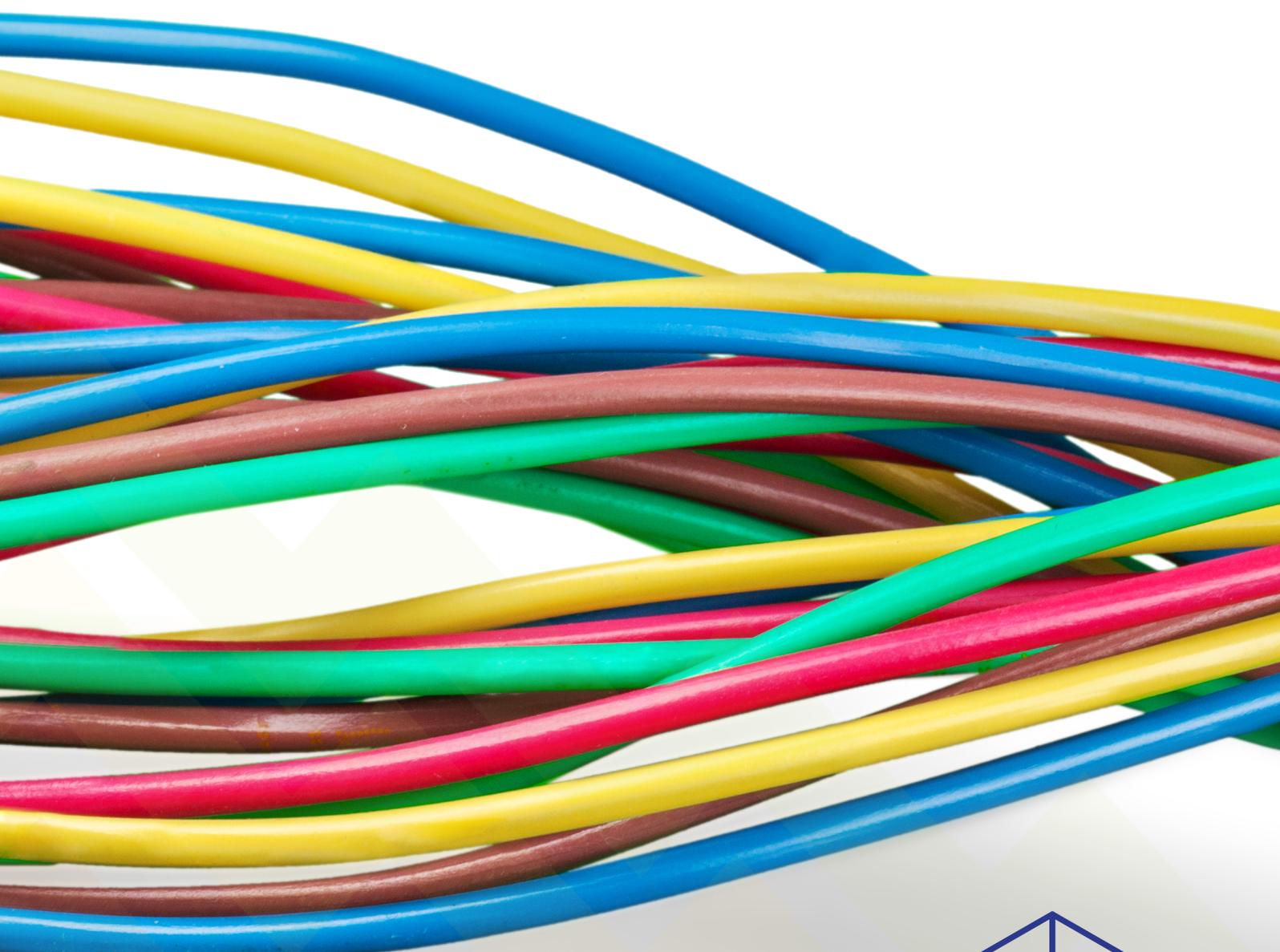


NAVIGATING INTERSECTIONAL LANDSCAPES

RULES FOR
JEWISH COMMUNITY
PROFESSIONALS

JUNE 2019



קבוצת ראות
Reut Group

This document was commissioned by the Julis Foundation for Multi-Disciplinary Thinking. It was written in the context of a year-long partnership between Reut and the Jewish Council for Public Affairs (JCPA) to bolster the community relations field's response to contemporary challenges within the Jewish community and anti-Israel campaigns. During this partnership, we identified the potential threat of intersectional movements to the Jewish community.

In October 2018, the Reut Group co-sponsored an event on the challenges of intersectionality with the JCPA. The event brought together leaders from the pro-Israeli network in Israel, the U.S and South Africa. Among the participants were heads of organizations in Israel and the Jewish World, think-tanks and government agencies. Insight from this event was used to shape the findings of this paper.

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THE REUT GROUP

The Reut Group is an Israeli leadership & impact group that focuses on making sense of fundamental challenges facing Israel & World Jewry.

Our mission is to identify emerging challenges and assume a leading role in catalyzing transformative social change in Israel and the greater Jewish world.

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Executive Summary	3
Glossary of Concepts	7
Introduction	8
Chapter 1: The Challenge of Intersectionality	9
The Evolution of Intersectionality	9
Structural Challenges	10
‘Corbynization’ and Mainstreaming of New Anti-Semitism	11
Intersectional Targeting of Jews Via Israel	12
The Great Decline: Israel Within Democratic Party Politics	13
Chapter 2: The Four Tribes of American Jewry	14
Jews Within Intersectional Circles	15
Aligners	18
Moderate Critics	19
Harsh Critics	20
Radicals	21
Summary	21
Chapter 3: Rules for Jewish Community Professionals	23
Internal Rules of Communal Cohesion	26
External Rules of Mass Engagement	31
Acknowledgements	35

Executive Summary

THE CHALLENGE OF INTERSECTIONALITY

1. **The application of the theory of intersectionality is generally understood as a method to encourage different minority groups** - based on culture, gender, religion or race - **to collaborate in forming 'intersectional coalitions' against the dominant power structure.**
2. **Within intersectional circles** seeking to transform traditional power structures, **the Jewish community is often portrayed as a white and privileged group 'holding' onto power.**
3. **The 'challenge of intersectionality' for the Jewish community emerges when anti-Israel groups utilize intersectional social circles by drawing parallels with their causes.** This is most notably seen through conflating the struggles of Black Americans and Palestinians under the hashtag, #PALESTINE2FERGUSON. **This trend undermines Jewish communities' agendas, including support for the State of Israel.**
4. **The 2014 Ferguson Uprising marked the mainstreaming of anti-Israel campaigns within intersectional circles and subsequent adoption of BDS within internal domestic causes.**
5. **The challenge of intersectionality is structural, intellectual and organizational.**
 - **Structurally, as a bottom-up challenge,** anti-Israel activity is predominantly grassroots while the organized Jewish community tends to be more 'top-down.' As such, Jewish communal organizations often prioritize formal relationship building with established names and organizations.
 - **Intellectually,** intersectional coalitions extensively leverage academic theories, requiring an adequate intellectual and theoretical response.
 - **Organizational** attempts to counteract intersectionality by the Jewish community are weak. **Anti-Israel intersectional coalitions require an effective response through programming and activities that are both within the Jewish community and utilize non-Jewish entities.**
6. **The challenge of intersectionality is exacerbated by a number of compounding and powerful trends:**
 - **The 'Corbynization' of progressive politics, which is mainstreaming new-anti-Semitism.** UK-based anti-Israel groups, particularly British Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn, have made significant contributions to the global erosion of cultural norms that once protected against the normalization of such harmful trends.
 - **The growing identification between Israel and the political right matched with Israel's eroding bi-partisan status contribute to the severity of this challenge.** With long-standing U.S. support for Israel now being questioned in mainstream political venues, freshly elected 'social Democratic progressives' are boldly positioning anti-Israel agendas as a fashionable mode of breaking taboos.
 - **The polarization of American Jewry impedes the ability of Jewish communal organizations to take joint action against anti-Israel activity within intersectional circles.**

THE FOUR TRIBES OF AMERICAN JEWRY

7. **The Four Tribes of American Jewry is a typology capturing a spectrum of outlooks regarding Jewish communal organizations and their support for Israel.** Such a typology is essential for effectively responding to the challenge of intersectionality.
 - **Aligners** consider Israel to be an integral part of their Jewish identity and generally support the State of Israel. They generally play an active role in the pro-Israel and Jewish community and often refrain from publicly critiquing Israel.
 - **Moderate Critics**, while pro-Israel, tend to oppose the Jewish Establishment's traditional, unconditional support for Israel. They experience tension between their liberal values and the policies of the Government of Israel. Moderate Critics can function both inside and outside the Jewish establishment.
 - **Harsh Critics** hold highly critical views on Israel's policies, most often with regards to Israel's continued control of the Palestinians. Their aversion towards Israeli policies alienates them from taking part in the traditional Jewish enterprise.
 - **Radicals** are anti-Zionists who denounce Israel. They often serve as the 'Kosher stamp' for 'legitimizing' anti-Zionist campaigns.
8. **Anti-Israel groups use intersectional platforms to polarize the Jewish community by driving a wedge between the establishment and both harsh and moderate critics.** At the 2018 Women's March, for example, anti-Israel groups used the platform to spread their anti-Israel ideology.

THE TEMPTATION TO DISENGAGE FROM ISRAEL IS A HONEY TRAP

9. **Disengagement from Israel is an emerging trend within a number of Jewish communities.** While many communities still celebrate Israel as a central theme, others abandon what has now become a divisive topic. This trend is driven by the conflict, the right-wing Israeli government and the ongoing polarization of American politics.
10. **Israel's central place in the American Jewish psyche is often replaced by the narrative of Tikkun Olam.**
11. Rather than quelling the issue, **disengagement from Israel is likely to exacerbate the identity crisis of American Jewry and further erode communal cohesion.** This argument holds that:
 - **Disengagement means the implosion of the ideal of Jewish Peoplehood**, which has been a cornerstone of the formation, mobilization, and continuation of American Jewish identity in recent decades. Evidently, the idea of Jewish Peoplehood will not hold water without a strong connection to the Jewish State, the home of 7 million Jews.
 - **Disengaging from Israel sends the wrong message to young Jews regarding core Jewish values**, primarily solidarity (Arvut Hadadit), which helped the Jewish people survive hardship across generations.
12. **Disengaging from Israel will not aid Jewish organizations in gaining increased relevance, but instead, deepen internal fissures.** Disengagement may be a symptom of increasing

mistrust of centralized representation. This global trend may act as a primary driver for the declining relevance of Jewish organizations among young generations.

IT TAKES INTERSECTIONALITY TO FIGHT INTERSECTIONALITY

13. **The challenge of intersectionality is dynamic and evolving.** It is structural, political, organizational and intellectual, and requires a systemic response that strives to drive two wedges:
 - **Internally, between Jewish Radicals and Harsh Critics; and**
 - **Externally, between Israel’s delegitimizers (“ideological adversaries”) and their intersectional solidarity supporters.**
14. **This document presents several “rules” aimed at tackling the challenges of intersectionality** via two main foci:
 - **Internal focus on communal cohesion;**
 - **External focus on an intra-communal engagement strategy.**

RULES TO REBUILD COMMUNAL COHESION

15. Fighting the delegitimization of Israel within intersectional circles requires driving a wedge between the engageable Harsh Critics and Radicals. Relevant rules to apply are:
 - **Rule 1. Double-down on Israel engagement.** As intersectionality contributes to polarizing views on Israel, the tendency to disassociate from Israel increases. However, such disengagement will only further weaken community cohesion and exacerbate the identity crisis of American Jews.
 - **Rule 2. A broad tent approach based on a narrow definition of ‘delegitimization’.** Unite broad coalitions around 1) a narrow definition of delegitimization; 2) red lines that establish agreed-upon boundaries; 3) an approach of ‘constructive ambiguity’ regarding polarizing issues; and 4) continuous internal civil discourse.
 - **Rule 3. Engage young Jews where they stand.** Successful engagement with Harsh Critics should not seek to transform them into Israel advocates, but to make them less susceptible to anti-Israel influence.
 - **Rule 4. Educate and empower young people to have tough conversations on Israel.** Once exposed to differing views on campus, many young Jews who were educated about Israel in their local communities feel deceived because Jewish organizations provided them only a simplistic view of the conflict.
 - **Rule 5. Cultivate constructive alternatives to hate campaigns.** Jewish communities should proactively reframe the context through which young Jews engage with Israel.

RULES FOR MASS ENGAGEMENT

16. Anti-Israel groups often frame their views in the context of social justice, thus enabling them to garner solidarity, even from those in centerfield.
 - **Rule 6. Prioritize a relationship-based approach.** Decentralized and diverse in nature, the community relations field is the Jewish community’s best platform and option to meet these decentralized challenges.

- **Rule 7. Intellectually reframe the focus on Israel.** Intersectionality requires that the pro-Israel community develop a counter-intellectual narrative, by partnering with key intersectional theorists to break the focus on Israel and restore the concept to its original meaning.
- **Rule 8. Drive a wedge between ideological adversaries and their solidarity supporters.** Confront ideological adversaries within intersectional spaces, while adopting a nuanced approach towards contextual adversaries or those who are less committed to anti-Israel views.
- **Rule 9. Create your own intersectional alliances.** Expanding and diversifying allies and alliances should be accomplished by engaging organizations who hold complex views on Israel as well as by expanding inclusiveness within the Jewish community, for example, with Jews of color.
- **Rule 10. Kick-start joint Israeli-Diaspora Tikkun Olam.** Projects and platforms for Jews to work together to improve the world and strengthen communal bonds and generate positive impact. These outcomes can bypass intersectional and identity politics in order to unite around a larger cause.

Glossary of Concepts

The Assault on Israel's Legitimacy The negation of the State of Israel's right to exist, as the expression of the Jewish People's right to national self-determination.

Intersectionality Intersectionality theory holds that different forms of oppression and discrimination overlap and are experienced in a unique manner by individuals that fall within several biological, cultural, and social categories, such as race, gender, religion, ability, sexual orientation, age, and class.

The Challenge of Intersectionality The abuse of intersectionality by anti-Israel movements impedes community relations efforts and the mobilization of support for Jewish community agendas, including support for the State of Israel.

Community Relations Reut uses the JCPA definition of 'community relations'. This is defined as the web of organizational and personal relationships on behalf of the organized Jewish community with leading, largely non-Jewish institutions and leaders.

New Anti-Semitism A new form of anti-Jewish agenda, which often manifests itself as anti-Zionism, or is pursued implicitly by, e.g., 1) Requiring Jews to acknowledge their privilege and powerful status by renouncing claims of prejudice, discrimination, or insecurity experienced by the Jewish collective; 2) Showing no tolerance to Jews that identify as Zionists or as a minority.

Ideological adversaries Anti-Zionists groups and individuals that negate Israel's right to exist or the Jewish people's right to self-determination based on philosophical or political arguments. In intersectional spaces, their anti-Israel agenda is the core struggle that mobilizes them. Often their position regarding Israel stems from their personal ties to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the Middle East (for example, within intersectional spaces, CAIR as an organization or Linda Sarsour as an individual).

Intersectional solidarity supporters Solidarity supporters are groups and individuals that advocate for social justice issues in intersectional spaces, and may endorse the anti-Israel agenda of Israel's ideological adversaries (e.g. supporting BDS) due to their sense of solidarity in the spirit of intersectionality.

Introduction

1. **This paper focuses on ripple effects emanating from intersectional movements that profoundly impact Jewish life, peoplehood, and Israel's relationship with U.S.-based Jewish communities.** Intersectionality theory offers an intellectual foundation for framing Israel and Jewish organizations as pillars of the institutional oppression that intersectionally-aligned causes aim to resist. A peaking anti-Israel agenda in intersectional political activity threatens to turn a tide in this context.
2. **The paper characterizes key dynamics and initial outcomes, conceptualizes strategic response principles, and offers a blueprint of Jewish communal guidelines for contending with the challenge of delegitimization from intersectional movements and platforms.** We hope it will inspire and empower community organizers to generate collective action and encourage community activism to effectively deal with the challenge of intersectionality.¹

¹ Saul Alinsky's *Rules for Radicals* (1972), which proposed a list of principles for modern community organizing in a way that mobilizes change, served as an inspiration for this project.

Chapter 1: The Challenge of Intersectionality

IN THIS CHAPTER, WE EXAMINE THE ASSIMILATION OF ANTI-ISRAEL AGENDAS WITHIN INTERSECTIONAL MOVEMENTS, THE BROADER CONTEXT OF ISRAEL'S POSITIONING WITHIN DEMOCRATIC PARTY POLITICS, AND HOW THE ABUSE OF INTERSECTIONALITY ENABLES NORMALIZATION OF THE 'NEW ANTI-SEMITISM.'

The Evolution of Intersectionality

3. Published originally in 1989, **intersectionality theory holds that different forms of oppression and discrimination overlap** and are experienced in a unique manner by individuals that fall within several biological, cultural, and social categories, such as race, gender, religion, ability, sexual orientation, age, and class. Law professor and critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw developed the theory as a way of thinking about identity and its relationship with power.² Specifically, Crenshaw used the term to explain the experience and challenges of black women, especially within legal frameworks.³
4. **From theory to application** – In the early nineties, sociologist Patricia Hill Collins expanded upon Crenshaw's original theory to explain that in the same way in which identities overlap, so do effects of systemic oppression. By implication then, the struggles of victims are intertwined manifestations of the same root social injustice.⁴
5. **Alongside a rise in identity politics, intersectionality is emerging more prominently in the U.S. as a social justice organizing tool**, effectively coalescing ad-hoc coalitions of differing minority groups on issues ranging from racial justice and police brutality to women's rights. As a broad theoretical framework, intersectionality is proving remarkably capable of continuously evolving to fit its surroundings. It has increasingly become a prism on the left for understanding inequality and discrimination across nearly all social categories of discrimination.

² Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Why Intersectionality Can't Wait." The Washington Post, WP Company, 24 Sept. 2015.

³ When intersectionality was coined in 1989, it focused on the discrimination against Black women within the justice system. The theory pointedly posed that neither gender nor race alone are sufficient to explain discrimination of and against women of color as these women face completely different forms of oppression across intersecting lines. Such lines may include gender identity, race, class, sexual orientation and preference, socioeconomic class, and physical ability. Hooks, Bell (2014) [1984]. *Feminist Theory: from margin to center* (3rd ed.). New York: Routledge.

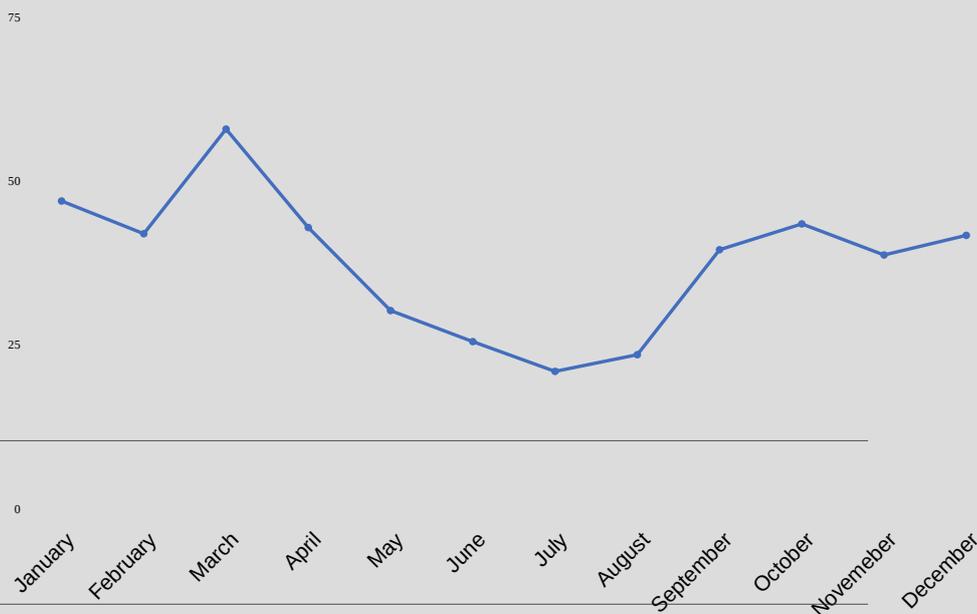
⁴ As Hill Collins explained, "cultural patterns of oppression are not only interrelated, but are bound together and influenced by the intersectional systems of society, such as race, gender, class, and ethnicity." "Gender, black feminism, and black political economy." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 568 (1): 41-53. doi:10.1177/000271620056800105.)

what is intersectionality?



Originally termed in 1989 by Kimberlé Crenshaw, intersectionality holds that different forms of oppression and discrimination overlap and are experienced in a unique manner by individuals that fall within several biological, cultural, and social categories, such as race, gender, religion, ability, sexual orientation, age, and class. Law professor and critical race theorist Kimberlé Crenshaw developed the theory as a way of thinking about identity and its relationship with power.

The term has gained prominence over the last 12 months. The graph below shows Google Search Trends for 'intersectionality' over 2018. Rises in search hits align with turbulent events such as the 2018 Chicago Dyke March in March 2019 Women's March (note correlation does not assume causation).



Data source: Google Trends (<https://www.google.com/trends>).

Structural Challenges

6. **The 2014 Ferguson Uprising marked a strategic benchmark in the evolution of anti-Israel agendas within intersectional spaces.**⁵ While robust intersectional anti-Israel coalitions already began forming at the local level in the early 2000s,⁶ intersecting social justice efforts swept headlines only after BDS groups promoted the #PALESTINE2FERGUSON campaign in an attempt to draw a parallel between the Palestinian struggle and the struggle of police brutality against African Americans. The killing of Michael Brown by police in Ferguson coincided with Operation Protective Edge between Israel and Hamas-led Gaza, further amplifying solidarity between groups such as Black Lives Matter and anti-Israel groups.
7. **Indeed, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is interpreted by outsiders as a result of the intersectional relationship of identity to power.** This approach sees all injustices as linked, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is increasingly seen in the global context of injustice. **The Palestinian cause has been widely adopted as a core and prominent threshold for solidarity by many marginalized groups.** This struggle is framed as part of the struggle of other disempowered minorities, such as African-Americans, Latinos and the LGBTQ.
8. **Gaza border clashes (2018-19) led to parallels being drawn between the intersectional struggle in the US and the subjugation of Palestinians to new heights,** by framing the Palestinians protestors as “people of color” who were fighting against white colonialists.
9. **These trends are the result of anti-Israel groups’ activities, which exploit the influence of intersectional platforms to build strategic anti-Israel coalitions and to infiltrate mainstream discourse.** Purposefully blurring lines between criticism of Israeli policy and anti-Zionist ideology and often depicting their activities as grounded in liberal values, anti-Israel groups gain widespread, albeit superficial, support by masking their underlying motives. Under intersectional umbrellas, members of Black, Latino, and LGBTQ communities regularly stand in solidarity with anti-Israel and BDS-promoting groups.
10. **The structural mismatch: Anti-Israel activity poses a unique challenge as a decentralized network.** Anti-Israel activity within intersectionality reflects a networked grassroots “glocal” activity. These groups focus on promoting their agenda in non-governmental organizations, academia, political circles, social media, grassroots movements and the general public. Meanwhile, Jewish communal organizations tend to work 'top-down,' focusing on engaging officials and emphasizing formal relations with political and business elites, as well as mainstream media.

‘Corbynization’ and Mainstreaming of New Anti-Semitism

11. **“Corbynization” is spreading through segments of the political left.**⁷ UK-based anti-Israel groups have been inspiring liberal and progressive elite circles worldwide.⁸ Patterns of

⁵ The Ferguson uprising refers to protests which broke out as a result of the shooting of Michael Brown, an unarmed black teenager who was shot and killed by a white police officer, in Ferguson, Missouri. “What Happened in Ferguson?” The New York Times, August 13, 2014.

⁶ In 2003, a San Francisco-based rape crisis center referred to the organization as “anti-Zionist” and asked potential volunteers & interns about their willingness to take a “stance against Zionism”, despite the center’s mission and duty having no relation to the Israeli-Palestinian (J.Weekly, July 11, 2003). In 2007, a San Francisco-based Latino youth organization for youth empowerment painted a mural depicting Palestinians breaking through a crack in the Israeli security barrier and eliminating Israel, as a statement of solidarity with the Palestinians. The mural was eventually modified after involvement by the local Jewish community. Staff Report. “Controversial Mural to Be Altered in S.F.,” The San Francisco Examiner, September 20, 2007.

⁷ See for example the embrace of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez of Jeremy Corbyn. Hades Gold, “Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez spoke with UK’s Jeremy Corbyn on the phone,” [CNN Online](#), February 4, 2019.

⁸ The Reut Group, Building a Political Firewall: London as a case study; November, 2010.

establishment-defying views on Israel have enabled prevalent anti-Semitism in the UK's Labour Party **and significantly eroded cultural norms that previously protected against the normalization of these harmful trends.**

12. The growing centrality of intersectional politics along with intersectionality theory's susceptibility to anti-Israel agendas contribute to **a sharp rise of a contemporary form of anti-Semitism that anti-Israel groups drive in progressive circles.** Defining characteristics of this 'new anti-Semitism' include that it:
 - **Requires Jews to acknowledge their privilege and powerful status by renouncing claims of prejudice, discrimination, or insecurity** experienced by the Jewish collective;
 - **Shows no tolerance towards Israel or to Jews that identify as Zionists or as a minority.** All too often, intersectionality implicitly holds Jews responsible for the 'original sin' of Zionism, unless they are willing to renounce or work against it;
 - **Condemns people in power who criticize statements interpreted by Jews as anti-Semitic, unless they also bundle the condemnation of Islamophobia and other forms of bigotry** – this despite such a stance 's implicit acknowledgment that a certain statement has reflected anti-Semitism.
13. **The 'new-ant-Semitism' is already resulting in palpable exclusion.** In order to participate in intersectional spheres many Jews feel compelled to renounce aspects of their identity and heritage that tie them to the Jewish state. A prominent example is the exclusion of a participant holding a rainbow Star of David flag during the 2017 Chicago Dyke March. More broadly, prominent figures who align with BDS and influential anti-Semitic figures, such as Women's March leaders Tamika Mallory and Linda Sarsour, raise the potential for anti-Israel sentiment to gain mainstream support.

Intersectional Targeting of Jews Via Israel

14. **Rupturing fault lines with Jews over 'the Israel issue'** – Anti-Israel groups exert pressure on the relationship between Jewish and minority communities, particularly within intersectionally-aligned movements. Many, explicitly or tacitly, maintain a 'Jewish litmus test,'⁹ or exclusionary practices that essentially call upon Jewish individuals and organizations to renounce Zionism or connection to Israel in order to participate.
15. **In fact, anti-Israel movements thrive at the seams of Jewish communal vulnerabilities,** leveraging intersectionality as a vehicle through which to exert their agenda along the divides that weaken collective mobilization capacities
16. **Jewish communities are finding it increasingly difficult to counter this phenomenon by achieving consensus on the need to support Israel.** Jewish communal obstacles to coalescing across ideological and generational divides – namely, alienation of young, progressive Jews – challenge the community's ability to represent collective interests in confronting anti-Israel campaigns within intersectional platforms. More broadly, waning communal cohesion has damaged the connection between Israel and the mainstream pro-Israel network, further inhibiting the pro-Israel community's response capacity.

⁹ David Bernstein, "Why I'm a Litmus Test Minimalist," The New York Jewish Week, February 19, 2019.

17. Specifically, **ambivalence from within Jewish communities to acknowledge ‘new anti-Semitism’ (see below) in intersectional platforms makes it more challenging to name and mobilize action against it.** Many progressive Jews reject the argument that anti-Israel activities are rooted in anti-Semitism, accusing Israel and its allies of ‘overplaying the anti-Semitism card,’ and are turning a blind eye to different forms of anti-Semitism surfacing in intersectional activity. Indeed, anti-Israel abuse of intersectionality fails to elicit widespread Jewish community condemnation or sense of urgency.

The Great Decline: Israel Within Democratic Party Politics

18. **Progressive support for Israel has markedly declined in recent years** within a political atmosphere – a *zeitgeist* – in which vast pockets of left-leaning populations perceive Israel as a country that can do no right.
19. **Anti-Zionist progressive groups piggy-backing on intersectional ideologies, are mainstreaming their messages in political spheres.** New forms of activism and mobilization on the far left, and the emerging platforms and groups undergirding them, provide them an unprecedented opportunity to engage the broader liberal base and beyond.
20. In the background, **the Democratic Party’s stance on the Jewish State is being debated, posing a threat to the future of traditional U.S bi-partisan support for Israel.**¹⁰ Dangerously, Israel has been positioned as a wedge issue between the parties and within the Democratic Party, fueling an internal power struggle between establishment forces and rising far-left progressive voices. These dynamics further limit the Democratic Party establishment's ability to generate consensus on Israel, a reality which may only become more pressing. **Pushback against mainstream Democratic values around Israel increasingly challenges the party’s unwavering financial and diplomatic support of the Israeli government.**
21. Broadly, **anti-Israel agendas are increasingly fashionable and framed as courageous taboo-breaking.** “Resistance” against Israel and pro-Israel political influence, are considered heroic,¹¹ and thus, views interpreted by most Jews as anti-Semitic,¹² are more easily forgiven by progressives.

¹⁰ Trends of wavering democratic support are substantiated by recent polling signaling that perceptions of Israel as peace-seeking and pluralistic are at an all-time low. See for example: David Horowitz, “Israel Losing Democrats,” The Times of Israel, July 5, 2015; Republicans and Democrats grow even further apart in views of Israel, Palestinians: Netanyahu remains a deeply polarizing figure in the U.S., Pew Research Center: U.S. politics and policy, January 23, 2018, (click here). Another indication is the absence of Democratic Party representation at both the ceremony marking Israel’s 70th anniversary of statehood and the May 2018 U.S. embassy opening in Jerusalem. See Sheldon Kirshner’s blog in The Times of Israel, May 24, 2018.

¹¹ Notable in this context are Democrats that defended Omar. See also: Omar anti-Israel tweets on Jan. 31, 2019, which came directly before Omar’s •Islamaphobe v. anti-Semite twitter confrontation with Lee Zeldin and got little traction or backlash.

¹² Minnesota Congresswoman Ilhan Omar, who sits on the Foreign Affairs Committee, has been targeted for blurring lines between anti-Israel sentiment and anti-Semitism within the far left. This started when Omar asserted on Twitter that support for Israel was “It’s all about the Benjamins baby,” which critics said insinuated the anti-Semitic trope that Jewish money controls foreign policy. While Omar apologized for the remarks, weeks later, the Congresswoman asserted that pro-Israel activists were pushing “for allegiance to a foreign country” an old anti-Semitic trope accusing Jews of “dual loyalty.”

Chapter 2: The Four Tribes of American Jewry

IN THIS CHAPTER, WE EXAMINE THE FRACTURES WITHIN THE JEWISH COMMUNITY, AND PROPOSE A TYPOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK – THE FOUR TRIBES OF AMERICAN JEWRY – THROUGH WHICH THE JEWISH COMMUNITY COULD GENERATE MORE RELEVANT APPROACHES TOWARDS THE CHALLENGE OF INTERSECTIONALITY.

22. Deep polarization within the Jewish community and changes in Jewish demography and experience undermine Jewish communal cohesion and compromise Jewish communal capacity to engage within liberal circles, eroding the political strength and efficacy of the American Jewish community.
23. **Socio-political and demographic changes transforming the American-Jewish experience amplify ideological divides across religious and generational spectrums:**
 - **A religious divide** between progressive strains of Judaism and traditionally observant communities over fundamental issues of who is considered a Jew,¹³ Jewish identity in the 21st century, and the Jewish-American relationship with Israel.¹⁴
 - **A generational gap** – Jewish communal organizations are perceived to be recognized as a legitimate representative ally to other disempowered populations. **The increased momentum of up-and-coming Jewish, left-leaning political groups**, such as Jews for Racial and Economic Justice and The Jewish Vote, **indicate that the generational divide over Israel is spreading to the point where there will be domestic policy implications.**¹⁵ On Israel, younger Jews, and especially Jewish millennials, grew up watching Israel's rise as a regional superpower and have a less visceral connection to the Holocaust. This contingent is increasingly ambivalent and critical¹⁶ towards Israel and is prone to disengage from the Jewish establishment.
 - **Contrasting views on Jewish self-expression and identity: The Tikkun Olam case** – Tikkun Olam values, which ascended in significance the 1970-80s, provided American Jewry a Jewish context for the global struggle for social justice. It became central to liberal American Jewish identity and experience; while other Jewish communities,

13 As Professor Marc Dollinger (2002) found, for the last century the most secular Jews have tended toward the most liberal or even leftist political views, while more religious Jews are politically more conservative. Modern Orthodox Jews have been less active in political movements than Reform Jews. They vote Republican more often than less traditional Jews.

14 "On a host of policy matters today, one can find deep divisions between the liberal-orientated attitudes of a majority of American Jews, who differ with the center-right views of the government in Jerusalem over such policy questions as settlements and human rights. More particularly, some Jewish Americans are uncomfortable with Israeli initiatives to remove African asylum seekers and proposals that seek to curb the free-speech rights of boycott, divestment and sanctions supporters or deny admission into the Jewish State of individuals associated with specific anti-Israel movements. Just as Jewish American liberals defended the Obama administration's record on Israel, President Donald Trump's supporters embrace his policies in connection with the Jewish State, creating in the wake of these disagreements significant gaps among Israel's historic partners" (Steven Windmueller, Jewish Journal).

15 See Batya Ungar-Sargon, "What Julia Salazar's Win Means about Our Changing Tribe," The Forward, September 14, 2018.

16 See for example the results of a study, conducted by Steven Cohen and Jack Ukeles, which was commissioned by the Jewish Community Federation of San Francisco, the Peninsula, Marin, and Sonoma counties. Read also here: Batya Ungar-Sargon, "Young Jews are Actually Winning the Generational War over Israel," The Forward, February 13, 2018.

including many observant communities, defined themselves along a more traditional primary focus on the security and welfare of the Jewish community.¹⁷

- In the background, **the American Jewish community is on the bleeding edge of a broader polarization within U.S. politics on the topic of Israel. The role of Israel in American-Jewish identity is caught in the cross-fire of these changes** as a growing number of Jews today find deep connection to Israel less relevant and a burden rather than badge of pride or duty.
24. **This reality impedes consensus-making around key issues** as deep fissures divide communities, philanthropic circles, and even families. Significantly, eroding shared interests, values, and commitments bringing together American Jewish communities deplete the foundation that has enabled Jewish communal organizations to mobilize collective action around the same objective.

Jews Within Intersectional Circles

25. **American Jewry has a proud history of standing with disempowered communities** ranging from civil right to women’s rights to workers’ rights, based on shared values and converging interests. Notably during the Civil Rights Movement, Jewish-African-American alliances significantly impacted the movement. To this day, the Jewish community’s involvement is considered an integral part of efforts to end racial discrimination and achieve equal rights for Black Americans during the Civil Rights Era.
26. **However, even during the peak of the relationship, initial fault lines were visible.** The collaboration suffered from constant tension arising from different groups’ very different histories and realities of discrimination, exemplified in Jewish socio-economic privilege and ‘whiteness,’ which fueled political and ideological disagreements, Jewish racism, and African American anti-Semitism.¹⁸
27. **Moreover, Jewish identity in America is mutating from a self-perception of being marginalized and disempowered community to one increasingly seen by outsiders as a privileged social group.** as a result, Jews are often excluded from intersectional coalitions of solidarity formed among members of oppressed groups.
28. **In 2018-2019, the ‘Trump Factor’ and the increasing ideological polarization have accelerated damage to precarious relationships between and among Israelis, Americans, and U.S. Jewish communities.** 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.¹⁹
29. **Finally, growing identification between Israel and the political right has deepened structural fissures between Israel and many liberal Jews.** Evangelical Christian support for

¹⁷ See a critique of the presumed theological basis of the Jewish social justice movement: Jonathan Neumann, **To Heal The World?**, 2018 (Click here)

¹⁸ See Cheryl Lynn Greenberg, **Troubling the Waters**, Princeton University Press, 2010 and Elisheva Goldberg, The Intersectional Jewish-American, The New Republic, September 6, 2018.

¹⁹ Alongside factors described elsewhere in this paper, frequent clashes between the Obama Administration with the Israeli government over various policies (e.g. the Iran Deal and expanding housing in Jewish settlements in the West Bank) contributed to Israel’s eroding status in the Democratic Party. Shalev, Chemi, Haaretz, October 26, 2018.

Israel has proven difficult to reconcile for both liberal Jews and longtime liberal Christian allies of the Jewish community. Attempts to bring together Evangelical and Jewish communities expose fundamental tensions, prominently rooted in Evangelical religious beliefs surrounding historic and future roles of Jews as well as the stark contrast between Evangelical political conservatism and the relatively liberal Jewish community.

30. **The turbulent climate and immensity of the challenges standing before Jewish communities are upending fundamental assumptions, including how people identify, influence, and associate.**
31. This paper proposes a typological framework through which to better understand the changes taking place and generate more relevant approaches for adaptation and mobilization. As an initial basis for better understanding the intersectionality challenge, Reut's typology of *Four Tribes of American Jewry* categorizes four overarching mindsets and behaviors of Jewish individuals and organizations: **The Aligners, The Moderate Critics, The Harsh Critics, and The Radicals.**
32. **The fifth tribe, or the "lost tribe" not discussed in this framework, comprises those opting away from the Jewish tent and disengaging from communal life, Israel and their Jewish identity.**

THE FOUR TRIBES OF AMERICAN JEWRY

The Four Tribes of American Jewry is a typology capturing a spectrum of outlooks regarding Jewish communal organizations and their support for Israel. Such a typology is essential for effectively responding to the challenge of intersectionality.

ALIGNERS

Aligners consider Israel to be an integral part of their Jewish identity and generally support the State of Israel. They generally play an active role in the pro-Israel and Jewish community and often refrain from publicly critiquing Israel.

MODERATE CRITICS

Moderate Critics, while pro-Israel, tend to oppose the Jewish Establishment's traditional, unconditional support for Israel. They experience tension between their liberal values and the policies of the Government of Israel. Moderate Critics can function both inside and outside the Jewish establishment.



RADICALS

Radicals are anti-Zionists who denounce Israel. They often serve as the 'Kosher stamp' for 'legitimizing' anti-Zionist campaigns.

HARSH CRITICS

Harsh Critics hold highly critical views of Israel's policies, most often with regards to Israel's continued control of the Palestinians. Their aversion towards Israeli policies alienates them from taking part in the traditional Jewish enterprise.

Aligners

33. **The Aligners play an active role in Jewish communal frameworks and consider Israel to be an integral component of their Jewish identity.** Supported by this constituency, U.S.-Jewish communal organizational models have made Israel the central focus for decades.
34. **Demographics:** Older than the other groups on average
35. **Politics:** Varied, liberal to conservative, broadly mirroring the American Jewish spectrum
36. **Values:** Dominant sense of solidarity and responsibility for Jewish continuity and identity
37. **Views on Jewish communal organizations:** By and large, support Jewish communal organizations' role as representatives of the broader Jewish community.²⁰
38. **Views on Israel and Zionism:** Zionists and Israel supporters; divided between those who largely support Israel's current government and those who are somewhat critical. They exhibit a keen interest in Israel (read Israeli news and are updated on Israeli current events beyond mainstream U.S. coverage) and engage in political support and occasional financial backing. Aligners balance critical examination of Israeli policies with sensitivity regarding publicly voicing criticism.
39. **Views on intersectionality:** Intersectionality is a genuine threat to the Jewish community and to the status of Israel within U.S. politics and society. Aligners see the application of intersectional principles as increasingly challenging Jewish calls to defend the Jewish State. They believe that anti-Zionism has become a litmus test to assess the 'progressive purity' required of progressive Jews as a basis for legitimacy and inclusion.
40. **Views on BDS:** This group ardently opposes the BDS Movement. Many relate its core foundations to modern anti-Semitism.

Moderate Critics

41. **The Moderate Critics often have an ambivalent approach towards Israel but still see themselves as pro-Israel.** Their criticism focuses on Israeli policies and emanates from a genuine sense of responsibility. They experience tension between their universal liberal values and the perceived unconditional support for Israel from the Jewish establishment.
42. **Demographics:** Not particular, all age groups.
43. **Politics:** This group tends to be made up of Democrats and Independents. They serve as ardent critics of President Donald Trump and Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu.
44. **Values:** Criticism for Israeli policy emanates from a genuine sense of responsibility and care for Israel. Moderate Critics are largely made up of constructivists torn between competing values of idealism and realism.

²⁰ Jewish communal organizations were created in the late 19th and into the 20th century to support the existing Jewish community and evolved to support the flood of Jewish migration leaving Europe. By the end of World War I, the Jewish Federation was the "framing institution" of most local Jewish communities. Federations exerted financial and institutional control over the Jewish community, with community relations councils (CRCs) established to represent the community's collective interests. Through the 20th century, the Holocaust, creation of the State of Israel, American civil rights movement, and plight of Soviet Jewry were generally unifying Jewish causes.

45. **Views on Jewish communal organizations:** Moderate Critics seek to change approaches towards Israel, sometimes offering or supporting alternative institutions or initiating inclusive new frameworks within Jewish communal organizational frameworks.
46. **Views on Israel and Zionism:** Many self-identify as Zionists but may not be comfortable using the ‘Z word’ when defining themselves externally. They are concerned over whether Israel seeks peace,²¹ enables pluralism,²² and upholds democratic standards.²³
47. **Views on intersectionality:** The theory’s core tenants of minority representation and social justice activism deeply align with Moderate Critics’ universalistic values. However, all-too-frequent tendencies of aligned groups to push anti-Israel agendas cause concern and unease.
48. **Views on BDS:** This group largely opposes the BDS Movement. Some may be willing to take a public stance against it, others defend a basic ‘right to BDS’ in the name of free speech and oppose legislation obstructing the BDS campaign.

Harsh Critics

49. **The Harsh Critics hold highly critical views of Israel. They do not associate with Jewish communal organizations,** which they see as anachronistic and conservative, though they can be alumni of Jewish educational institutions.
50. **Demographics:** Tend to be younger subsets of the population.
51. **Politics:** Active members of left-leaning political circles. A majority align with the Democratic Party platform or the progressive wing of the party. They vehemently oppose Trump and Netanyahu.
52. **Values:** Express Jewish identity largely through social justice activism; prioritize and actively engage in domestic and global struggles for universal justice; solidarity with and responsibility for the Jewish collective and Israel are not top priorities.
53. **Views on Jewish communal organizations:** Jewish establishment organizations are viewed as less relevant institutions who do not genuinely represent or identify with true progressivism.
54. **Views on Israel and Zionism:** This group is confused or concerned by the concept of Zionism and the idea of defining oneself as a Zionist, but not anti-Zionist.
55. **Views on intersectionality:** Harsh critics share a common globalist perspectives and view of social injustices as inherently linked. This group often feels at ease in intersectional circles. They link the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to the global struggle for universal human rights.

²¹ The Israeli-Palestinian conflict continues to serve as the ‘engine’ driving criticism over Israeli policy. Israel’s lack of a credible and persistent commitment to the two state-solution has become a significant stumbling block in Israel’s relations with World Jewry. Any form of annexation in the West Bank would dramatically and potentially irreversibly accelerate that trend.

²² Israel’s policies regarding the status of religion in Israel greatly impact Israel’s relations with the Jewish world. A number of official decisions and the exposure of systemic biases have deepened Israeli isolation on issues of religious pluralism. Prominent examples include the Government of Israel decision to cancel the so-called ‘Kotel Compromise’ amendment of the conversion bill and Israel’s Chief Rabbinate decision not to acknowledge conversions performed by most rabbis outside of Israel, as well as the ‘blacklist’ of ‘not recognized’ rabbis that the Chief Rabbinate secretly created.

²³ An advancing discourse around the erosion of Israel’s democracy has also found its way into circles of Israel’s closest Jewish friends. In addition to concerns about the degree of transparency and competition in Israeli media and high-profile corruption cases, Israel’s policies affecting the status of minorities in Israel, including Arab citizens and the rights of refugees and asylum seekers are greatly impacting Israel’s relations with the Jewish world. The nation-state bill exacerbated such concerns.

56. **Views on BDS:** This group may feel uncomfortable with the BDS Movement but would not condemn BDS and may support boycotts that target settlement product. They are unlikely to classify BDS as a form of anti-Semitism, or to withdraw from coalitions that include BDS groups.

Radicals

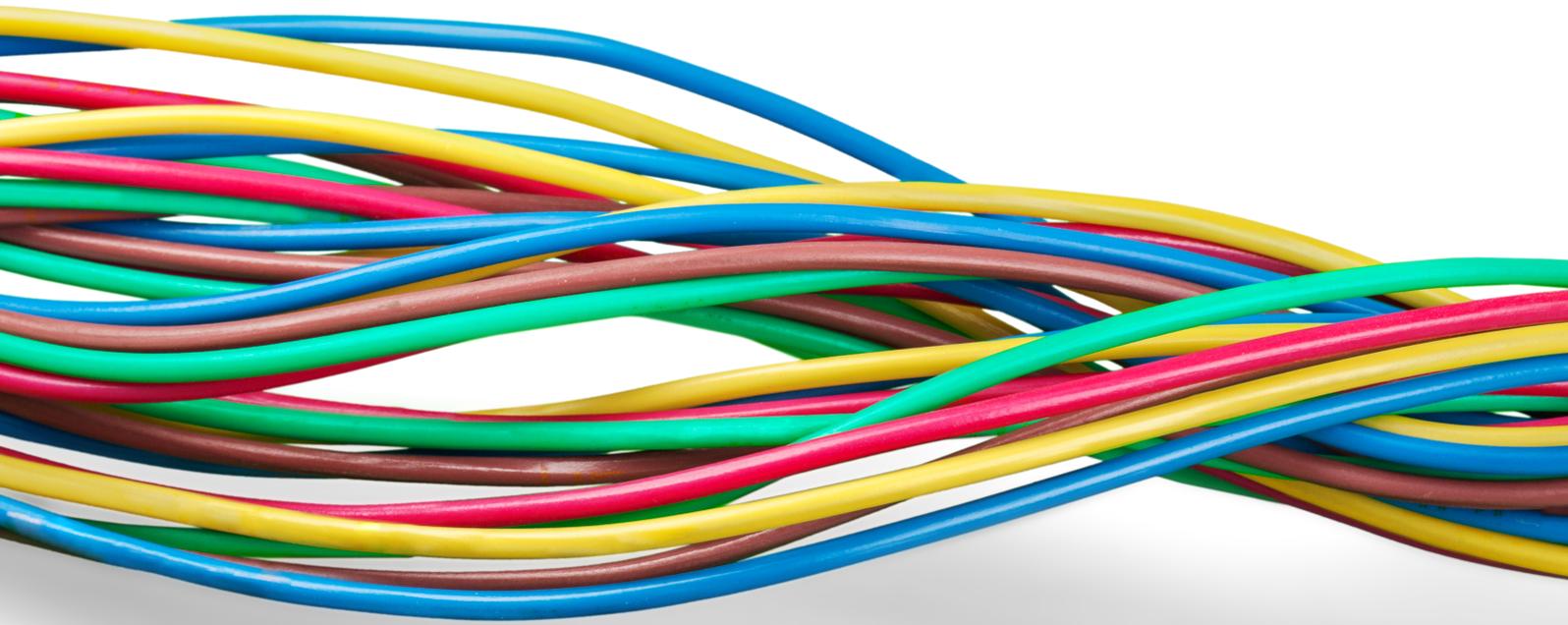
57. **The Radicals are ideological anti-Zionists who frame their political and social activities primarily through the prism of denouncing Israel.** Radicals often serve as the ‘Kosher Stamp’ of anti-Zionist campaigns.
58. **Demographics:** Generally younger subsets of the population.
59. **Politics:** Some may be strong supporters of the DSA. Many support a ‘one-state solution’ or feign apolitical agnosticism regarding a desired end solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.
60. **Values:** Reject Jewish right to self-determination, centrally denying that there is a 'Jewish people' or arguing that Israel has lost moral legitimacy due to its discrimination against Arab citizens, occupation of Palestinians, and the settlement-building enterprise.
61. **Views on Jewish communal organizations:** Reject the legitimacy of Jewish communal organizations as representatives of the Jewish community.
62. **Views on Israel and Zionism:** Motivated by anti-Zionist ideology, Radicals likely do not recognize a connection between the Jewish people and the Land of Israel and view Zionism as a colonial project that led to the dispossession of indigenous Arabs. They publicly call for driving a wedge between Israel and American Jewry.
63. **Views on intersectionality:** Main propagators of anti-Israel agendas within intersectional frameworks.
64. **Views on BDS:** Participate in and often lead anti-Israeli activity in the U.S., including the BDS campaign.

Summary

65. **Anti-Israel headway within intersectional platforms and campaigns is a strategic blow to Jewish communal cohesion. Anti-Israel groups are increasingly driving a wedge between Jewish communal organizations and Israel, as well as between Harsh Critics, and occasionally even Moderate Critics.** This dynamic dangerously accelerates the rapid transformation of Israel’s status within the U.S. Jewish community from a unifying issue into a divisive one.

Main differences are summarized below:

	ALIGNERS	MODERATE CRITICS	HARSH CRITICS	RADICALS
CHARACTERISTICS	Active in communal orgs, support Israel	Ambivalent towards Israel	Highly critical of Israel	Publicly anti-Zionists
DEMOGRAPHICS	On average, older	Not particular, all age groups	Younger subsets of the population	Younger subsets of the population
POLITICS	From across the political spectrum	Supporters of the Democratic party	Supporters of the Democratic Party – progressive wing	Identify with DSA, likely support ‘one-state solution’
VALUES	Strong solidarity, responsibility for Jewish continuity	Criticize because they care	Social justice activism	Religious or ideological anti-Zionism
COMMUNAL ORGS	View the Jewish establishment as the legitimate representative	Conditionally support national Jewish frameworks	No association w/communal orgs; Disengaging from Jewish establishment	Reject Jewish orgs representational legitimacy
ISRAEL / ZIONISM	Zionists; Pro-Israel supporters	Ambivalent Israel supporters, uncomfortable with ‘Z word’	Confused about Zionism but not anti-Zionist	Anti-Zionists. View Israel as an illegitimate colonial project
INTERSECTIONALITY	View intersectionality as a threat	Uncomfortable w/ intersectional anti-Israel agendas, but not quick to condemn	Comfortable in intersectional activity	Main anti-Israel drivers in intersectional circles
BDS	Oppose BDS Movement as a form of anti-Semitism	Largely oppose BDS movement, may defend ‘right to BDS’	May not support BDS Movement, but will not oppose it, defend the ‘right to BDS’	Participate in and lead BDS activities



RULES FOR ENGAGEMENT

The following principles are meant to advance two overarching strategic goals:

Internally, driving communal cohesion and collective action against anti-Israel activities within intersectional frameworks by driving a wedge between Harsh Critics and Anti-Zionist Radicals.

Externally, isolating Israel's delegitimizers ("ideological adversaries") by driving a wedge between them and intersectionally-aligned communities.



RULES TO REBUILD COMMUNAL COHESION

Fighting the delegitimization of Israel within intersectional circles requires driving a wedge between the engageable Harsh Critics and Radicals.

Relevant rules to apply are:

RULE 1. DOUBLE DOWN ON ISRAEL ENGAGEMENT

As intersectionality contributes to polarizing views on Israel, tendency to disassociate from Israel increases. However, such disengagement will only further weaken community cohesion and exacerbate the identity crisis of American Jews.

RULE 2. CULTIVATE A BROAD TENT APPROACH BASED ON NARROWLY DEFINING DELEGITIMIZATION

Unite broad coalitions around:

1. A narrow definition of delegitimization;
2. Red lines that establish agreed-upon boundaries
3. An approach of ‘constructive ambiguity’ towards well-beyond consensus issues; and
4. Continuous internal civil discourse

RULE 3. ENGAGE YOUNG JEWS WHERE THEY STAND

Successful engagement with Harsh Critics should not seek to transform them into Israel advocates, but to make them less susceptible to anti-Israel influence.

RULE 4. EDUCATE AND EMPOWER YOUTH TO HAVE TOUGH CONVERSATIONS ON ISRAEL

Once exposed to differing views on campus, many young Jews who were educated about Israel in their local communities feel deceived because Jewish organizations provided them only a simplistic view of the conflict.

RULE 5. OFFER CONSTRUCTIVE ALTERNATIVES TO HATE CAMPAIGNS

Jewish communities should proactively reframe the context through which young Jews engage with Israel.



RULES FOR MASS ENGAGEMENT

Anti-Israel groups often frame their views in the context of social justice, allowing them to garner solidarity, even from those in centerfield.

RULE 6. PRIORITIZE A RELATIONSHIP-BASED APPROACH.

Decentralized and diverse in nature, the community relations field is the Jewish community's best platform and option to meet these decentralized challenges.

RULE 7. INTELLECTUALLY REFRAME THE FOCUS ON ISRAEL.

Intersectionality requires that the pro-Israel community develop a counter-intellectual narrative, by partnering with key intersectional theorists to break the focus on Israel and restore the concept to its original meaning.

RULE 8. DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN IDEOLOGICAL ADVERSARIES AND THEIR SOLIDARITY SUPPORTERS.

Confront ideological adversaries within intersectional spaces, while adopting a nuanced approach towards contextual adversaries or those who are less committed to anti-Israel views.

RULE 9. CREATE YOUR OWN INTERSECTIONAL ALLIANCES

Expanding and diversifying allies and alliances should be accomplished by engaging organizations who hold complex views on Israel as well as by expanding inclusiveness within the Jewish community, for example, with Jews of color.

RULE 10. KICK-STARTING JOINT ISRAELI-DIASPORA TIKKUN OLAM

Projects and platforms for Jews to work together to improve the world and strengthen communal bonds and generate positive impact. These outcomes can bypass intersectional and identity politics in order to unite around a larger cause.

Chapter 3: Rules for Jewish Community Professionals

Internal Rules of Communal Cohesion

66. **Declining communal cohesion obstructs Jewish communal efforts to mobilize a collective Jewish response to the intersectional challenge**, bringing together diverse organizations and individuals within U.S. Jewish communities around shared interests, values, and commitments. Therefore, **the key principles below aim to restore a necessary threshold of internal cohesion.**

Rule 1: Double Down on Israel Engagement

67. **Resist the temptation.** Disengaging from Israel appears to be an increasingly attractive option, especially for organizations seeking to engage Harsh Critics and Moderate Critics at this time of polarization regarding Israel. Indeed, engaging on Israel exacts increasingly heavy tolls on the Jewish community's political efficacy and ability to engage with Harsh Critics and Moderate Critics.

68. However, **in the long term, disengagement on Israel poses a real threat to Jewish continuity and identity.** Specifically:

- **Disengagement from Israel would mean the implosion of the ideals of Jewish peoplehood, which will only further exacerbate the Jewish identity crisis.** Responding to a significant distancing of Jews from Jewish identity in recent decades, Jewish communal organizations in America have embraced the notion of peoplehood as a cohering organizing concept central to Jewish identity and life in America. Disengaging from Israel directly negates the foundations of Jewish peoplehood, which emphasize inherent emotional and social connections between Jews, a common destiny, and shared kinship. The short-term tactic may thus create an identity vacuum that will endanger Jewish continuity in the long run.
- **Disengaging from Israel sends a disturbing message to young Jews regarding Jewish solidarity and responsibility,** historically one of the most important defense mechanisms of Jewish life. Despite diverging interests and differing agendas, broadly speaking, the Jewish community rises above disputes in favor of expressing solidarity and mutual responsibility for one another; an invaluable 'benefit' defining membership within the Jewish people.
- **Disengagement is a form of work avoidance** – The declining relevance of Jewish communal organizations for young generations largely follows global trends around increasing mistrust of centralized representation. Americans today, Jews and non-Jews alike, have the lowest confidence levels in public institutions and governmental leaders in American history.²⁴ Thus, disengaging from Israel may not significantly help Jewish communal organizations gain increased relevance with their constituencies. On the contrary, it is likely to deepen fissures within communities, philanthropic circles, and families, undermining the political efficacy of Jewish communal organizations.

²⁴ Steven Windmueller, "Reinventing the Jewish Public Square: Promoting a Jewish Community Relations Model for the 21st Century," EJP, April 18, 2018.

69. **Moreover, the extent to which the Jewish community is actively or passively associated with Israel means that efforts to disengage will lack authenticity and fail to serve as a basis for meaningful bridge-building.**
70. **Thus, disengaging with Israel will only exacerbate the challenges of the Jewish community** and, in a reality where the global Jewish population is concentrated in two geographical baskets, it risks the continuity of the Jewish collective.

Rule 2: Cultivate a Broad Tent Approach Via Narrowly Defining Delegitimization

71. **The ‘broad-tent’ and ‘red-lines’ approach applied to the intersectionality challenge can enhance Jewish communal capacities,** principally in supporting diverse, ad-hoc partnerships across the various theaters in which new anti-Semitism and delegitimization take place, specifically in progressive and far-left circles.
72. **Indeed, Jewish communities will need to bring together Jews across political and ideological spectrums in order to drive a wedge between anti-Zionist Radicals and those critical of Israeli policy.** The goal of driving a wedge between these groups directly challenges a key anti-Israel strategic breakthrough in intersectionality platforms: successfully engaging self-proclaimed Zionists.
73. **Jewish communities are losing necessary constituencies to mount an effective response to the intersectional challenge. Harsh Critics, and occasionally Moderate Critics,** who opt away from dealing with Israel or frame their political action primarily through criticism of Israel or Israeli policies, often do not feel that the Jewish communal tent is broad enough for them. Indeed, in recent years, anti-Israel groups have driven wedges between Israel and certain Harsh and Moderate Critics.²⁵
74. **On the other side, an anti-Israel broad tent has been the incubator of successful anti-Israel campaigns within intersectionality platforms.** Its ‘rules’ for inclusion overlook members’ ideological differences. This fosters tactical collaboration with and between groups and individuals critical of Israeli policies, and even self-identified Zionists and Israelis.

Broad Tent

A united, not necessarily unified, front against new anti-Semitism and assaults on Israel’s legitimacy.

Red Lines

Voluntarily placed boundaries that delineate the constructive zone within the range of discourse on Israel.

²⁵ A recent example is more than 100 Jewish leaders, ranging from Moderate Critics to Radicals, signing a petition condemning attacks on prominent anti-Israel symbol Linda Sarsour. Josh Nathan-Kazis, “100 Prominent Jewish Leaders Condemn Attacks on Linda Sarsour,” *The Forward*, June 1, 2017.

75. **In sharp contrast, quite often, a Jewish communal narrow tent pushes critics to seek alternative venues for identification and activism – and into the arms of the anti-Israel groups.** The tendency of the Israeli government and some Jewish organizations and leaders to classify harsh critics of Israeli policy as delegitimizers often results in alienating critics who engage in legitimate discourse on Israel.

76. **To effectively address intersectionality, Jewish communal organizations must broaden their base by increasing tolerance for legitimate discourse on Israel and considering diverse ad-hoc partnerships,** including with grassroots and fringe groups, to combat new threats. Jewish communal broad-tent engagement efforts should specifically focus on engaging Harsh Critics who may give Israel the benefit of the doubt, maintain a meaningful emotional connection to Israel, and disapprove of the BDS Movement.

77. **A blueprint for building a broad tent emphasizes:**

- **Avoiding an overly broad definition of anti-Semitism and delegitimization²⁶** – Clear and concise definitions are critical for: driving a wedge between Radicals and anti-Israeli groups and Harsh Critics of Israeli policies; coalescing diverse coalitions; and opposing anti-Semitism and delegitimization externally. Minimalistic and objective definitions generate the least possible grounds for objection.
- **Delineating ‘red lines,’ or voluntarily placed boundaries that delineate the constructive zone within the range of discourse on Israel.** Red lines cannot be imposed top-down, but should be grappled with contextually by local communities, synagogues, communal, and grassroots organizations.
- **Jewish professionals must refrain from labeling organizations as qualified or not to enter the tent: approaches must be contextual.** The Jewish discourse often focuses on the possible qualification for which organizations and individuals may or may not

Constructive Ambiguity

Refers to established norms that do not pursue consensus on highly controversial issues and tolerate a relatively wide range of disagreement. The approach may neutralize divisiveness around intractable Israel-based issues to create space for finding areas of convergence.

²⁶ Reut defines “delegitimization” as the rejection of the right of the Jewish people to national self-determination or of the State of Israel to exist.

join the tent, reflecting a tacit assumption that ‘the tent’ is a closed permanent list in which one is either “in” or “out of”

- **Adopting a ‘constructive ambiguity’ approach on hot-button issues** – Given the current polarized political environment, there is a low likelihood of a divided Jewish community reaching common ground on several eminent issues, such as anti-BDS legislation and boycotting West Bank products. **This approach stands in clear contrast to the existing tendency of some Jewish communal organizations and the Israeli government to blacklist organizations** for different approaches on key issues.

78. **Modeling and scaling civil discourse practices that highlight the merits of Jewish unity, not uniformity** - Some community relations organizations have acquired robust experience in conducting civil discourse programs to elevate levels of discussion within the Jewish community on polarizing issues.²⁷ Highlighting the merits of Jewish unity (not uniformity) in addressing the ‘Israel factor’ and its effect on communal cohesion will mean working closely and constructively with Israeli leadership on truly joint challenges.

Rule 3: Engage Young Jews Where They Stand

79. **Young Jews, a portion of whom are Harsh Critics, are difficult to engage due to their low trust in Jewish communal organizations and their ambivalence regarding Israel. However, Jewish communal organizations should prioritize engagement with them.** Building trust with this segment is critical to bolstering communal cohesion and isolating extremist and anti-Israel groups.

80. **Engagement should not seek to transform Harsh Critics into Israel advocates or have them denounce BDS** (although clearly support of Jewish groups for BDS should be a redline); a threshold effect of having them be less susceptible to anti-Israel influence would yield a dramatic impact.

- **Cultivating honest and constructive dialogue needed to engage young Jews** requires:
- **Being empathetic and understanding** of their world view.
- **Allowing and enabling their voice and agenda to be shared** in a constructive manner within community platforms.
- **Communicating complexity surrounding Israel and expanding knowledge bases on key issues in a manner that is fair and nuanced.**
- **Building confidence and starting small.** Engage on a one-on-one basis or with small collectives.

²⁷ For example, the **JCRC in San Francisco launched The Year of Civil Discourse (YCD)** initiative that “provides Jewish community members, institutions, and leaders with the tools to have respectful, vibrant, engaging conversations about Israel and emerging controversial issues.” Encounter and Resetting the Table are two Jewish communal organizations committed to fostering a healthier relationship about the Israeli – Palestine conflict: “**Encounter** is a non-partisan educational organization committed to cultivating more informed and constructive Jewish leadership on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It enable[s] deeply committed Jewish influencers to encounter firsthand the people, perspectives, and challenges at the heart of the conflict,” see <http://www.encounterprograms.org>; **Resetting the Table (RTT)** is dedicated to “building meaningful dialogue and deliberation across political divides in American life. Drawing from facilitation and mediation expertise, Resetting the Table has developed a celebrated methodology, conceptual framework, and practical toolkit for communication across passionate and charged differences.” See <http://www.resettingthetable.org>.

- **Being sensitive and not pushing.** Organizations that refrain from taking a stance on Israel should not be pushed to do so to avoid further alienating them and damaging prospects of Jewish mobilization in the long term. Instead, they should be engaged with and valued for their diversity.
- **Drawing upon the common Jewish experience** to promote Jewish peoplehood-based solidarity.
- **Empowering niche organizations** that can act as bridges connecting Harsh Critics, Jewish communal organizations, and Israeli society. Relevant examples include Moishe House, One-Table, and A Wider Bridge.

Rule 4: Educate and Empower Youth to Have Tough Conversations

81. **The process of establishing the State of Israel united Jews living in Israel and abroad in a central shared joint mission and pushed aside many differences of opinion.** Indeed, despite points of divergence – notably widespread criticism of Israelis policies vis-à-vis the peace process from the 1980s onward and the status of the Rabbinate in Israel – Israel has largely received U.S. Jewish communities’ unreserved support.
82. **Jewish education has reflected this dynamic in a way that can also stifle debate and disagreement about Israel in the classroom. This dynamic has created dissonance** between the Israel that many young Jews were educated about and its image as debated and discussed on U.S campuses, leading them to feel deceived by Jewish communal organizations. This is seen as a significant factor in youth disengagement from community institutions.
83. **Jewish education should re-align approaches to Israel to ensure the resilience of young Jews’ core identity and values in the face of potential hostility and extremism.** This can be done by drawing on emerging initiatives that enable complex conversations about Israel and prepare young Jews for divisive, polarized discourse on Israel. While such an approach is already being adopted in some schools and informally on many campuses, it must be more prevalent.

Rule 5: Offer Constructive alternatives to hate campaigns.

84. **Proactively create new frameworks of discussion about Israel within the Jewish community** - Jewish communal organizations should highlight and promote alternatives to anti-Israel approaches, for example by supporting people-to-people economic partnerships between Palestinians and Israelis. This will allow critical Jews to connect with the Jewish communal framework.
85. **There is a need to reframe the context through which young Jews hear about Israel** so as to associate it with 'positive' values, such as innovation, creativity, and contribution to humanity.
86. **A pillar of the anti-Israel groups is to brand Israel as an aggressive violent country, which abuses human rights and violates international law.** The reaction of pro-Israeli groups, which is often focused on refuting the argument is not enough, and often plays into the framework created by anti-Israel groups.

External Rules of Mass Engagement

87. **Bolstering the community relations field is the most potent response in combatting delegitimization and contemporary anti-Semitism in intersectional contexts.** Community relations organizations and initiatives have built and maintained a powerful infrastructure of relationships with key political, civic, ethnic, and religious leaders and institutions. Community relations organizations should be strengthened and focused on addressing the intersectional challenge according to the following guidelines.

Rule 6: Prioritize Relationship-Based Approaches

88. **Meeting contemporary challenges and promoting overall resilience requires a relationship-based approach and work with many kinds of groups in a bottom-up fashion – the ‘bread-and-butter’ of the community relations field.** Countering the influence of anti-Israel networks, for example, involves aggregating a critical mass of ‘local wins’ earned by mobilizing and coordinating ad-hoc, often local, networks, also the core work of community relations organizations. Strengthening community relations organizations that mobilize and coordinate networks of relationships may have an outsized impact on the effectiveness of the pro-Israel network, particularly in small communities and in niche arenas.

89. **In practice, the challenge of intersectionality is dual, both internal and external; addressing it requires internal and external engagement.** Significantly, **the challenge is also dual in nature in that it impacts Jews both in the U.S. and Israel.**

90. **Moreover, community relations is premised on the notion that American Jews prosper in a pluralistic America.** The mission of community relations organizations is to secure interests and promote values of Jewish communities by serving as a bridge with ethnic and religious groups to ensure a more tolerant and pluralistic society, in which Jews and others flourish.

91. **A decentralized challenge requires a decentralized response. Strengthening the community relations field follows network logic.** Embracing network logic means focusing on anti-Israel hubs and working to undermine radicals within them by leveraging pro-

Jewish Community Relations

The Jewish community relations field, operating through decentralized organizations and initiatives and orchestrated by the Jewish Council for Public Affairs (JCPA), has played and maintains a key role in uniting communities and creating coalitions to advance Jewish communal interests and values. In this context, The Israel Action Network (IAN), a joint venture of the JCPA and the Jewish Federation of North America (JFNA), serves as a central body focused on combating delegitimization BDS campaigns along with 147 Federations, 125 JCRCs, and dozens of affiliated organizations. The ADL, AJC, WJC, and other community relations organizations increasingly focus on this issue as well.

Israel hubs and mobilizing Jewish communal organizations and grassroots organization committed to Israel's existence.

Rule 7: Intellectually reframe the focus on Israel

92. **Intersectionality in its current form is a result of an intellectual attack on Israel** – the concept of Intersectionality was ideologically hijacked by radicals who challenge the foundations of Zionism.
93. **This will require pro-Israel community to develop a counter intellectual narrative** in an equally appealing and sophisticated manner.
94. **Therefore, there must be an investment in the battle of ideas through thought leadership, specialized research and partnerships with key intersectional theorists to break the focus on Israel. The Mission: Achieve “intellectual superiority” over the anti-Israel groups who “hijacked” intersectionality.**

Rule 8: Drive a Wedge Between Ideological Adversaries and Their Solidarity Supporters

95. **Jewish professionals and institutions can better target response efforts within intersectional spaces by distinguishing between: ideological adversaries that largely define themselves politically through an anti-Israel agenda** and often perceive themselves as legitimate stakeholders due to personal ties to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the Middle East, or stemming from their religious affiliation (for example, within intersectional spaces, CAIR as an organization or Linda Sarsour as an individual); **and contextual adversaries that advocate for social justice issues and may engage in acts of delegitimization (e.g. supporting BDS) due to their sense of solidarity with certain issues promoted by anti-Israel groups.**²⁸
96. Specifically, **responses to events that are not bluntly anti-Semitic or widely objectionable should avoid publicly calling contextual adversaries out.** For example, over the last year, many individuals facing aggressive Jewish community accusations of anti-Semitism have been women of color (e.g. Angela Davis, Michelle Alexander). This perpetuates negative stereotypes about Jews as a white and privileged group struggling to retain an existing social order that many deem exclusionary. Young progressives, even

From Oppression to Affluence and Influence

Jewish community relations have long played a key role advancing Jewish communal interests and values in inter-communal unification and intra-communal coalition building.

However, with the community's gradually improving socio-economic status, community relations organizations are facing increasing difficulty engaging disempowered populations and being identified with progressive causes.

²⁸ For example, within intersectional frameworks, LGBTQI and Latino activists support Black Lives Matter out of solidarity.

those capable of identifying anti-Semitism on the left, are uncomfortable with the repeated callouts against these women and may be alienated from the Jewish establishment in favor of supporting minority rights.

Rule 9: Create Your Own Intersectional Alliances

97. Community relations organizations need to adopt principles to enable expanding and diversifying allies and alliances, including by:

- **Focusing on social justice issues that make sense for the Jewish community to champion.** Draw upon genuine authenticity and passion for a cause that reflect a unique Jewish value proposition. For example, issues such as immigration and systemic or institutional discrimination based on race, religion, and ethnicity uniquely connect to the Jewish experience. A connection with the Jewish state can be an asset in this context; for example, African American and Jewish coalitions combating racism against African Americans in the U.S. and advocating for the Ethiopian-Israeli community or African refugees in Israel.²⁹
- **Partnering with other minority communities based on shared values and common interests, such as on criminal justice reform, immigration rights or in fighting against racism, bigotry and hate crimes.** Only authentic solidarity can feasibly serve the long-term fundamental legitimacy of Israel within these communities (as opposed to an expectation of gains based on transactional relations). As noted above, in the aftermath of the 2016 Presidential election there is an opportunity and necessity to re-engage in such partnerships and reassess the state of communal relations.
- **Creating community-based coalitions with organizations or individuals who hold complex views on Israel outside of mainstream institutions.** While Jewish organizations might have limitations in this area, individuals with greater freedom can fill in the gaps. Smaller organizations and individual leaders can initiate bridge-building efforts and ‘test the waters,’ gradually drawing in institutional leadership to show up, listen, and get involved.
- **Engaging modern-day influencers.** The rise of social media platforms has generated a new crowd of passionate, engaged influencers. Efforts to contend with the intersectionality challenge will require pro-Israel groups to step outside their comfort zones by engaging the full spectrum of Jews who dominate these platforms, not just the traditional opinion leaders. These influencers are portals to new and untapped corners of Jewish and non-Jewish ‘markets.’
- **Helping disempowered others to empower themselves.** Jewish communal organizational structures, modus operandi, public affairs know-how, and programming have achieved historic successes in advancing Jewish social justice causes. These can be modeled and serve as valuable assets for other disempowered populations to overcome discrimination and prejudice.

²⁹

A Wider Bridge - an LGBTQ organization that calls for “Equality IN Israel and FOR Israel” presents a model for such an organization which could be applied to a Latino-Jewish, African-American-Jewish coalitions or Women’s rights group focused on advocating for women’s issues both in Israel and America. Several replicable components of A Wider Bridge include:

- Advocating for an issue directly in Israel. Advocacy activities would include funding mission-aligned organizations, generating petitions and online support, standing in coalition with Israel-related organizations. A Wider Bridge advocates for LGBTQ rights in Israel, giving the organization “street-cred” in LGBTQ spaces in the U.S.
- Developing relationships with community partners in the US on initiatives outside of Israel. Being a true player and advocate for the community’s issues within a domestic space, outside of issues related to Israel.

- **Expanding inclusiveness within the Jewish community for Jews of color and** recognize opportunities for individual Jews of color to serve as a bridge between Jewish and other communities.
- **‘Ask what you can do for community partners, not what they can do for you.’** The role of Jewish communal organizations in this context is to adopt issue focuses based on the articulated needs of community partners, collectively organizing to deploy significant political or social capital to rally behind it.
- **Jewish organizations should adopt a pragmatic approach to coalition building that enables the community to actively participate in broad-based social-justice orientated coalitions** – When encountering groups with an oppositional agenda within a coalition, the key is identifying common ground and agreeing to work together on specific issues without bringing external issues or baggage to the table.
- **An exception to the rule: Value principle over pragmatism when encountering Jewish Radicals who support the BDS Movement within coalitions.** Jewish Radicals are challenging the legitimacy of Jewish communal organizations to represent the same Jewish constituency and granting them legitimacy would be a double-edge sword. In other words, **the goal of the Jewish community should be to delegitimize Jewish Radicals anti-Zionists in mainstream progressive circles.**

Rule 10: Kickstart Joint Israeli-Diaspora Tikkun Olam Projects

98. **Israel and World Jewry should unite around a shared objective to become global leaders in addressing humanity’s toughest challenges in their home countries and abroad.**
99. **The Jewish people in the U.S. and Israel possess expertise and values-based commitments to international development.** While U.S. Jewish communities strongly identify with the ideal of Tikkun Olam, Israel has established itself as a ‘start-up nation’ and a world leader in creatively dealing with some of the greatest challenges facing humanity in fields including disabilities, medicine, communications, energy, food and water security, agriculture, large-scale immigration, and society building.
100. **Joining the power of a state with the strength and diversity of a globally dispersed people for the purpose of positive impact presents a unique opportunity.** Israel’s advantages in international development stem from the capacities, resources, and global reach of its national government and significant technological and social expertise acquired through contending with the young country’s challenges. A global network of vibrant Jewish communities boasts strong communal institutions, a focus on knowledge and education, and innovation abilities in pioneering industries and in fields that require cutting-edge knowledge development.
101. **A credible Tikkun Olam effort, which provides a platform for Jews in Israel and around the world to work together, can strengthen common bonds between Israel and U.S. Jews and remind the two of their shared history, destiny, and peoplehood in a time of divide.** In addition, a consistent and genuine Tikkun Olam effort can help to counter anti-Israel branding spread significantly through intersectional platforms.³⁰

³⁰ See Reut document on Tikkun Olam of the 21st Century.



MAPPING INTERSECTIONALITY AND AMERICAN JEWRY THROUGH TIME

1790

THE NATURALIZATION ACT

A law passed in the United States allowing people to apply for citizenship, as long as they were a free white person of "good character." This law excluded Native Americans, free blacks, slaves, indentured servants, and Asians from citizenship.

Federal Naturalization Laws (1790, 1795). 26 Mar. 1790, www.indiana.edu/~kdhist/H105-documents-web/week08/naturalization1790.html.

1892

"THE COLORED WOMAN'S OFFICE"

Anna Julia Cooper identifies black women as the most important actors in social change movements, because of their experience with multiple facets of oppression

Cooper, Anna Julia (2017) [1892], "The colored woman's office", in Lemert, Charles, ed. (2016-07-12). *Social theory: the multicultural, global, and classic readings* (6th ed.). Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press. ISBN 9780813350448.

1989

KIMBERLEY CRENSHAW COINS THE TERM, INTERSECTIONALITY

Cjr. "The Origin of the Term 'Intersectionality'." *Columbia Journalism Review*, 23 Oct. 2018, www.cjr.org/language_corner/intersectionality.php.

1851

SOUJOURNER TRUTH GIVES 'AIN'T I A WOMAN SPEECH'

Speech given by freed slave Sojourner Truth at the 1851 Women's convention in Akron, Ohio, that challenged the notion that being a woman and being black are mutually exclusive.

This is one of the first recorded accounts of intersectionality in the United States.

Bowleg, Lisa. "The Problem With the Phrase Women and Minorities: Intersectionality—an Important Theoretical Framework for Public Health." *American Journal of Public Health*, vol. 102, no. 7, July 2012. National Center for Biotechnology Information, doi:10.3897/bdj.4.e7720.figure2f.

1976

GENERAL MOTORS LAWSUIT

Emma DeGraffenreid and several other black women sued General Motors for discrimination, arguing that the company segregated its workforce by race and gender. Their claims were denied on the basis that black women should not be permitted to combine their race and gender claims into one.

Crenshaw, Kimberlé. "Why Intersectionality Can't Wait." *The Washington Post*, WP Company, 24 Sept. 2015, www.washingtonpost.com/news/in-theory/wp/2015/09/24/why-intersectionality-cant-wait/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.a5a71ce63ac8.

1992

PATRICIA HILL COLLINS INFLUENCES INTERSECTIONAL THOUGHT AFTER PUBLISHING RACE, CLASS & GENDER

Collins, Patricia Hill (March 2000). "Gender, black feminism, and black political economy". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 568 (1): 41–53. doi:10.1177/000271620056800105. Interlocking systemic reliance on multi-faceted forms of segregation | Collins, Patricia Hill (2009) [1990], "Towards a politics of empowerment", in Collins, Patricia Hill, ed. (2009). *Black feminist thought: knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge. p. 277. ISBN 9780415964722.

2007

ANTI-SEMITISM & INTERSECTIONALITY IN SAN FRANCISCO

A San Francisco-based Latino youth organization for youth empowerment painted a mural depicting Palestinians breaking through a crack in the Israeli security barrier and eliminating Israel, as a statement of solidarity with the Palestinians. The mural was eventually modified after involvement by the local Jewish community.

Staff, Examiner. "Controversial Mural to Be Altered in S.F." *The San Francisco Examiner*, *The San Francisco Examiner*, 20 Sept. 2007. www.sfoxaminer.com/news/controversial-mural-to-be-altered-in-s-f/.

2014

FROM PALESTINE TO FERGUSON

Intersecting social justice efforts swept headlines as BDS groups promoted the #PALESTINE2FERGUSON campaign, which sought to draw a parallel between the Palestinian struggle and the struggle of police brutality against African Americans. The killing of Michael Brown by police in Ferguson coincided with Operation Protective Edge between Israel and Hamas-led Gaza, further amplifying solidarity between groups such as Black Lives Matter and anti-Israel groups.

Isaacs, Anna. "How The Black Lives Matter and Palestinian Movements Converged." *Moment Magazine - The Next 5,000 Years of Conversation Begin Here*, 14 Mar. 2016. www.momentmag.com/22800-2/.

2003

ANTI-SEMITISM & INTERSECTIONALITY IN SAN FRANCISCO

A San Francisco-based rape crisis center referred to the organization as "anti-Zionist" and asked potential volunteers & interns about their willingness to take a "stance against Zionism", despite the center's mission and duty having no relation to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

"Women Against Rape against Israel, Too." *The Jewish News of Northern California*, 11 July 2003. www.jweekly.com/2003/07/11/women-against-rape-against-israel-too/.

2013

"FROM PATRIARCHY TO INTERSECTIONALITY"

In this Article, Vrushali Patil examines the general shift in feminist scholarship from the use of the concept of patriarchy to the concept of intersectionality from a transnational feminist perspective.

Patil, Vrushali (1 June 2013). "From Patriarchy to Intersectionality: A Transnational Feminist Assessment of How Far We've Really Come". *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. 38 (4): 847–867. doi:10.1086/669560. ISSN 0097-9740. JSTOR 10.1086/669560.

MARCH 2016

CHICAGO DYKE MARCH

The Chicago Dyke March served as an alternative to the male dominant pride parade, highlighting the intersection of feminism and LGBTQ+ activism.

Windy City Times. "Thousands at Chicago's 20th Annual Dyke March - Gay Lesbian Bi Trans News Archive." *Windy City Times*, 25 June 2016. www.windycitymediagroup.com/lgbt/Thousands-at-Chicagos-20th-annual-Dyke-March-/55688.html.

JANUARY 2017

THE WOMEN'S MARCH

Millions of women marched around the world in support of a range of issues, including gender equality, LGBTQ rights and racial justice. The day offered a searing rebuke to Trump's rhetoric and seemed to be a galvanizing moment for the anti-Trump left, uniting women (and many men) across racial, socioeconomic and geographic divisions. It was the biggest one-day protest in U.S. history.

Hartocollis, Anemona, and Yamiche Alcindor. "Women's March Highlights as Huge Crowds Protest Trump: 'We're Not Going Away'." The New York Times, The New York Times, 21 Jan. 2017, www.nytimes.com/2017/01/21/us/womens-march.html.

FEBRUARY 2018

WOMEN'S MARCH LEADER ATTENDS LOUIS FARRAKHAN EVENT

Women's March leader, Tamika Mallory, attended the Nation of Islam's Saviour day, where leader Louis Farrakhan made several anti-Semitic and homophobic statements. This included referring to "the satanic Jew" and proclaiming that "powerful Jews" are his enemy. Furthermore, Farrakhan gave Mallory a shout out and she later posted admiring photos from the event on Instagram. The Anti-Defamation League and CNN anchor Jake Tapper point out Mallory's attendance at the event, spurring calls for her to disavow Farrakhan.

Dolsten, Josefin. "A Timeline of the Women's March Anti-Semitism Controversies." Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 17 Jan. 2019, www.jta.org/2019/01/17/united-states/a-timeline-of-the-womens-march-anti-semitism-controversies.

MARCH 2017

CHICAGO DYKE MARCH

This year the Chicago Dyke March proclaimed to be explicitly anti-Zionist, alienating many Jewish and Zionist participants.

Cardoza, Kerry. "Chicago Dyke March Returns after Clash Last Year Became International News." Chicago Reader, Chicago Reader, 13 June 2018, www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/chicago-dyke-march-zionism-anti-semitism/Content?oid=50231229.

AUGUST 2017

UNITE THE RIGHT RALLY

In Charlottesville, Neo-Nazis and alt-right groups hosted the "Unite the Right Rally". This rally was in protest of the removal of a confederate era statue in Charlottesville and was filled with racist and anti-Semitic rhetoric, including chants of "Jews will not replace us." Many in the Jewish community were upset over the small response towards the anti-Semitic aspects of the event.

Green, Emma. "Why the Charlottesville Marchers Were Obsessed With Jews." The Atlantic, Atlantic Media Company, 12 Oct. 2017, www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/08/nazis-racism-charlottesville/536928/.

MARCH 2018

TAMIKA MALLORY DEFENDS HER TIES TO FARRAKHAN, THE WOMEN'S MARCH DELIVERS A WEAK RESPONSE

Despite public outcry, Mallory defends her ties to Farrakhan in a piece for NewsOne. "Where my people are is where I must also be. I go into difficult spaces," she writes. Over a week after the controversy unfolded, the leadership of the Women's March finally released a statement condemning the statements Farrakhan. However, this was without criticism of Mallory or a full disavowment of Farrakhan, leaving many unsatisfied with the response.

Dolsten, Josefin. "A Timeline of the Women's March Anti-Semitism Controversies." Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 17 Jan. 2019, www.jta.org/2019/01/17/united-states/a-timeline-of-the-womens-march-anti-semitism-controversies.

APRIL 2018

MALLORY SLAMS STARBUCKS

Tamika Mallory criticized Starbucks for using the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) as an advisor for racial-bias education program for its staff members. Mallory accused the Jewish group of "constantly attacking black and brown people." Later, Starbucks announced that the Jewish anti-bigotry group would no longer play a leading role in diversity training.

Dolsten, Josefin. "A Timeline of the Women's March Anti-Semitism Controversies." Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 17 Jan. 2019, www.jta.org/2019/01/17/united-states/a-timeline-of-the-womens-march-anti-semitism-controversies.

NOVEMBER 2018

LINDA SARSOOR DEFENDS HER ALLIES, WOMEN'S MARCH FOUNDER CALLS ON ORGANIZERS TO STEP DOWN

The Women's March releases another statement to further condemn Farrakhan, but puts the blame for hatred in the US exclusively on the Trump administration and conservatives. Palestinian-American activist Linda Sarsour defends newly elected Rep. Ilhan Omar, who was criticized for making anti-Semitic comments and expressing support for the BDS movement. Sarsour also defends Mallory's relationship to the Nation of Islam and Louis Farrakhan. Women's March co-founder, Teresa Shook, calls on the national organizers to resign. The Women's March releases a third statement condemning anti-Semitism.

Dolsten, Josefin. "A Timeline of the Women's March Anti-Semitism Controversies." Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 17 Jan. 2019, www.jta.org/2019/01/17/united-states/a-timeline-of-the-womens-march-anti-semitism-controversies.

OCTOBER 2018

PITTSBURGH SHOOTING

11 Jews were murdered when a shooter entered a Synagogue during Saturday morning Shabbat services. The crime was linked to rising fear and hatred directed towards immigrants and refugees.

Robertson, Campbell, et al. "11 Killed in Synagogue Massacre; Suspect Charged With 29 Counts." The New York Times, The New York Times, 27 Oct. 2018, www.nytimes.com/2018/10/27/us/active-shooter-pittsburgh-synagogue-shooting.html.

ALYSSA MILANO CALLS OUT THE ORGANIZERS OF WOMEN'S MARCH INC.

Three days after the Pittsburgh shooting, actress Alyssa Milano called out the organizers of Women's March Inc. for anti-Semitic allegations during an interview with the Advocate. Milano announces that she would not speak at the Women's March if Linda Sarsour and Tamika Mallory are in charge. Her comments carried significant weight, since it was her tweets that propelled the #MeToo movement into the mainstream media.

Dolsten, Josefin. "A Timeline of the Women's March Anti-Semitism Controversies." Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 17 Jan. 2019, www.jta.org/2019/01/17/united-states/a-timeline-of-the-womens-march-anti-semitism-controversies.

JEWISH SOCIAL JUSTICE GROUP HARRASSED

A Tucson based Jewish social justice group, Tucson Jews for Justice, was harassed while protesting the Trump administration's family separation policies and the Muslim ban by several anti-Zionist individuals, including members of the group Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP). The group was harassed for not condemning Israel, despite having supplied \$1,400 worth of supplies to asylum seekers and traveling to the border to lend direct support.

Pink, Aiden. "Jews Fight For Immigrants — But Face Fierce Backlash From Anti-Israel Activists." The Forward, 08 Oct. 2019, <https://forward.com/news/national/411337/jewish-group-fights-for-immigrants-but-faces-attacks-by-anti-israel/>

DECEMBER 2018

WOMEN'S MARCH LEADERS FACE FURTHER ACCUSATIONS OF ANTI-SEMITISM

In a Tablet magazine article, Tamika Mallory and Carmen Perez are accused of making anti-Semitic comments at a Women's March planning meeting. The leaders deny that they ever made these comments, but word spreads fast. Local Women's March leaders believe these controversies are hurting their image, and the Jewish Democratic Council of America call for the national Women's March organizers to step down.

Dolsten, Josefin. "A Timeline of the Women's March Anti-Semitism Controversies." Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 17 Jan. 2019. www.jta.org/2019/01/17/united-states/a-timeline-of-the-womens-march-anti-semitism-controversies.

APRIL 2019

POWAY SHOOTING

An active shooter entered the Chabad of Poway during a Passover service, killing one and injuring three.

TOI Staff. "Three Wounded in Poway Synagogue Shooting Released from the Hospital." The Times of Israel, 29 Apr. 2019. www.timesofisrael.com/three-wounded-in-poway-synagogue-shooting-released-from-hospital/.

ANTI-SEMITISM & THE NEW YORK TIMES

An anti-Semitic cartoon was published in the New York Times showcasing Donald Trump as a blind man wearing a Jewish skullcap being led by a dog, drawn to look like Benjamin Netanyahu.

TOI Staff. "New York Times 'Deeply Sorry' for Anti-Semitic Cartoon of Netanyahu and Trump." The Times of Israel, 28 Apr. 2019. www.timesofisrael.com/ny-times-deeply-sorry-for-anti-semitic-cartoon-of-netanyahu-and-trump/.

JANUARY 2019

WOMEN'S MARCH ATTEMPTS AT CHANGE

The new 32-member steering committee of the Women's March includes 3 Jewish Women. Bob Bland and Carmen Perez both condemn Louis Farrakhan, Tamika Mallory does not. Many Jewish groups disaffiliate from the rally. Several liberal New York Rabbis encourage Jews to still attend.

Dolsten, Josefin. "A Timeline of the Women's March Anti-Semitism Controversies." Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Jewish Telegraphic Agency, 17 Jan. 2019. www.jta.org/2019/01/17/united-states/a-timeline-of-the-womens-march-anti-semitism-controversies.

JANUARY-FEBRUARY 2019

REP. ILHAN OMAR CRITICIZED FOR MAKING ANTI-SEMITIC COMMENTS

Newly elected progressive Rep. Ilhan Omar was highly criticized for making several comments that invoked anti-Semitic tropes, including accusations that Jewish Americans have dual loyalty, Jewish/pro-Israel groups control congress member with money, and that Israel has hypnotized the world. Omar is one of the first two Muslim-American women elected to congress and is highly critical of Israel and the Israel-lobby.

Ali, Dishad. "Rep. Ilhan Omar's Challenges and Controversies - A Timeline of Events." Haute Hijab, 08 Mar. 2019. <https://www.hautehijab.com/blogs/hijab-fashion/rep-ilhan-omars-challenges-and-challenges-a-timeline-of-events/>

MAY 2019

REP. RASHIDA TLAIB UNDER FIRE FOR HOLOCAUST COMMENTS

Rep. Rashida Tlaib, the first Palestinian-American congresswoman, came under fire for her comments surrounding the holocaust. During an interview, Tlaib expressed that she gets a "calming feeling" when thinking about the holocaust, due to the fact that it was her ancestors who provided a safe haven for Jews despite the fact that it "took their human dignity away. Tlaib was criticized for anti-Semitism and grossly rewriting history, yet was also defended by many members of the Democratic party who claimed the Trump administration was twisting her words as part of a smear campaign.

Al Jazeera. "Rashida Tlaib: Policing My Words and Twisting Them Won't Work." Palestine News | Al Jazeera, Al Jazeera, 14 May 2019, www.aljazeera.com/news/2019/05/rashida-tlaib-stands-remarks-israel-holocaust-190514054230391.html.

ANTI-SEMITIC BERNIE SANDERS ARTICLE

Politico published an article about presidential candidate Bernie Sanders, describing him as "cheap" and depicting him surrounded by trees of money and large houses. The article was particularly criticized by left wing Rep. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, who has also faced backlash for several comments she has made.

Haaretz. "Ocasio-Cortez Slams Politico for 'Money Trees next to the Only Jewish Candidate for President'." Haaretz.com, 28 May 2019, www.haaretz.com/world-news/politico-magazine-accused-of-anti-semitism-over-bernie-sanders-illustration-1.7287808.

JUNE 2019

DC DYKE MARCH BANS JEWISH AND ISRAEL RELATED SYMBOLS

The DC Dyke March, aimed at social change, justice and "queer liberation" banned any nationalist symbol from its rally. However, the ban only explicitly mentions American and Israeli national symbols. Furthermore, while not explicitly banning Jewish symbols, the rainbow pride flag featuring the Star of David at its center has been banned due to its resemblance to the Israeli flag. Many queer Jews with a relationship to Israel feel attacked and isolated by the movement.

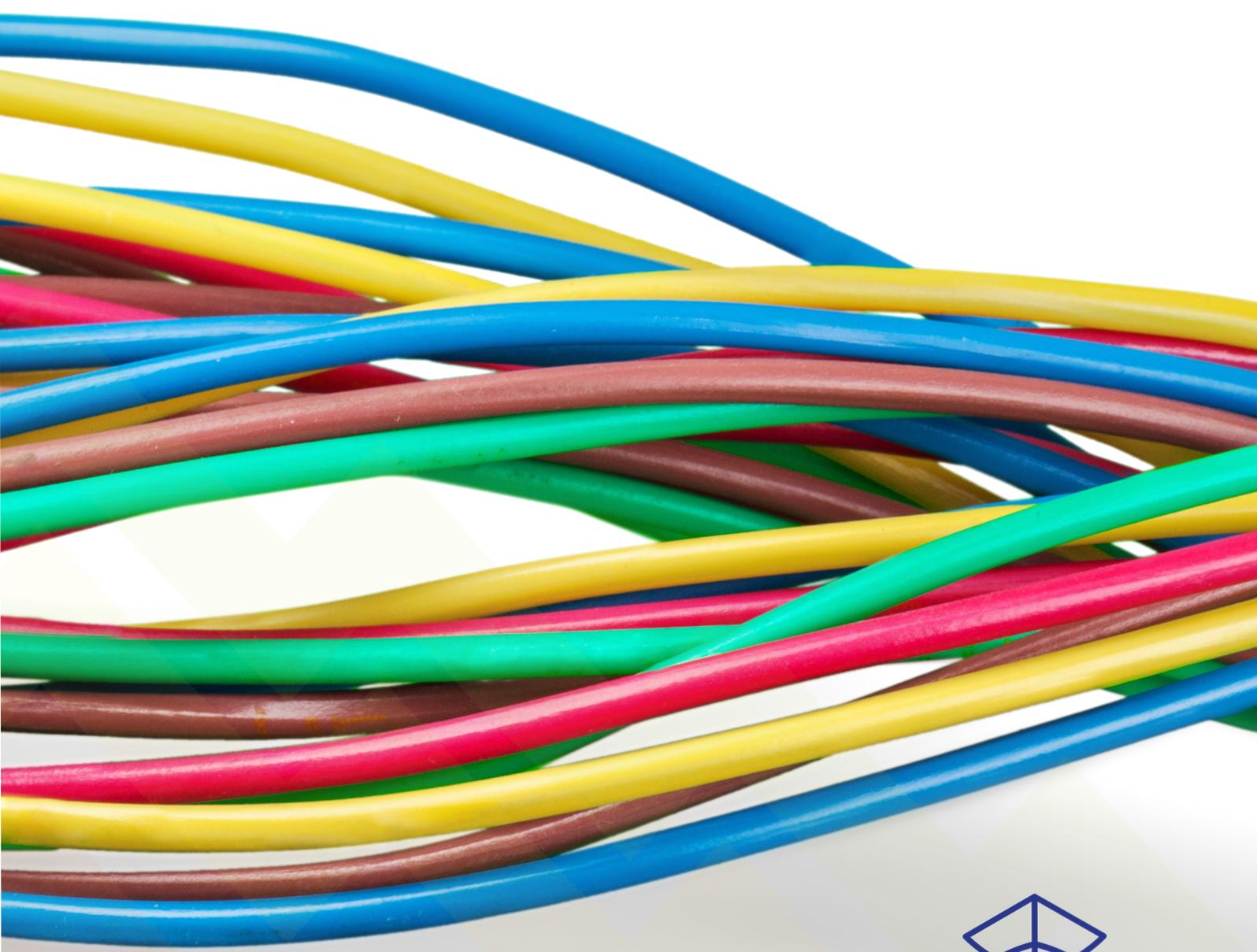
TOI Staff. "The Controversy over the DC Dyke March, Jewish Pride Flags and Israel, Explained." The Times of Israel, 8 June 2019, www.timesofisrael.com/the-controversy-over-the-dc-dyke-march-jewish-pride-flags-and-israel-explained/.

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קבוצת ראות
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