Policy Intervention

Corona & Social Unrest in the U.S – Implications for the Pro-Israel Communities (Part 1/3): Engagement in the Anti-Racist Struggle

Tachles

Polls of American Jewry report increasing concern over heightened levels of anti-Semitism during this period marked by the confluence of the coronavirus and the social justice protests. Recently, attention has focused on anti-Semitism coming from Black communities.

And yet, this document argues that pro-Israel communities are in fact facing an unparalleled opportunity to battle the current wave of anti-Semitism, to meaningfully engage with Black movements, and to join forces with anti-racist groups. While ‘classic anti-Semitism’ – which the Jewish community is structurally better positioned to contend with – is on the rise, the role of the strain of anti-Semitism that has in recent years emanated from progressive movements is changing in the context of the current anti-racist struggle focused on Black rights.

Indeed, the instances of high-visibility anti-Semitism originating from Black communities in this period carry markers of ‘classic anti-Semitism’; it often includes blatant expressions of racism and violence and is based on the notion that Jewish power has wreaked unique detriment upon Black communities. This brand of anti-Semitism has recently surged in public discourse through publicized instances of a handful of celebrities that espouse such views. It often echoes the logic of Louis Farrakhan, leader of the Nation of Islam, who invokes themes of Jewish power to paint a picture of a Jewish chokehold on Black rights.

The rise of ‘classic anti-Semitism’ is rightfully a source of grave concern to the Jewish community, and therefore generates a broad Jewish consensus against it. At the same time, it is broadly acknowledged and condemned within political and social discourse. Indeed, most celebrities who quoted Farrakhan – including entertainer Nick Cannon, NFL wide receiver DeSean Jackson, and former NBA player Stephen Jackson – apologized and entered into constructive dialogues following broad public condemnation.

This stands in contrast to ‘progressive anti-Semitism,’ which has failed to garner widespread outrage from society-at-large or to generate a cohesive and united front of Jewish communities that stand against it. This sort of anti-Semitism is characterized by prejudice or
discrimination against Jews related to their presumed or actual association with, defense of, or support for the Jewish state; as well as a rejection of claims of Jewish historic and continuous vulnerability (see more in the Glossary).

Moreover, the centrality of ‘progressive anti-Semitism’ to the current social justice struggles is diminishing with the rise of the overwhelming focus on the anti-Black racism struggle. The intersectional roots of ‘progressive anti-Semitism,’ which prioritize universal campaigns against diverse forms of injustice, are on shakier ground in light of the call to stand behind the one group facing the blatant oppression that has sparked today’s social unrest. Indeed, despite many attempts by anti-Israel groups during the George Floyd’s protests to draw parallels between American police brutality and Israeli conduct towards the Palestinians, this effort did not gain notable traction. Here is why:

The Ferguson Riots (2014) shaped the anti-racist struggle within the framework of intersectionality, which enabled ‘progressive anti-Semitism’ to evolve, significantly by silencing Jewish voices through denying Jews the legitimacy to identify as a collective with other oppressed groups.

Yet today’s anti-racist struggle is conceptually rooted in what can be called ‘Black exceptionalism,’ an idea that advances the uniqueness of the claims of Black Americans based on the uniqueness of the American Black experience and suffering, and on the foundational role Black people have played in making the country what it is today. ‘Black Exceptionalism is a conceptual foundation of a growing movement that aims to address systemic anti-Black racism, and is most resonantly articulated through the New York Times 1619 Project (see Glossary).

There is an inherent tension between the two notions, both influential within anti-racist discourse, of Black exceptionalism, on the one hand, and the universalist ideology that underlies intersectional movements, on the other hand. The Corona pandemic may have further elevated Black exceptionalism within the anti-racist discourse, challenging universal norms and individualistic worldviews championed by globalization trends, and increasing the focus on national, local, and communal challenges.

Moreover, large segments of American society identify with the idea of ‘Black Exceptionalism and its rising dominance within progressive anti-racist struggles (as opposed to religious anti-racist movements, like Farrakhan’s Nation of Islam), which further constrains attempts to broaden the prism to include anti-Israel and other divisive agendas.

The relative decline of ‘progressive anti-Semitism’ within the current anti-racist struggle may be temporary. But Black exceptionalism and the primacy of the anti-Black racism
struggle present a very real opportunity to meaningfully and authentically engage with Black and anti-racist movements.

Furthermore, this opportunity is bolstered by the several structural aspects of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement – the dominant organized voice in this struggle – that render most of its affiliated groups ‘potentially engageable,’ despite anti-Israel statements made by some of its leaders. These aspects include: the extremely decentralized structure of the movement; patterns of affiliated groups in the past adopting anti-Israel positions as part of a global solidarity agenda, not as a core mission; the common threat of white supremacism; and the unequivocal support of Jewish communal organizations in the struggle against systemic racism.

In an anticipated extended resource-challenged period for Jewish community due to the coronavirus pandemic, given the importance of navigating the highly volatile waters of Jewish and pro-Israel positioning in the U.S. today, the community relations field will be the area that the Jewish community cannot afford to fail to cultivate. The ability of the Jewish community to engage in the anti-racist struggle in light of the rise of identity politics can significantly impact Jewish identity and continuity; Israel’s relations with world Jewry; and, ultimately, Israel’s relations with the U.S.

Notably in the background loom the yet-subtle but progressing erosion in support for Israel within the Democratic Party, and the growing gap between Israel and large segments of world Jewry. Those issues will be the subject of Reut’s upcoming subject of Reut’s upcoming interventions.
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The Reut Group is a recipient of a grant from The Genesis Prize Foundation as part of “Speak Out for Israel,” a global initiative in honor of 2019 Laureate Robert Kraft to combat anti-Semitism and efforts to delegitimize Israel, both of which are on the rise again during coronavirus.
## Glossary

### ‘Classic anti-Semitism’
Considered the oldest form of racism in the world; manifested in hostility, prejudice, and discrimination against Jews. Common classically anti-Semitic tropes are primarily center on religiously rooted blood libel claims, Holocaust denial, themes relating to money and greed, dual-loyalty charges, and notions of inherent Jewish inferior or evil traits.

### ‘Progressive anti-Semitism’
Hostility, prejudice and discrimination against Jews coming from the progressive left, which is mainly expressed by:
- **Prejudice or discrimination against Jews related to their** presumed or actual association with, defense of, or support for the Jewish state, holding all Jews responsible for the ‘original sin’ of Zionism.
- **Rejection of the exceptionalism of the Jewish experience**, including pertaining to historic and continuous vulnerability, and exclusion of Jews from identifying as a collective with other oppressed groups.
- **Holding Jews uniquely responsible for oppressive power structures**, and demanding of Jews and Jewish communal organizations to acknowledge their privilege and power status by renouncing claims of prejudice, discrimination, or insecurity experienced individually or collectively.

### Black Exceptionalism
The idea that the unique suffering of Blacks, the role of Black people as founding contributors to America, the structural barriers they face, and what has been taken from them, renders theirs less a part of an evolving struggle for minority protections, and more a matter of addressing fundamental rights and grievances.

### Foundational Theory
The idea that being there from the beginning grants Black Americans an ownership status claimed in practice by white Christian Americans.

### The 1619 Project
An ongoing initiative by the New York Times that began in August 2019 – the 400th anniversary of the beginning of American slavery – and which has gained significant momentum in galvanizing many Black Americans and garnering support from center-left liberals. **The 1619 Project embodies the tenets of Black exceptionalism and ‘foundational theory.’**

### Intersectionality
Coined by Professor Kimberley Crenshaw, 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.

As a framework for activism, intersectionality draws parallels between different forms of social struggles, and encourages coalition-forming among disempowered populations.

### Intersectonal ideological adversaries
Anti-Zionists groups and individuals working in in intersectional spaces that negate Israel's right to exist or the Jewish people’s right to self-determination based on philosophical or political arguments. Their anti-Israel agenda is the core struggle that mobilizes them within intersectional spaces. Often their position regarding Israel stems from their personal ties to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict or the Middle East.

### Intersectional solidarity supporters
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. BDS) due to their sense of solidarity in the spirit of intersectionality.
Introduction

1. America is changing. The convergence of anti-racist protests with the coronavirus pandemic is generating a formative period in American history that is shaking the social order.

2. This confluence of disruptions changes the map of threats to the Jewish people and the State of Israel. Adding to the mix, discourse on potential Israeli annexation of West Bank territory (even following its declared suspension in light of Israel and the UAE diplomatic ties), exacerbates existing dynamics even following, requiring Jewish communities and pro-Israel organizations fighting the assault on Israel’s legitimacy to undertake a fundamental change in strategy and structure to stay relevant.

3. The current challenge to the existing order is centrally framed within the conceptual categories of “identity politics,” which have generated the language used to describe systemic injustice laid bare starkly by both the pandemic and police violence against Blacks.

4. Given this dominant framing of the challenge to white hegemony, U.S. Jews find themselves in a quagmire: While it seems that most Jews identify with the struggle against systemic racism, Jews are often excluded from anti-racist movements. Moreover, Jewish socio-economic privilege and ‘whiteness’ within the current social order fuel internal ambivalence.

5. The ability of the Jewish community and pro-Israel organizations to engage with Black rights movements may have a far-reaching impact on broader Jewish re-engagement with a progressive movement – from which it has experienced repeated instances of exclusion. Such re-engagement could go far in bolstering the authenticity and credibility of Jewish standing with oppressed communities as a central component of Jewish identity.

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1 “The laden phrase ‘identity politics’ has come to signify a wide range of political activity and theorizing founded in the shared experiences of injustice of members of certain social groups. Rather than organizing solely around belief systems, programmatic manifestos, or party affiliation, identity political formations typically aim to secure the political freedom of a specific constituency marginalized within its larger context. Members of that constituency assert or reclaim ways of understanding their distinctiveness that challenge dominant characterizations, with the goal of greater self-determination.” See Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy on Identity Politics, First published Tue Jul 16, 2002; substantive revision Sat Jul 11, 2020.

2 Although U.S. Jews have a proud history of standing with disempowered populations as well as a historic special Black-Jewish political relationship, which peaked with the Civil Rights Movement, which Jewish community relations organizations were considered an integral part of, this relationship reflected tensions early on. 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 Black anti-Semitism, these tensions exacerbated in coming years with the rise of Jewish socio-economic status and political influence. See Cheryl Lynn Greenberg, Troubling the Waters, Princeton University Press, 2010 and Elisheva Goldberg, The Intersectional Jewish-American, The New Republic, September 6, 2018.
Rise of Classic Anti-Semitism: Farrakhan’s Moment?

6. The coronavirus and anti-racist protests have unleashed a visible rise of Black classic anti-Semitism. Defining characteristics include:

- ‘Black Exceptionalism within religious movements (as opposed to progressive movements)’ sometimes includes anti-Semitic tropes rooted in conspiracy theories about Jewish power wielded to the unique detriment of Black communities as well as claims, in various forms, regarding inherent traits that render Jewish people inferior or evil, of religion-based ‘blood libel,’ and that Black are the true Hebrews.

- Black American Muslim leaders play a unique role in attacking the Jewish community: by ‘authentically’ representing victimhood of Jewish collective power that justifies ‘resistance’; as a societal force rising in influence on focal contemporary issues such as immigration and Islamophobia; and as a potential gateway for normalizing Islamist-driven or associated influences.

- The most notable ‘spokesperson’ of this hate campaign is Louis Farrakhan, the leader of the Nation of Islam, Farrakhan has risen to renewed mainstream attention focally through a number of influencers that cited him.

- High-profile Black public figures who quote Farrakhan or initiate their own similar brand of anti-Semitics comments are increasingly framed within sectors of the Black community as heroes and taboo breakers.

- Blacks violence against ultra-Orthodox communities – The nature of the ultra-Orthodox community makes this community particularly susceptible to traditional anti-Semitism that relies on distinctly Jewish stereotypes and imagery, and this is especially true in metropolitan areas such as New York in which Black and ultra-Orthodox communities often live in close proximity.

From ‘Ferguson Intersectionality’ to ‘Floyd Exceptionalism’

7. In recent years, intersectionality theory has emerged as an organizing framework in the U.S., conceptually drawn from identity political ideology and manifesting in the form of ad-

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3 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. Kimberley Crenshaw, Feminist legal theory, (pp. 57-80), Routledge,1989.
hoc coalitions of different minority groups focused on a range of issues from police brutality to women’s rights.

8. **The 2014 Ferguson uprising marked a strategic benchmark in the evolution of anti-Israel campaigns within intersectional social spaces**, as campaigns successfully drew parallels between the Palestinian issue and Black struggles in America. During and in the aftermath of the Ferguson uprising, anti-Israel groups were able to attack Israel as well as the status of Jews on the left and in U.S. society in intersectional social activities.

Based on a tenet of universal solidarity of the oppressed, a relatively small number of Israel’s ideological adversaries⁴ were able to garner support from groups and individuals that advocate for social justice issues in intersectional spaces (‘intersectional solidarity supporters’⁵). This marked the acceptance and growth of the boycott movement, particularly among Black activist circles, which more frequently intersected in solidarity with anti-Israel groups, including those who are part of the BDS Movement (see Reut’s *Navigating through Intersectional Landscapes, 07/2019*).

9. **Progressive anti-Semitism, prevalent largely within intersectional social circles, represents a potent mix of anti-Zionism and classical anti-Semitism**, combining classic anti-Semitic themes related to power and influence with a portrayal of Jews as responsible for the ‘original sin’ of Zionism. This brand of progressive-wing based anti-Semitism notably focuses on the demand of Jews and Jewish communal organizations to acknowledge their privilege and power status by renouncing claims of prejudice, discrimination, or insecurity experienced individually or collectively, as a minority group in America or as a Jewish state.

10. **In contrast, the dominant logic underlying the recent wave of anti-racist protests is based more on an insistence on ‘Black Exceptionalism’ and ‘foundational theory’** – namely, the idea that being there from the beginning grants Black Americans an ownership

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⁴ 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).

⁵ 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.

⁶ The idea that black status and claim in America are exceptional based on: 1) the exceptional nature of black suffering (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); 2) the foundational role that Black Americans played in building the country into what it is today.
status claimed in practice by white Christian Americans⁷ – as the conceptual⁸ and practical keys to moving forward. **This diminishes the dominance of the previous animating ideology based on of universalism and solidarity ideals underlying intersectional movements, creating an inherent ideational tension.**

11. **The New York Times 1619 Project⁹ embodies the tenets of ‘Black exceptionalism’ and ‘foundational theory’** – This ongoing initiative that began in August 2019, the 400th anniversary of the beginning of American slavery, has gained significant momentum in galvanizing many Black Americans, and garnering support from high-profile center-left liberals, who have largely embraced the Project (see Reut’s paper ‘The 1619 Project and the Jewish Angle,’ February 2020).

12. **The Corona outbreak seems to have elevated Black exceptionalism within the anti-racist discourse** – Coronavirus compounded recent incidents of police violence by starkly laying bare the systemic discrimination that Black communities in America face. This inequity has served to further bolster the cause of Black exceptionalism. Moreover, Corona challenges universal norms and individualistic worldviews championed by globalization trends, and increases the focus on national, local, and communal challenges.

13. **Indeed, progressive anti-Semitism is not front-and-center in today’s anti-racist protests** – Indeed, although anti-Israel groups have strived to draw parallels between

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⁷ See for example in 1619:

- **Nikole Hannah-Jones** 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.” Nikole Hannah-Jones, The New York Times, September 6th, 2019

- **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.” Jamelle Bouie, *The New York Times Magazine*, August 14th, 2019

- **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.” Wesley Morris Morris, *The New York Times Magazine*, August 14th 2019

⁸ 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 for minority protections, but a matter of addressing fundamental rights and stolen wealth.

⁹ This 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 is becoming a school curriculum in school systems nationwide, and has been promoted through broad publicity campaigns. In 2020, the Times will expand the 1619 Project into a book. Recently, Oprah Winfrey and Lionsgate Productions announced a collaboration to adapt 1619 for television and film formats.
American police brutality and Israeli conduct towards the Palestinians, unlike during the Ferguson Riots, the protests’ anti-Israel strain is not at the forefront; neither Israel policy nor criticism over the conduct of Jewish communal organizations seem to carry significant weight.

14. **In fact, in what may have seemed unimaginable a few months ago, Jewish communal leaders have been reposting and retweeting statements and videos of notable voices in today’s anti-racist struggle** against systemic racism and discrimination; often the same leaders who have criticized these figures following the Ferguson event for promoting anti-Israel agenda and anti-Semitism.

**Prospects of Engagement with Black Lives Matter Movement**

15. **The ability of the Jewish community and pro-Israel organization to engage with Black rights movements may have a far-reaching impact on broader Jewish re-engagement with the progressive movement**, bolstering the authenticity and credibility of Jewish standing with oppressed communities.

16. **In the recent past, this ability to engage has been frustrated. Black Lives Matter (BLM), which has become ‘the face’ of today’s anti-racist protests, has been accused of promoting anti-Israel agendas that originate from intersectional progressive circles** during and after the Ferguson uprising. Pro-Israel groups often point out the political platform of the Movement for Black Lives, an umbrella group for BLM, which accused Israel of ‘genocide,’ calling it an ‘Apartheid state’ and endorsing BDS. The #PALESTINE2FERGUSON campaign, which BDS groups promoted, is an example of a social justice coalition meant to exclude Jewish voices.

17. **Yet, notable developments in improving Black-Jewish relations are manifested locally on societal and political levels (see Reut’s Smart Monitor No. 1 and No. 2, July-August, 2020).** Indeed, changes discussed in this paper may have helped to alleviate that barrier to entry:

- **The rising ethos of Black exceptionalism within BLM increase the prospects of engagement.** Intersectionality ethos dictate that inclusion is about either proving victimhood, or renouncing privilege; a dichotomy is not transferrable to the Jewish

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11 This section is based on Reut’s paper, *Navigating the George Floyd Protests, Corona & Annexation*, June 18th 2020.
experience, which uniquely reflects a paradox that includes exceptional privilege and exceptional vulnerability. However, by centering on the unique struggle of Black people, the ethos of the dominant movement today is shifting to a recognition that now is the time for all communities to figure out the way in which they can best serve Black communities as allies. The result is movement from membership in an intersectional ‘coalition of the oppressed’ reserved to ‘everyone but the Jews,’ to a more ‘equal-opportunity exclusion’ from that club for the sake of getting behind a driving struggle in support of Black lives.

During the current protests, BLM has moved from its branding as a ‘radical fringe’ to a comfortable positioning in the center. For the first time since its establishment, BLM is enjoying broad support from the public, mainstream media, and funders. The broad support helps to ensure and incentivize that the movement’s mainstream messages, and not the more divisive and controversial ones, rise to the top.

BLM is an extremely decentralized movement without any campaign goals related to Israel this year. In fact, Israel policy does not appear on its Web site.12

The main strain of anti-Israel activity within BLM is based on a will to express intersectional solidarity, and not on adversarial ideology (see Reut’s paper Navigating through Intersectional Landscapes, July 2019). Given the decreasing dominance of intersectional influence in driving the agenda, prospects of engagement increase.

The few contemporary blatant anti-Semitic encounters that take place under the umbrella of BLM generally reflect ‘classic anti-Semitism,’ which provides an opportunity to easily call it out, bring into the spotlight and subject to scrutiny, and provoke a process of dialogue surrounding it. Indeed, a number of high-profile Black public figures are clearly and loudly calling out and condemning anti-Semitism in the Black community, including Charles Barkley, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, and Jemele Hill.

‘Black Lives Matter’ is the slogan and idea of the protest, which aims to abolish systemic racism against Blacks, a cause the Jewish community can wholeheartedly support.

The common threat of white supremacism – For many Black communities, historical memory of the threat posed by white supremacy informs the current experience. Black anger at the exercise of ‘privilege’ is often explicitly based at its complicity with white

supremacy and a failure to call it out. Significantly, white supremacy targets two main groups, Jews and Blacks, who share – at a gut level, and in an-ever present reality – a very real common enemy.\textsuperscript{13}

**Suggested Approach**

18. **Revitalize the community relations field** – The coronavirus pandemic precipitated a further dramatic decline in the field’s activity and centrality, which have been overshadowed by the immediate needs of the Jewish community. Yet, in times of social unrest, it is clear that the community relations field is the strongest tool within the Jewish establishment for engaging with other communities and mobilizing the Jewish community around the cause.

19. **Name and define ‘progressive anti-Semitism’ within intersectional social movements**, so that that Jews can coherently rally against it (in the same way they can about ‘classical anti-Semitism’), emphasizing the right of Jews to define their own experience. Specifically, such a process should protest the following characteristics of this new form of anti-Jewish agenda, which often manifests itself as anti-Zionism: 1) Its requirement of Jews to acknowledge their privilege and powerful status by renouncing claims of prejudice, discrimination, or insecurity experienced by the Jewish collective; 2) Its subsequent lack of tolerance towards Jews that identify as Zionists or as a minority.

20. **Commit to an experimental approach to evolve new modes of engagement** – In a rapidly changing environment, engagement efforts will require continuous learning and adaptation based on extensive experimentation, which often takes place outside of traditional institutions. For maximum effectiveness, a decentralized experimental phase should be balanced with centralized capacity to monitor and evaluate, spread best practices, and provide support and consultation.

21. **Undertake an internal Tikkun for the Jewish community** to acknowledge its own prejudices and discrimination against minorities.

22. **Focus efforts on encouraging racial diversity within Jewish communal organizations**, taking direction from voices looking to work within Jewish institutions,\textsuperscript{14} prioritizing engaging, for example, Jews of color.

\textsuperscript{13} See, for example, a recent CNN piece by Ethan Katz and Deborah Lipstadt that points out that, highlighting 2017’s events in Charlottesville, Virginia, that though “it is too often ignored, both anti-Semitism and anti-Black racism lie at the core of White supremacist ideology.”

\textsuperscript{14} Not Free to Desist, eJewishPhilanthropy, June 12th, 2020.
23. **Create intersectional alliances.** Expand and diversify allies and alliances by engaging organizations with complex views on Israel.

24. **Drive a wedge between ideological adversaries and their intersectional 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.

25. **Engage in deep learning of the struggle of Black movements,** and be familiar with key texts, history, symbols, heroes, and contemporary issues of concern.

26. In consultation with Black partners and allies, **understand how to best use the elements of privilege that the Jewish community enjoys today to support the pain points of the Black community, such as prison reform.**

27. **Stand behind the claim to Black exceptionalism; relinquish any competition over victimhood extent.**

The End.
Related Reut Material

- Point of View No. 86, The Pro Israel Community: Navigating the George Floyd Protests, Corona & Annexation, June 2020.
- Navigating Intersectional Landscapes: Rules for Jewish Community Professionals, July 2019
- The New Frontiers of Community Relations, October 2018