today: How It Is the Same, How It Is Different, and How to Fight It* (New York: American Jewish Committee, 2006), 118.
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- 11 Bret Stephens, “The Progressive Assault on Israel,” *New York Times*, February 10, 2019.
- 12 Yossi Klein Halevi, *Letters to My Palestinian Neighbor* (New York: Harper-Collins, 2018).
- 13 Gil Troy, *Moynihán’s Moment: America’s Fight Against Zionism Racism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 134.
- 14 Ilan Pappé, Benny Morris, and other Israeli “new historians” researched and publicized episodes of Israeli brutality during the 1948 War, especially egregious episodes in Deir Yassin, Lydda, Abu Shusha, and Saliha. Pappé used the language of ethnic cleansing, “killing and butchering.” Benny Morris later revised much of his earlier thinking on the motivations and severity of Israeli actions.
- 15 For one example, a *New York Times* book review by Isabella Hammad, which concluded: “No words can purge the Nakba, because the Nakba is still being lived.” Isabella Hammad, “Cracked Mirror,” review of *Children of the Ghetto: My Name is Adam*, by Elias Khoury, *New York Times*, Sunday June 23, 2019. But this language is also used routinely in *Ha’aretz* and elsewhere in the liberal journalistic and scholarly community.

- 16 See, e.g., Benny Morris, “Camp David and After: An Exchange (1. An Interview with Ehud Barak),” *New York Review of Books*, June 13, 2002; Benny Morris, *The Birth of the Palestinian Refugee Problem Revisited* (Cambridge University Press, 2004); Benny Morris, *1948: A History of the First Arab-Israeli War* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008). Morris was appalled by Palestinian responses to Oslo I (1993, Washington, DC) and Oslo II (1995, Taba, Egypt) and partially as a result reassessed his understanding of the meaning of Israel’s wartime behavior.
- 17 Jarrod Tanny, “In My Country There Is Problem,” *Jewish Review of Books* (Summer 2019), reviewing Andrew Pessin and Doron Ben-Atar, eds., *Anti-Zionism on Campus: The University, Free Speech, and BDS* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2019).
- 18 Stephens, “Progressive Assault on Israel.”
- 19 Ibid.
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- 35 Jason D. Hill, “My Black Lives Matter Problem,” *Commentary*, June 2018.
- 36 Green, “Why Do Black Activists Care.”



- 37 Elliot Kaufman, "The Campus Intersectionality Craze," *Commentary*, June 2018.
- 38 Jared Samilow, "Students for Justice in Palestine at Brown University," in *Anti-Zionism on Campus: The University, Free Speech, and BDS*, ed. Andrew Pessin and Doron S. Ben-Atar (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2018), 384-389 at 388.
- 39 Stephens, "Progressive Assault on Israel."
- 40 R. Amy Elman, "Progressive Movements and the Death of Civil Society" (International Conference on Contradictions and Tropes of Antisemitism, The Arizona Center for Jewish Studies, University of Arizona (Tucson), February 2020).
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