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SYSTEMIC OVERVIEW

THE 1619 PROJECT & THE JEWISH ANGLE

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**PHASE 1: THE 1619 PROJECT AND THE JEWISH ANGLE**

The following is an initial mapping of the 1619 Project and its influence ecosystem, and a ‘marking of territory’ for further drill-down. It highlights the Project’s dominant intellectual and contextual underpinnings and underlying assumptions in relation to broader trends affecting Jewish life in North America. The document is intended to elicit feedback and inputs.

**INTRO: OVERVIEW OF THE 1619 PROJECT**

The 1619 Project is an ongoing initiative from The New York Times Magazine that began in August 2019, the 400th anniversary of the beginning of American slavery. An eclectic collection of essay and poems tell the story of slavery's enduring legacy from a variety of angles. The Project comprises: special edition of Sunday magazine (100-page spread), a section of the newspaper, a kids’ section, and a five-part podcast. It will become a school curriculum in several school systems nationwide, and has been promoted through broad publicity campaigns. In 2020, the Times will expand the 1619 Project into a book.

The Project begins with an introductory piece from its creator, Nikole Hannah-Jones, which serves as an overarching conceptual framework, followed by a series of articles exploring the influence of slavery on American music, housing patterns, voting rules, and crime policies, and over American capitalism more generally.

*Beyond the powerful and empowering effect that it appears to have had on many black Americans, high-profile center-left liberals have largely embraced the Project* (for example, Sen. Kamala Harris and Mayor Pete Buttigieg both offered praise). However, *a backlash came swiftly from several directions.*

- **Historical backlash:** The Project came under scrutiny from historians and publications, notable in *The Atlantic* and in a *letter published* in the New York Times Magazine sent from five historians.

- **Conservative backlash:** The conservative Twitterverse and influence establishment, notably the Wall Street Journal, savaged the project's attack on the legitimacy of American systems and institutions, even aligning explicitly with socialist criticism of the Project.

- **Socialist backlash:** Socialist criticism emerged most dominantly, through the World Socialist Web Site, and played a significant role in driving subsequent debate. The central issue from the socialist perspective is the relative salience of race to hierarchy in the U.S., which also touched on a divide in the left between ‘defenders of the working class’ vs. ‘identity politics Democrats.

  Socialists derided the Project's “whole display indifference to the oppression and suffering of all other, i.e., non-African American, inhabitants of the American continent,” and the notion of black exceptionalism (an “implicit claim that inequality-socioeconomic and political-is the exclusive fate of African Americans is a stunning demonstration of the blindness and self-absorption that characterizes the outlook of the editors and writers of the 1619 Project”).
Moreover, the Socialist perspective views race as a convenient distraction from tackling core economic and class issues (even, for example, believing the New York Times promotion of the Project is an exercise to elevate discussion over a secondary issue, race, to protect, their interests as a corporate entity firmly entrenched within an inequitable status quo system, which itself constitutes the primary issue).¹

- Several instances of criticism from intersectional perspectives especially object to the exclusion of Native Americans in the Project’s focus on blacks as an exceptionally oppressed minority deserving a different status than other minority groups.

**Key influencers (figures and texts)**

- **Nikole Hannah Jones**: Initiator of The 1619 Project.  
  *Key text*: Nikole Hannah Jones introductory essay to 1619 Project.

- **Key text**: James Baldwin’s 1967 New York Times article encapsulating the black perspective on black-Jewish dynamics. The theme of Jews taking money and houses remains as pervasive.

- **Ta-Nehisi Coates**: Intellectual rationale for black exceptionalism.  
  *Key text*: The Case for Reparations.

**1619 CONCEPTUAL MAPPING**

Two central arguments anchor the 1619 Project conceptual framework and are a basis for its prescriptive approach. The first is that the existing system is rotten from its inception and to its core; the second calls for fundamental systemic change to address the original sin of slavery.

**The system is irredeemable**

Throughout the diverse essays and poems that comprise the 1619 Project, two dominant themes condemning the existing American social, economic, and political system repeat:

**Anti-black racism is embedded in U.S. society’s very DNA.**²

**A reality built on the plundering of black wealth** – Systemic usurping of black wealth started with slavery but did not end with slavery, and continues today. It is the root of contemporary disparities.³

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¹ See here and here.

² See for example in 1619: Nikole Hannah-Jones elaborates psychological and material incentives that sustain the institutional white suppression that created a pervasive caste system; Jamelle Bouie describes anchoring societal paradigms (“elaborate sets of beliefs, customs, and ideologies meant to justify their positions in this economic and social hierarchy”); Jeneen Interlandi showcases federal health policy as an example of systemic wielding of policy tools to, implicitly and explicitly, exclude black Americans; Mary Elliot and Jazmine Hughes look at how the race has been encoded into law and Bryan Stevenson discusses the criminal justice system as a strategy of racial control; Linda Villarosa shows science as a tool for propagating oppression, focusing on the enduring influence of racist medical science; Kevin Kruse describes an intertwined history of the nation's infrastructure and racial inequality; and a collection of poems highlight a ‘systemic atrocity’ theme, juxtaposing individual violence and hate with the larger societal mechanism supporting it.

³ See for example in 1619.
Imperative to address original sin

Once the system's irredeemable brokenness has been established, the next assumption the reader is offered is that the root of systemic corruption is the original sin of slavery and anti-black racism. Addressing the issue at its roots, given the centrality of this original sin, is imperative in the pursuit of a just system.

Only fundamental change will address systemic flaws. An agenda promoting fundamental systemic change is implicit in the New York Times’ bold mission to usher in a conceptual showdown, and elsewhere explicit.4 Within the 1619 Project, aligned themes include: the inadequacy of incremental change measures, ‘the historical moment for change is now,’ and that opposing fundamental change is complicity in systemic exclusion.5

Reclaiming historical narrative to lay a new foundation as a necessary first step in making a corrective: An emphasis on confronting historical ignorance that perpetuates injustice, and breeds internal and external demons of racial inferiority stigma.4

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4 See for example New York Times’ mission to usher in conceptual showdown also reflected in Klobuchar, Warren endorsement – “…we were left wanting for a more focused conversation for the public” framed as divided into ‘reformers’ or ‘burn-it downers’ (“on the Democratic side, an essential debate is underway between two visions that may define the future of the party and perhaps the nation. Some in the party view President Trump as an aberration and believe that a return to a more sensible America is possible. Then there are those who believe that President Trump was the product of political and economic systems so rotten that they must be replaced. Where they differ most significantly is not the what but the how, in whether they believe the country's institutions and norms are up to the challenge of the moment). It significantly signals potential to break with history: “The history of the editorial board would suggest that we would side squarely with the candidate with a more traditional approach to pushing the nation forward, within the realities of a constitutional framework and a multiparty country. But the events of the past few years have shaken the confidence of even the most committed institutionalists… we are rattled by the weakness of the institutions that we trusted to undergird those values. There are legitimate questions about whether our democratic system is fundamentally broken.”

5 See for example:

- Inadequacy of incremental change measures: Advocating for fundamental policy change, Jeneen Interlandi describes existing policies that have brought incremental change, which has helped shrink but not eradicate disparities.
- Day of historical reckoning has come: Bryan Stevenson describes a moment that blacks may “either double down on romanticizing our past or accept that there is something better waiting for us.”
- Opposing fundamental change is condoning exclusion - Linda Villarosa.

6 See for example in 1619:
‘Black exceptionalism’: The idea that black suffering is exceptional in America for reasons including that: skin color cannot be masked, hard work is not enough for blacks in America, blacks are taught to take no cultural pride in the black-American experience while having no alternate national home, and a persistent and institutional ideology assuming inherent black inferiority.  

‘Foundational theory’: The idea that being there from the beginning grants black Americans an ownership status claimed in practice by white Christian Americans. By intertwining the story of African-American's with the origin of the U.S., they become less of an outsider, certainly in relation to the Jew. The others that came later become carpetbagging usurpers. Logically, African Americans' foundational role means an inherent a right to the dividends - neither to be negotiated as a hand-out, nor fought for as a competitive race.

- Historical ignorance perpetuates injustice: Most Americans still don't know the history and that means students graduate with a poor understanding of how slavery shaped our country, and they are unable to recognize the powerful and lasting effects it has had (Nikita Stewart).
- Blacks fight internal and external demons of racial inferiority stigma (Mary Elliot and Jazmine Hughes; Nikole Hannah-Jones on the effect of cultural osmosis - how we learn about ourselves, our history.
- Narrative of the original, and betrayed, patriots (Mary Elliot and Jazmine Hughes, poems section, Nikole Hannah-Jones): They are this country, shape it, and give to it - in spite of exclusion.
- A people deprived of an ancient history are shaping their own: Cut off from the roots of their African history (for examples in poems section), black American self-determination requires taking possession of their own history, which began when their ancestors arrived, beginning 400 years ago.
- The potency of the black historical narrative: Black history challenges the ideal of American exceptionalism; holds up a mirror (Nikole Hannah-Jones).

7 See for example in 1619:
- Interview with Nikole Hannah-Jones: “The black experience is singular, no other group has been as legislated against, no other group has been treated as actual physical property, has faced sustained periods of racial terrorism. Black people remain the most segregated people in America in every aspect of American life, we remain on the bottom of every social indicator of well-being, us and Native Americans, the two groups who didn't choose to be part of America. But other groups are clearly more fluid, right? … people who were Irish, who were Jewish, who were Italian, or Greek were at one time not considered white and then they became white, certain Latino groups are considered white.”
- There is no point of origin but America (Nikole Hannah-Jones): Blacks have no ancestral home; yearning for a forevert lost connection to their history, theme surfacing in several poems in poems section.
- Unique atrocity of slavery: Theme across the poems section, discussion of “denied humanity” by Bryan Stevenson.
- The black experience stands apart: Wesley Morris on “what borrowers and collaborators don't want to or can't lift -- centuries of weight and atrocity never sufficiently worked through, the blackness you know is beyond theft because it's too real, too rich, too heavy to steal.”

8 See for example in 1619:
- Nikole Hannah-Jones (interview here) wanted readers to “understand the pivotal role that we have played in this country, and to believe, as I argue in the piece, that no one has a greater claim to this flag and this country and patriotism than we do, because we have fought for it the hardest,” and in her essay framed black people as the nation's “true Founding Fathers.”
- Jamelle Bouie posits that the discussion is a “fight about democratic legitimacy,” e.g. “… about who can claim the country as their own, and who has the right to act as a citizen.”
- Wesley Morris explores through the story of the appropriation of black music in America the broader American experience “doomed to cycles not only of questioned ownership, challenged authenticity, dubious propriety and legitimate cultural self-preservation.”
Term: Reparations for slavery: A call for compensation to be distributed to black Americans to address the effects of slavery (‘a right to the dividends; the money is ours’). After it launched into the national conversation with the June 2014 publication of Ta-Nehisi Coates’ “The Case for Reparations,” which called for “a national reckoning that would lead to spiritual renewal” and generated conversation and debate across the American political and cultural spectrum. The idea has re-surfaced over the past year as a surprisingly visible issue in Democratic primary debates, notably in long-shot Democratic (and Jewish) candidate Marianne Williamson's early call for reparations. A long-standing House of Representatives bill under consideration to establish a committee to address what reparations would be and how they would be distributed had the bill has not got past committee since 1989 until it was brought to the floor in 2019 with 118 co-sponsors (it has not yet moved forward).

Legitimacy of black non-compliance. A narrative of ‘usurpers’ versus ‘rightful owners’ implies the defensibility of shunning the undergirding system, and a logic of seizing back based on inherent right (e.g. related to property and manifesting, for example, in inner-city relations with Jewish landlords).9

THE BLACK CONTEXT: A REFRAMING OF THE BLACK CONVERSATION

The 1619 framework, centering around the premises of black exceptionalism and foundational theory, offers a paradigmic reframing and a viable alternative to the two existing dominant strains of black political consciousness in America. This reframing uniquely marries separatist and black national goals with the liberal values and language of black universalist movements; thus, its potential for mainstreaming is greatly enhanced.

A universalist paradigm under challenge:10 Black exceptionalism and foundational theory contradict universalism as well as solidarity ideals underlying intersectional movements, both conceptually (because black people are uniquely framed as founding contributors to America, the structural barriers they face and what has been taken away is not the evolving struggle minority protections, but a matter of fundamental rights) and by arguing that universalist approaches will not work.11

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9 See Nikita Stewart’s portrayal of her great-grandfather, who despite his proud self-perception as a “good, law-abiding Negro” sought psychological justice through cruelty to a white employer as the furtive, and only, means of exacting a semblance of justice and, psychological, solace.

10 Conor Friedersdorf writes of the universalist paradigm that have animated black political movements and black political participation “under vigorous challenge from The New York Times Magazine.” Universalist ideals drove America’s original revolutionaries, along with Abraham Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, and Martin Luther King Jr., and the black political Renaissance of the Reconstruction period, in which black political participation introduced progressive policies and institutions that also guaranteed rights for poor whites and minorities. (See, Nikole Hannah-Jones: “For the most part blacks fought back alone. Yet we never fought only for ourselves,” and “it is a truly American irony that some Asian-Americans, among the groups able to immigrate to the United States because of the black civil rights struggle, are now suing universities to end programs designed to help the descendants of the enslaved.”)

11 See for example Nikole Hannah-Jones: “…I think is absolutely critical… more activists of color are becoming less concerned about persuading, and convincing, and cajoling white Americans. And historically, when we, and when I say we I'm talking about young, sort of activists of color, have become less concerned with that, they’ve actually made more progress. But this is us being simultaneously told by older or more moderate activists that, ‘The way you have made progress historically is by cajoling people.’ Even though that is historically inaccurate, right?”
The American-black-centric separatism of the 1619 framework puts black Americans as a people at its core and seeks to reclaim an American narrative (in contrast to earlier America black-centric movements that tied the destinies of American blacks with all people of color in the United States, Africa, and the Middle East). It is rooted in secular and liberal ideals and language, in contrast to black separatist religious movements. It views participation as an inherent acceptance of subordination (Nikole Hannah-Jones) and separatism as a source of black pride (Jeneen Interlandi, e.g. describing the first newspaper for black people, by black people) and internal solidarity (Joshua Bennett on the Black Panthers).

BROADER TRENDS

Societal ripeness for paradigmic change: Risk that the 1619 framework is put forward at a point of ripeness for a wider societal paradigmic shift. The project's success in the liberal establishment\(^\text{12}\) reflects the hostage-taking of 'woke' culture and a larger paradigmic vacuum precipitated by a dramatic free-fall of dominant social and economic thought systems and a cohering worldview.

Atmosphere permissive of extremity and violence in the general American climate, enhanced by political polarization and amplified by social media, and specifically vis-à-vis anti-Semitism.\(^\text{13}\)

1619 MEETS THE JEWISH WORLD

The 1619 framework meets American Jewry at strategic and vulnerable points and against a backdrop of existing challenges.

- **Black exceptionalism and the age of competing identity-based agendas:** At the same time black American are asserting a narrative of exceptionalism with a political agenda, Jews are struggling to define and communicate the exceptionalism that justifies their inclusion around intersectional tables despite their apparent socio-economic privilege. In the fight over who is exceptional in a perceived zero-sum game, both Jew and blacks trying to carve out narrative of exceptionalism for blacks, with political agenda including reparations.\(^\text{14}\)

Jewish exceptionalism refers to a paradox generated by the story of the exceptional rises and exceptional falls of a people uniquely marked by historic hatred and persecution. It undercuts dominant conceptualizations of power and privilege and derived safety and security assessment parameters that

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\(^\text{12}\) See, for example, Pete Buttigieg on Twitter: “400 years ago a ship carrying more than 20 enslaved Africans arrived in Virginia. On the anniversary of that fateful day, let us summon the courage to reckon with our past—and act boldly to break with the racial and economic structures that are its legacy” and [here](#).

\(^\text{13}\) On Trump-era, social media enabled extremification and anti-Semitism, see: ADL's director of community affairs for the New York and New Jersey region on “rhetoric from high levels of leadership on the Right and Left” that creates a permissive atmosphere for “individuals to speak and act in a certain way.” Republican anti-Semitism helps to wear down the shock factor. In the currently reality, each side's fringe seems to sink to more and more surreal depths in breaking anti-Semitic taboos and surviving politically. These fringes enable each other's extremification.

\(^\text{14}\) On the ‘who is the victim?’ dynamic, see for example: Jonathan Schorsch of Columbia University - “… Why are they harsher toward Jews? Did Black Nationalists want to puncture Jewish pride? There are real stakes here—government funding and so forth. Then there's the victim game—who's the biggest victim? It makes some Jews very uncomfortable”; and the Crown Height [flashpoint](#) over differential treatment.
fail to account for pervasive and historic Jewish vulnerability. U.S. Jews are demanding, to greater and lesser extents, the ‘special’ labeling that is a key currency of identity politics; they increasingly are being challenged and denied the right to define their own experience, specifically as victims of anti-Semitism.

The case for black exceptionalism, which centers on a narrative of exceptionally horrific and enduring suffering in America, and on the foundational role that blacks play in the country’s evolution, implies an identity-based agenda with a right more inherent and a claim more central that those of other minorities (e.g. ‘We have a right, Jews have a privilege’).

- **Black American Muslims’ unique role in undermining Jewish exceptionalism** by directly broadening the prism to include the Jewish state, and its connection with U.S. Jews. Doing so renders Muslims in America a relevant “other” as a basis of comparison for evaluating anti-Semitism. Such a ‘bundling strategy’ aiming for any status accorded Jews as a collective to be considered in respect to any number of politically expedient entities - is part of a broader strategy to undermine the exceptionalism of any Jewish collective, also serving as a premise for undermining the special U.S.-Israel relationship.15

The Muslim role is significant in ‘authentically’ representing victimhood of Jewish collective power that justifies ‘resistance’; as a societal force rising in influence, buoyed by relevance to focal contemporary issues such as immigration and Islamophobia; and as a potential gateway for normalizing Islamist-driven or associated influences (see the rise of Muslim activists and political figures, and especially women and blacks, associated with anti-Semitic black conspiracy theorists).16

- **The Jewish guilt factor**, or an underlying Jewish assumption of responsibility for black anti-Semitism,17 characterized by:
  - Preemptive deference: ‘Our position here is more recent, precarious, less grounded in legitimacy, therefore your grievance takes precedence.’
  - Jews don’t like to call out black anti-Semitism,18 for a variety of reasons – sympathy with black oppression, fear of appearing racist, fear of engendering anti-Semitism.

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15 See early 2019 controversy surrounding Rep. Ilhan Omar statements on Jewish influence and the Democratic Congressional response to them - the original version of the Democratic resolution condemning anti-Zionist anti-Semitism fell victim to widely adopted bundling that minimized Jewish agendas to fight anti-Semitism, with the option to uniquely define it, through automatically pairing Jewish grievances with those of other minorities.

16 For more on the history of Arab and American-black militant intersection at anti-Semitism, e.g. from 1950s and the active encouragement by the Organization of Arab Students of black militants' anti-Zionism, see [here](#).

17 See Henry Louis Gates, Jr. 1992 New York Times article: “How does this theology of guilt surface in our everyday moral discourse? In New York… a forum was held … to provide an occasion for blacks and Jews to engage in dialogue on such issues as slavery and social injustice… a tone-setting contingent of blacks in the audience took strong issue with the proceedings. Outraged, they demanded to know why the Jews, those historic malefactors, had not apologized to the ‘descendants of African kings and queens.’ And so the organizer of the event, Melanie Kaye Kantrowitz, did. Her voice quavering with emotion, she said: ‘I think I speak for a lot of people in this room when I say ‘I'm sorry.’ We're ashamed of it, we hate it, and that's why we organized this event.’”

18 See example [here](#).
▪ A long-cultivated core U.S. Jews ethos of standing with the oppressed is central to Jewish values and the Jewish value proposition, rendering Jewish communities particularly and profoundly vulnerable to decline in minority relations.

▪ The sin of privilege: A Jewish moral reckoning – Jews on the political left are integrating the increasingly dominant discourse on the left centering on the concept of ‘privilege,’ or unequally distributed societal benefits possessed by a social group. For many, a process of reckoning reveals tension between commitment to kinship and commitment to social justice, and lays bare benefits from the same white privilege that allows for the continued discrimination against black Americans. This may contribute to a greater reluctance for Jews on the left to call out black anti-Semitism, or to challenge the supremacy of black claims to inclusion.

The agenda-setting influence of the reparations issue, and the need to take a stance, further forces a reckoning on “the racial dynamics of what it means to be a Jew.” Despite cautious communal response, Jews have come out vocally for reparations. Reparations have emerged as a prominent issue in Jewish reform communities and the reform movement, which has voted to support reparation.

▪ The Jewish Debt: A perceived moral duty to confront racism, air truths, and come to terms with our past sins and silence.

▪ Legitimate non-compliance and a new normal of open black anti-Semitism? Black exceptionalism means that black anti-Semitism is more legitimate than white liberal anti-Semitism, and foundational theory further legitimizes a pervasive black anti-Semitic narrative of Jewish landlords and storeowners as usurpers of rightful black ownership. Moreover, anti-Semitism is easily dismissed as a

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19 See for example, Rabbi Jonah Pesner, director of the URJ’s Religious Action Center. “Without diminishing their sacrifices or the challenges they faced, we can now understand that they and many of us also benefited from, and continue to benefit from, the same white privilege that allows for the continued discrimination against black Americans. From how we gained entry into this country to the places we were allowed to live and work, to access to education and financial capital, white Jews have reaped the rewards of racism.”

20 https://www.jweekly.com/2019/10/04/the-jewish-case-for-black-reparations/

21 Indicators include:

- Pervasiveness of issue: Proportion of black attackers in recent spike in anti-Semitic violence; attitudinal surveys conducted by the ADL consistently show that African Americans harbor “anti-Semitic proclivities” at a rate significantly higher than the general population (23 percent and 14 percent respectively in 2016).
- A number of local political examples of black anti-Semitism, and reactions of support they garnered, may represent a breaking taboo, see examples here, here, here, and here.
- Open black celebrity anti-Semitism: See here and here. “Many politicians and media personalities have fanned the flames of hatred by mainstreaming antisemitism, promulgating conspiracy theorizing tropes about Jewish people and legitimizing hate groups who target racial and religious minorities and promote acts of violence against them.”
- Mainstreaming anti-Semitism in black intellectual discourse: An (outdated but likely relevant) 1992 New York Times article by Henry Louis Gates, Jr. described elite black anti-Semitism in academia, and cites a contemporary survey that found “not only that blacks are twice as likely as whites to hold anti-Semitic views but -- significantly -- that it is among the younger and more educated blacks that anti-Semitism is most pronounced.”
‘David and Goliath’ issue given the perceived relative powerlessness of blacks relative to Jews and Jewish interests in America.22

- **Conspiratorial anti-Semitism increasingly meets the neighborhood.** Henry Louis Gates, Jr. described two forms of black-anti-Semitism, neighborhood and conspiratorial, with the ‘neighborhood anti-Semitism’ a necessary predicate for conspiratorial. While ‘neighborhood anti-Semitism’ emerges bottom-up and is proximity-based, ‘conspiratorial anti-Semitism’ is “anti-Semitism from the top-down, engineered and promoted by leaders who affect to be speaking for a larger resentment.”

   The information and communications environment increasingly favors conspiratorial, top-down anti-Semitism, and its purveyors in the African-American community as exemplified by Louis Farrakhan and enabled more recently by Tamika Mallory and co., and enables small organizations and individuals widespread means of deploying destructive communications strategies.23

### IMPLICATIONS – INITIAL DIRECTIONS

The near-term risk of fundamental systemic overhaul is a relative long shot, though we can already see implications of the ideas that 1619 advances affecting Jewish positioning on the left.

**The 1619 framework further distances Jew from the intersectional table,** and therefore further marginalizes Jewish voices in shaping the progressive and broader Democratic future. At stake for Jews: The broader claim to Jewish exceptionalism based on the notion that the nature of collective Jewish vulnerability is unique and tracks differently than other dominant forms of oppression. Acknowledgement of this exceptionalism socially and in policy has been a basis for combatting anti-Semitism in post-Holocaust Western democracies. The currency of this claim is likely to strengthen as a function of the dominance of identity politics on the political left.

In the background, U.S. Jews have faced a series of galvanizing instances of spreading and mainstreaming anti-Semitism that disturb long-held assumptions regarding the contemporary invulnerability of U.S. Jews' societal status and directly attack the Jewish role in defining collective Jewish vulnerability. At the same time, many U.S. Jews do not see a viable alternative to supporting movements with growing anti-Semitic influence.

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22 See [here](#) for more information.

23 See [here](#) and [here](#) for example.
**Threat to status quo renders Jews vulnerable:** How will the Jews fare if the 1619 framework ushers in a successful leftist attempt “to impose political agenda, power structure - wholesale social, political and cultural transformation” and “campaign to rewrite history”? What if the Jews are increasingly lumped in with the “privileged” – and are likely to bear double the punishment? Given the turbulent dynamics at play on the political left – with Biden likely representing the last ‘known quantity’ on Israel leading Democrat – to what extent may ‘woke’ politicians sell out Jews’ exceptional status and the basis for the legitimacy of prioritizing fighting anti-Semitism on policy agendas?

THE END.

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