

ENDNOTES for *HOPE INTO PRACTICE*, with most links and access dates

If this information is useful to you, below are most of the Notes for *Hope into Practice*, including the dates I accessed these, and the links I found at the time for the relevant references. In the Notes in the book itself, in order to save space in an already-lengthy book, I omitted the access dates and most of the links.

However, as we know, links change over time, so some of the links listed below may no longer work. Also, the Notes below were last updated December 2012, but I continued to update my book Notes through May 2013 – so those below will not include all of the info that is in the Notes in the book itself. Finally, I tried to write these in a usable form, but the Notes below have not been copy-edited.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Hidary, V. This is an excerpt from Hidary's signature poem, *The Hebrew Mamita*, performed as part of Def Poetry Jam HBO, September 7, 2010. Retrieved January 2, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yAeWyGGTdEE>.

2. Bizarre: when my parents ordered the writing on the bracelet, they wrote "Jewish," but it came back as "Hebrew."

3. As I will explain, throughout this book my analysis is most precise about Ashkenazi Jews. Regrettably, due to Ashkenazi centrism, I have less information about internalized anti-Semitism for Mizrahi, Sephardic, and Jews of other ethnicities and that is a limitation of this book; but from what I do know, some of the effects are similar.

4. Gilligan, C. (1993). Letter to Readers. *In a different voice: Psychological theory and women's identity* (Rev. ed., p. xxiv). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

5. Lawrence Bush notes that the National Council of Jewish Women has been "by far among the most liberal and activist organizations within the Jewish mainstream," and today has about 90,000 members; see "Hannah G. Solomon," (1/14/13), www.jewishcurrents.org.

6. A *shtetl* was a small town or village in Eastern Europe, usually Jewish.

7. He moved south to work in a relative's store in Manning, SC. Then with savings and his sister's help, he opened his own store Denmark, SC. My father's father, from Stropkov (then Austria-Hungary, now Czechoslovakia), became the first Jewish judge in Westchester County, NY. Both my grandmothers were born in the U.S., their parents fled from Russia.

8. Again, these are (mostly) Ashkenazi messages. I suspect many hold true for at least some other Jewish ethnic groups as well, but I don't know for sure.

9. For excellent resources to learn more about Cooperative, or Collaborative, Inquiry see endnotes for Chapter Twelve of this book.

10. *Kvetch* is complain, *kvell* is rejoice.

11. Heschel, A. J. (1983). *I Asked for Wonder*, (pp.8). Samuel Dresner (Ed.). New York: Crossroad Publishing Company.

12. This is the translation of the "*V'ahvata*" section, part of the *Shema* prayer, in the 2009 Shabbat Siddur of Kehilla Community Synagogue (Piedmont, CA), p. 19.

13. *Tikkun olam* is Hebrew for the repair and healing of the world. See Chapter Fifteen, also see Schwartz, H., (2011, March 28), "How the Ari Created a Myth and Transformed Judaism," www.Tikkun.org.

Chapter One: ANTI-SEMITISM 101

1. Kempton, S., in Hagan, K. (1993). *Fugitive information: Essays from a feminist hothead*, 127. New York: HarperCollins. I do not know if Kempton is Jewish.

2. Adams, M. & D'errico, K. (2007). Antisemitism and anti-Jewish oppression curriculum design. In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice*, 2nd ed (pp. 291). New York: Routledge. I do not know if Adams and D'errico are Jewish.
3. Reason TV (October 12, 2011), <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IMjm4Lx>.
4. Thomas, P., Date, J. and Cook, T. (2009, June 11). Alleged museum shooter: 'The Holocaust is a lie.' *ABC News*. Retrieved August 27, 2012, from <http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/story?id=7811476&page=1#.UDvzVUTDGiw>.
5. Referring to Glenn Beck. Elliott, J. (November 9, 2010). Beck attacks Soros as "Puppet Master." Retrieved January 16, 2011, from http://www.salon.com/news/politics/war_room/2010/11/09/glenn_beck_soros_puppet_master. The media watchdog group Media Matters also documents Beck hosting various authors whose books espouse anti-Semitic ideas: "Fox News anti-Semitism Problem," (October 14, 2010), <http://mediamatters.org/print/research/20100140042>.
6. Jewish Telegraph Agency. (December 18, 2009). Philly students dunked after Holocaust taunts. Retrieved January 16, 2011, from <http://jta.org/news/article/2009/12/18/1009803/phillie-students-dunked-after-holocaust-taunts>.
7. Stelter, B. (October 1, 2010). CNN fires Rick Sanchez for remarks in interview. *New York Times*. Retrieved January 16, 2011, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/02/business/media/02cnn.html>
8. Jews On First! (June 25, 2007) Southern Baptists rely on deception in effort to convert Jews. Retrieved January 16, 2011, from http://www.jewsonfirst.org/07c/baptist_messianic.html.
9. Shamir, Y. (2009). *Defamation* (film documentary). Retrieved December 28, 2010, http://www.defamation-the-film.com/html/the_film.html. This occurred in 2007.
10. *Democracy Now* Headlines (2012, May 9.) 10 white supremacists arrested in florida for "race war" plot. Retrieved June 16, 2012, from <http://www.democracynow.org/2012/5/9/headlines>. Ten alleged members of the group American Front were arrested.
11. Rothchild, A. (2007). *Broken Promises, Broken Dreams*, 3. Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.
12. New World Encyclopedia. Retrieved January 16, 2011, from <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Ashkenazi>. Jewish diversity organization Be'chol Lashon reports wide discrepancies in the number of Jews reported by reputable sources, coming up with the overall figure of 13-15 million worldwide: retrieved January 16, 2011, from <http://bechollashon.org/population/today.php>.
13. Some excellent sources of information on multiracial Jewry include: Ammiel Alcalay's *After Jews and Arabs: Remaking Levantine Culture*; back issues of *Bridges: Sephardi and Mizrahi Women Write About Their Lives* (1997-98) and *Bridges: Writing and Art by Jewish Women of Color* (2001); Ruth Behar's 2002 film *Adio Kerida*; Ophira Edut's essay "Bubbe Got Back" in *Yentl's Revenge* (Danya Ruttenberg); Loolwa Khazzoom's *The Flying Camel: Essays on Identity by Women of North African and Middle Eastern Jewish Heritage* (and anything in this book's bibliography by Khazzoom); Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz' *The Colors of Jews*; and Diane and Gary Tobin and Scott Rubin's *In Every Tongue: Ethnic & Racial Diversity in the Jewish Community*.
14. Levins Morales, A. (2005). Latino Jews in the United States. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press. Morales writes, "Genetic testing has shown that some Jews do...descend from people who lived thousands of years ago in what is now Israel, but many Jews are also related to their non-Jewish neighbors, and look like them. Jewish identity, religious and cultural, is something that people of any background can acquire, while Jewish ancestors are not."
15. Kraemer, J. (1997, July). Comparing crescent and cross. [Review of the book *Under Crescent and Cross* by Mark Cohen]. *The Journal Of Religion*, 77, 3, 449. (The crescent of Islam, the cross of Christianity).
16. In his article "The Becking of Rep. Gabrielle Giffords," (2011, January 9), Chip Berlet offers an excellent description of scapegoating (from the book he co-authored with Matthew Nemiroff Lyon, *Right-Wing Populism in America*): "the social process whereby the hostility and grievances of an angry, frustrated group are directed away from the real causes of a social problem onto a target group demonized as...wrongdoers. The scapegoat bears the blame, while the scapegoaters feel a sense of righteousness and...unity. The social problem may be real or imaginary, the grievances legitimate or illegitimate, and members of the targeted group may be...innocent or partly culpable. What matters is that the scapegoats are wrongfully stereotyped as all sharing the same negative trait, or are singled out for blame while other major culprits are let off the hook."
17. Although a few Jews colluded in the attack on Jesus, it was the Roman governor of Palestine who spearheaded the execution. See Glen Hauer's "How the system of Anti-Semitism can derail progress

towards peace & justice in Israel and Palestine, and what to do about it.” Retrieved January 9, 2012, from <http://glenhauer.com/>.

18. Kivel, P. Challenging Christian hegemony. Retrieved January 16, 2011, from <http://www.christianhegemony.org/about-christian-hegemony>. In his Winter 2010 newsletter, "Getting Together for Social Justice," Kivel adds that Christian hegemony “is not a critique of individual Christians, many of whom do not see the world this way or promote this perspective,” and some Christians “have contributed greatly to human well-being.” But Christian hegemony “is a...system of oppression that has greatly impacted our lives in the West...[and] has been terribly destructive.” Retrieved January 16, 2011, from <http://www.paulkivel.com/newsletters/2010-1-email.html>.

19. Rosenberg, E. (2000). *But were they good for the Jews?*, 183. Secaucus, NJ: Citadel Press.

20. Carroll, J. (2010, March 29) Preach peace in holy week. Retrieved January 16, 2011, from http://www.boston.com/bostonglobe/editorial_opinion/oped/articles/2010/03/29/preach_peace_in_holy_week/.

21. According to historian Waler Laquer, there have been over 150 recorded “blood libel” accusations against Jews, beginning in 1144 in Norwich, England. September 5 Jewdayo: The Blood Libel.

22. Luther, M. In Bloomstein, R. (Producer), (1991), *The Longest Hatred* [film documentary]. WGBH Boston Video.

23. Levins Morales, A. (2012, March 11). Latinos, Israel and Palestine: Understanding anti-Semitism. *La Prensa*. Retrieved March 17, 2012, from <http://www.laprensama.com/2012/03/latinos-israel-and-palestine-understanding-anti-semitism/>. Morales notes that middle-agent-to-rulers roles were one of few options offered to Jews, “often under duress.”

24. After 9/11, internet rumors circulated that thousands of Jews had been warned to stay home that day, and/or that the Israeli secret service orchestrated the attacks. And although this pattern manifested in the U.S. in 20th century economic depressions, Jews have not been scapegoated in a major way in the 2008+ recession (see Chapter Three).

25. Levins Morales, A. (personal communication, September 19, 2004)

26. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.

27. Ibid.

28. Trotsky, L., (1971), 1905, pp. 131-134, New York: Vintage Books, (as cited in Zirin, 2002).

29. Spiro, Rabbi K. The Spanish Inquisition. Retrieved January 16, 2011, from <http://www.aish.com/jl/h/48951681.html>. The exact number of Spanish Jews exiled is disputed, but this is a likely estimate. This Edict also exiled the thriving Muslim culture of the Moors.

30. Mendelsohn, D. (2006). *The Lost*, pp. 87, New York: HarperCollins.

31. Bush, L. (2012, July 30). Farewell to Spain. *Jewish Currents*. Retrieved August 25, 2012, from <http://jewishcurrents.org/july-30-farewell-to-spain-11266>. Bush cites Rabbi Joseph Telushkin in *Jewish Literacy*, 1991. Also, (2010, September 20), Auto-da-fe', *Jewish Currents*, retrieved January 16, 2011, from <http://jewishcurrents.org/blog/jewdayo/page/10>, in which Bush explains that the Portuguese Inquisition introduced the auto-da-fe', or "act of faith," consisting of a public Catholic mass followed by torture and burning at the stake of "secret Jews." Nearly 500 of these took place over three centuries, in France, Spain, Portugal, Mexico, Brazil, Peru, and the Ukraine, until 1850, killing thousands.

Bush also reports that Ferdinand and Isabella actually invited the Inquisition into Spain in 1480 (under Tomas Torquemada's leadership, a descendant of Jews), to 'purify the blood' of Spanish nobility—because Jews had converted en masse after anti-Semitic massacres on the Iberian Peninsula in 1391, so many aristocratic/wealthy families had 'Jewish blood' in their ancestry. See (2012, October 19), Ferdinand and Isabella, *Jewishcurrents.org*.

32. Adams, M. & D'errico, K. (2007). Antisemitism and anti-Jewish oppression curriculum design, pp. 288.

33. Shlaim, A. (2010, August 30). Professor Avi Shlaim reviews “In Ishmael’s House.” [Review of the book *In Ishmael's House* by Martin Gilbert]. *Financial Times*. Retrieved January 16, 2011, from <http://www.politics.ox.ac.uk/index.php/news/avi-shlaim-reviewing-qin-ishmaels-houseq.html>

34. Wahba, R. (2003). Benign ignorance or persistent resistance? In Khazzoom, L. (Ed.). *The flying camel* (pp. 50). New York: Seal Press. Estimates of Jews killed in the *Farhud* vary, some scholars say up to 600 were murdered. Lawrence Bush writes in *Jewish Currents*, June 1: The Farhud, that this “marked the beginning of the end for a Jewish community that had existed in Iraq (Babylon) for 2600 years.”

35. Ibid.

36. Adams, M. & D'errico, K. (2007). Antisemitism and anti-Jewish oppression curriculum design (pp. 286).
37. Gilman, S. (1991). *The Jew's body* (pp. 69). New York: Routledge.
38. Ibid., p. 173.
39. Estimates vary regarding the total number of Jews worldwide when the Nazis came to power. Be'chol Lason (In Every Tongue) says 16.6 million, and I will go with that figure (<http://bechollashon.org/population/today/php>), given that the common estimate is that the Shoah killed approximately one-third of the world's Jews. But in "Anti-semitism curriculum design," (1997) (In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook* (pp. 188), New York: Routledge), Weinstein and Mellen say that the Nazi genocide killed nearly one-half of the world's Jews, citing Boonstra et al (Eds.) (1989, *Antisemitism, a history portrayed*. Amsterdam: Anne Frank Foundation.
40. Berenbaum, M. (1993). *The world must know: The history of the holocaust as told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (pp. 16). New York: Little, Brown.
41. Mendelsohn, D. (2006). *The Lost* (pp. 353). New York: HarperCollins.
42. Ibid., p. 125.
43. Ibid., p. 227.
44. Ibid. p. 221.
45. Berenbaum, M. (1990). *A mosaic of victims: Non-Jews persecuted and murdered by the Nazis*. New York: New York University Press. Also Small, M. and Singer, J. D. (1982). *Resort to arms: International and civil wars 1816–1980*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage. Including Roma, gays, lefties, Catholics, those with physical/mental disabilities. Including Soviet civilians and prisoners of war, and more.
46. Steinberg, S. (1989). *The ethnic myth: Race, ethnicity, and class in America* (pp. 13). (Rev. ed.). Boston: Beacon Press.
47. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
48. Anti-Defamation League (2011). ADL poll on anti-Semitic attitudes in America. Retrieved January 9, 2012, from <http://www.fighthatred.com/fighting-hate/reports/915-adl-poll-on-anti-semitic-attitudes-in-america>. In terms of popular culture, see the "Shit Christians say to Jews", <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=51dFlpwKkBM&feature=related>, actual comments made to Allison Pearlman—such as "I'm gonna miss you when I'm in heaven," or "Is there a Jewish church? Do you want to come to a real church with me?"
49. The ad on San Francisco MUNI buses in 2012, sponsored by the American Freedom Defense Initiative (defined as a hate group by the Southern Poverty Law Center): "In any war between the civilized man and the savage, support the civilized man. Support Israel...Defeat jihad." See "Hate group places Islamophobic advertisements on San Francisco buses" by Nora Barrows-Friedman, 8/16/12, electronicintifada.net; and "'Jews against Islamophobia' condemns latest round of Geller ads in NYC" by Adam Horowitz, 12/17/12, mondoweiss.net.
- And in April 2013, after the terrorist attack on the Boston Marathon, "speculation about the backgrounds of those behind the bombings prompted at least two violent attacks:" one against a Palestinian woman who was punched in the shoulder and harassed while walking with her infant daughter in Malden, MA; and a Bangladeshi man brutally beaten in NYC and called a "F-ing Arab." See *Democracy Now* headlines (4/19/13).
50. Kivel, P. Challenging Christian hegemony. Retrieved January 16, 2011, from <http://www.christianhegemony.org/about-christian-hegemony>.
51. Kaye/Kantrowitz. (1996). Jews in the U.S.: The rising costs of whiteness. In B. Thompson & S. Tayagi (Eds.), *Names we call home: Autobiography on racial identity* (pp. 125). New York: Routledge. She says that although "anti-Semitism in this country is distinct from racism," it has "everything to do with racism."
52. Kaye/Kantrowitz, (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 28). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
53. Lyons, M. N. (2003). Parasites and Pioneers: Antisemitism in White Supremacist America. in J. Alexander, L. Albrecht, S. Day and M. Segrest (Eds.), *Sing, Whisper, Shout, Pray!* edgework.com: EdgeWork Books
54. Ordover, N. (2003). *American eugenics: Race, queer anatomy, and the science of nationalism* (pp. 42). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota. In Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 16). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
55. Ibid., pp. 9.

56. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America* (p. 126). New York: Oxford University Press.
57. Prell, R.-E. (1999). *Fighting to become Americans: Assimilation and the trouble between Jewish women and Jewish men* (pp. 164). Boston: Beacon Press.
58. Ibid., pp. 32.
59. Beck, E. T. (1992). "From 'Kike to Jap': How misogyny, anti-semitism and racism construct the Jewish American Princess," 6. In Anderson, M. and Collins, P. H. (Eds.) *Race, Class and Gender*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
60. Prell, R.-E. (1999). *Fighting to become Americans: Assimilation and the trouble between Jewish women and Jewish men* (pp. 143). Boston: Beacon Press.
61. Ibid., pp. 145.
62. Beck, E. T. (1995). Judaism, feminism and psychology: Making the links visible. In K. Weiner & A. Moon (Eds.), *Jewish women speak out* (pp. 11-26). Seattle, WA: Canopy Press.
63. Beck, E. T. (1992). "From 'Kike to Jap': How misogyny, anti-semitism and racism construct the Jewish American Princess," 6. Here Beck refers to research by Syracuse University sociologist Gary Spencer.
64. Rizzo, R. (2000, June 12). What your CI leaders don't want you to know. *The GW Hatchet*, 4.
65. Belzer, T. (2001). On being a Jewish feminist valley girl. In D. Rutenberg (Ed.), *Yentl's revenge: The next wave of Jewish feminism* (pp. 184). Seattle, WA: Seal Press.
66. Gaynor, A. (1996). *Jewish American Princess jokes* (pp. 87).
67. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1992b). To be a radical Jew in the late 20th century, 113. In *The issue is power: Essays on women, Jews, violence and resistance*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
68. One Jewish woman who fought back was Texan Sherry Merfish who convinced the Houston Rabbinical Association to pass a resolution, "no more JAP crap in synagogues." Crusading to synagogues nationwide, she would ask audiences to shout out "characteristics" of a JAP, scribbling these on the blackboard. "Then I'd erase 'JAP' and substitute 'Jew', making the anti-Semitism clear. "Were Jap jokes a justification for intermarriage?" by Lenore Skenazy, (February 23, 2011), *Forward.com*.
69. Rubin, J. (2004, Fall/Winter). Once you go JAP. *Heeb*, 44
70. Siegel, R. (1995) Jewish women's bodies: Sexuality, body image and self-esteem, 48. In K. Weiner & A. Moon (Eds.), *Jewish women speak out*. Seattle, WA: Canopy Press.
71. Lerner, M. (1992). *Socialism of fools* (pp. 65). Oakland, CA: Tikun Books. Also, in the U.S. today, Koreans and Palestinians are often in middle person economic roles as well.
72. Weinstein, G., & Mellen, D. (1997). Anti-semitism curriculum design. In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook* (pp. 190). New York: Routledge.
73. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America* (pp. 33). Dinnerstein footnotes Korn, *American Jewry and the Civil War*, p. 177; Berman, *Richmond's Jewry*, pp. 181-184; Lonn, *Foreigners in the Confederacy*, p. 336, among others.
74. Ibid., pp. 32.
75. Ibid., pp. 105
76. Ibid., pp. 128. For example: Noam Chomsky reports that in his German/Irish Philadelphia neighborhood, sympathies were mostly pro-Nazi (Robert Barsky, *Noam Chomsky, a Life of Dissent*, 1997). While in *Old Men at Midnight, 2002*, Chaim Potok refers to Father Coughlin's outrageous broadcasts: "The anti-Semitic neighbors would turn up their radios so you would hear him when you walked down the street."
77. Rosenblum, A. (2009 May/June). Offers we couldn't refuse: What happened to Jewish secular identity? *Currents*, 16.
78. Sanders, R. (ed.) (2004) March. "Father Charles Edward Coughlin" in "Facing the corporate roots of American fascism," *Press for Conversion* magazine, #53. Retrieved May 29, 2011, from http://coat.ncf.ca/our_magazine/links/53/coughlin.html.
79. U.S. Holocaust Museum exhibit, Washington, DC, December 1999.
80. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America* (pp. 119).. Dinnerstein footnotes David S. Wyman, *The Abandonment of the Jews* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), p. 8; Charles H. Stember, *Jews in the Mind of America* (New York: Basic Books, 1966), p. 138.
81. Piercy, M. (2002). *Sleeping with cats* (pp. 56). New York: HarperCollins.
82. In 2011 Israel passed a law cutting off state funding to any group that discusses the Nakba.
83. Kivel, P. Christian zionism (pp. 5). Retrieved January 17, 2011, from <http://www.christianhegemony.org/articles>.

84. Rosenblum, A. (2009 May/June). Offers we couldn't refuse: What happened to Jewish secular identity? *Currents*, 16. And some Jews named other Jews as well.
85. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1996). Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1996). Jews in the U.S.: The rising costs of whiteness. In B. Thompson & S. Tayagi (Eds.), *Names we call home: Autobiography on racial identity* (pp. 125). New York: Routledge.
86. Ibid. Korean-Americans are also blamed for financial crises.
87. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1992b) To be a radical Jew in the late 20th century. In *The issue is power: Essays on women, Jews, violence and resistance*, (pp. 149). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
88. Steinberg, S. (1989). *The ethnic myth: Race, ethnicity, and class in America* (pp. 236). (Rev. ed.). Boston: Beacon Press
89. Goldberg, J. J. (1996). *Jewish power: Inside the American Jewish establishment* (pp. 236). Reading, MA: Perseus Books.
90. Rosenblum, A. . (2009 May/June). Offers we couldn't refuse: What happened to Jewish secular identity? *Currents*, 15.
91. Ibid.
92. John Hope Franklin interviewed on the *Charlie Rose TV Show*, December 1, 2005.
93. Wyman, D. (2000). The setting: Europe and America. In M. Adams, W. Blumenfeld, R. Castaneda, H. Hackman, M. Peters, & X. Zuniga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice: An anthology on racism, anti-semitism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and classism* (pp. 166). New York: Routledge
94. Another key example: in 1939, the U.S. refused to let the S.S. *St. Louis*, carrying 930 Jewish refugees from Germany, land in the U.S. after Cuba refused entry. "As the ship sailed along the Florida coast, the passengers could see the lights of Miami," but "the U.S. Coast guard ships patrolled the waters to make sure that no one jumped to freedom." The ship returned to Europe where few of its passengers survived the Holocaust. Berenbaum, M. (1993). *The world must know: The history of the holocaust as told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (p. 58). New York: Little, Brown.
95. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). Also, J. J. Goldberg (*Jewish Power*, p. 111) cites a 1939 *Fortune* magazine poll which found that 83% of Americans opposed lowering immigration quotas. Yet First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt tried to persuade her husband to help the Jews.
96. Associated Press. (2000, August 27). USA: Behavior in Nazi Era Examined. Retrieved January 17, 2011, from <http://www.corpwatch.org/article.php?id=594>.
97. Dobbs, M. (1998, November 30). Ford and GM scrutinized for alleged Nazi collaboration. *Washington Post*, pp. A01. Opel was a "100% GM-owned subsidiary."
98. Ibid
99. Associated Press. (2000, August 27). USA: Behavior in Nazi Era Examined.
100. Black, E. (2012, February 28). IBM at Auschwitz, new documents. *Reader Supported News*. Retrieved March 4, 2012 from <http://readersupportednews.org/news-section2/328-121/10198-focus-ibm-at-auschwitz-new-documents>. This article updates Black's 2001 book *IBM and the Holocaust, The Strategic Alliance between Nazi Germany and America's Most Powerful Corporation*. For example, the IBM number 8 designated Jew, 3=homosexual, 12=Gypsy, 4=death by execution, etc.
101. Ibid.
102. Berenbaum, M. (1993). *The world must know: The history of the holocaust as told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. New York: Little, Brown.
103. Ibid., p. 162.
104. Medoff, R. (2012, May 25). Jan karski, from hell on earth to recipient of U.S. presidential honor. Retrieved August 27, 2012, from <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2012/05/25/3096571/jan-karski-from-hell-on-earth-to-recipient-of-us-presidential-honor>. Before that, British Foreign Minister Anthony Eden showed "little interest" when meeting with Karski, and Winston Churchill was "too busy" to meet him at all, though the BBC and British press did print his accounts. The book he published was called *Story of a Secret State*. See also, *Democracy Now* (2012, June 5), Polish resistance figure Jan Karski, honored with posthumous medal of freedom, in his own words.
105. Berenbaum, M. (1993). *The world must know: The history of the holocaust as told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*. New York: Little, Brown, p. 164.
106. Piercy, M. (2002) *Sleeping with Cats*. New York: HarperCollins (p. 28).
107. Berenbaum, M. (1993). *The world must know: The history of the holocaust as told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (pp. 164). New York: Little, Brown.

108. Kaufman, M. (2000, July 15). Jan Karski dies at 86; Warned West about Holocaust. Retrieved January 17, 2011, from <http://partners.nytimes.com/library/world/europe/071500poland-karski.html>. Also Goldberg, J. J., (1996), *Jewish Power*, and Berenbaum, M. (1993). *The world must know*. Also, Wallenberg was Christian.
109. Wyman, D. (2000) Wyman, D. (2000). The setting: Europe and America. In M. Adams, W. Blumenfeld, R. Castaneda, H. Hackman, M. Peters, & X. Zuniga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice: An anthology on racism, anti-semitism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and classism* (pp. 166). New York: Routledge.
110. Goldberg, J. J. (1996). *Jewish power*, (pp. 116). Reading, MA: Perseus Books.
111. Ibid, p. 113. Goldberg cites, for example, Arthur D. Morse who wrote *While Six Million Died* (1968). Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz also speaks of this in *The Colors of Jews*.
112. Lichtblau, E. (2010, November 13.) Nazis were given 'safe haven' in U.S., report says. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/14/us/14nazis.html>.
113. Berenbaum, M. (1993). *The world must know*. New York: Little, Brown.
114. Ibid.
115. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America* (pp. xiii). New York: Oxford University Press. Meanwhile, over 1000 blacks were lynched in this region between 1900-1917: Belth, N. (1981) *A Promise to Keep: A Narrative of the American Encounter with Anti-Semitism*, NY: Schocken Books.
116. Sawyer, K. (2000, June 20). A lynching, a list and reopened wounds. *The Washington Post*, pp. A1-A2
117. Ibid.
118. Close to half of the U.S. Communist Party in the 1930s were Jews, though some were expelled for attending religious services. Liebman, A. (1979), *Jews and the Left*, New York: Wiley & Son. Also, in personal communication with Robert Meeropol (younger son of the Rosenbergs) on September 21, 2009, he said that the book *Exoneration: The trial of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg and Morton Sobell, prosecutorial deceptions, suborned perjuries, anti-Semitism, and precedent for today's unconstitutional trials*, (2010) by David and Emily Alman, Green Elms Press, argues that anti-Semitism played a much bigger role than has been previously discussed
119. Rosenberg Fund for Children. (2007, May 31). Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://writing.upenn.edu/~afilreis/50s/meeropol-on-rosenbergs.html>. Robert Meeropol also makes the point, on December 23, 2010, in "Julian Assange, My Parents and the Espionage Act of 1917," "he only evidence...against my mother was David and Ruth Greenglasses' testimony that she was present at a critical espionage meeting and typed up David's... description of a sketch. Although this testimony has since been shown to be false, even if it were true, it would mean that the government of the United States executed someone for typing." Rosenberg granddaughter Ivy Meeropol's 2004 documentary "Heir to an Execution" says the Rosenbergs were innocent of what they were charged with, and they trusted history would absolve them. See also Robert Meeropol's February 23, 2012 article, '60 years too late,' on the Rosenberg Fund for Children's Directors's blog.
120. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007, March.) Some notes on anti-Semitism from a progressive Jewish perspective. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.jewishcurrents.org/2007-mar-kayekantrowiz.htm>. The sign she was referring to read "Sharon=Hitler."
121. Picciotto, H. (2004). Bogus charges. In *Reframing anti-semitism: Alternative Jewish perspectives* (pp. 48). Oakland, CA: Jewish Voice for Peace.
122. Thanks to my friend and scholar Sarah Anne Minkin, who points out, for example, the similarities between the Nuremberg "race laws" of the 1930s that enforced the isolation, segregation and exploitation of German Jews—and Israeli laws, policies and practices that deprive Palestinians of legal rights and protections for property, livelihood, mobility and other civil rights.
123. Levins Morales, A. (2012, March 11). Latinos, Israel and Palestine: Understanding Anti-Semitism.
124. Klein, N. (2003). Sharon, Le Pen, and anti-Semitism. In Kushner, T., & Solomon, A. (Eds.). (2003). New York: Grove Press. Such examples, which continue to crop up, are unsettling indeed! For an example of clearly standing up to anti-Semitism on the left, see Jewish Voice for Peace statement on Greta Berlin and allegations of anti-Semitism, October 7, 2012, <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/jewish-voice-for-peace-statement-on-greta-berlin-and-allegations-of-an>.
125. Plitnick, M. (2004). Reclaiming the struggle against anti-semitism, 5. In *Reframing anti-semitism: Alternative Jewish perspectives*, Oakland, CA: Jewish Voice for Peace.

class Jew by a group of mostly Muslims who admitted to kidnapping Halimi for ransom, believing all Jews are rich; 19 were imprisoned for the crime, and 100,000 Parisians demonstrated against the murder. 2011 showed a number of violent assaults in France against Jews, also increased anti-Semitic attacks in Sweden and Australia, and consistent incidents in Argentina. In 2012 Chilean websites blamed Jews and Israel for deliberately igniting a fire in an environmental preserve.

147. Loeb, D. (2010). Never stop. In *Birkat Ha-Gomel, A Survivor's Blessing*, contact dyanna.loeb@gmail.com. Also in Greece, in December 2010, in an interview on the country's largest television station, a leading priest blamed world Jewry for the country's financial crisis and claimed Hitler was used to establish the state of Israel.

148. Plitnick, M. (2010, June 30). Those we can talk to and those we cannot. Retrieved January 21, 2010, from <http://mitchellplitnick.com/2010/06/30/those-we-can-talk-to-and-those-we-cannot/>. The leader referred to is Hassan Nasrallah.

149. B'tselem. Fatalities during operation "cast lead." Retrieved January 21, 2011, from http://www.btselem.org/english/statistics/casualties.asp?sD=27&sM=12&sY=2008&eD=18&eM=01&eY=2009&filterby=event&oferet_stat=during.

150. ADL. (2009, June 1.) Anti-Semitic incidents decline for fourth straight year in U.S., according to annual ADL audit. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASUS_12/5537_12.htm.

151. Furedi, F. (2009, January 19). After Gaza: what's behind 21st century anti-semitism?

152. Ibid.

153. Regarding anti-Semitism in 20th century South America, the bombing of a Jewish community building in Argentina in 1994 killed 85 and injured hundreds; and between 1976-1983, ten percent of those murdered/kidnapped by the Argentine military were thought to be Jews, although Jews were only one percent of the general population.

154. The children's names were Aryeh and Gavriel Sandler (4 and 5) and Miriam Monsonego (7). The shooter was killed after a firefight with police, he was connected to a jihadist group and also claimed links with al-Qaida. Local Jewish leaders expressed surprise at the outpouring of support from Jews and gentiles worldwide, and French President Sarkozy asked citizens not to confuse the violence with France's Muslim community. In the same time period of these crimes, a US marine in Afghanistan was charged with murdering 16 Afghani children and women; and in central Florida, (white/Latino) George Zimmerman killed 17-year-old unarmed African-American Trayvon Martin who was 80 pounds lighter—to my mind, all hate crimes.

155. Furedi, F. (2009, January 19). After Gaza: what's behind 21st century anti-semitism? My colleague Sina Arnold, a white German gentile activist Ph.D. candidate who is researching anti-Semitism, concurs with Furedi's analysis.

156. Surasky, C. (2009, May 12.) Durban Review Debate. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.muzzlewatch.com/?s=Durban+Review+Debate>. The Jewish Council on Urban Affairs explains that human rights are international standards, comprised of several treaties, which articulate the universal treatment of all human beings—including civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights.

157. Snyders, M. (2007, October 3.) Banning Desmond Tutu. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.citypages.com/2007-10-03/news/banning-desmond-tutu/>. A counter-campaign by Jewish Voice for Peace cleared his name and the invitation was re-issued. Similarly, in 2011 the Zionist Organization of America brought a class action lawsuit against former President Jimmy Carter for his book *Palestine: Peace Not Apartheid*, claiming it to be anti-Israel. Various academics have been terminated from their university jobs for their critiques of Israel and Zionism (Norman Finkelstein, Joel Kovel, Terri Ginsberg, more), and journalists are attacked as well (like M.J. Rosenberg). But in 2012, the California State University system refused to cave to pressure to dis-invite anti-Zionist Israeli historian Ilan Pappé from speaking at their schools. Even the right-wing David Project issued a "white paper" in 2012, "A Burning Campus? Rethinking Israel Advocacy at America's Universities and Colleges," admitting that most college environments are not hostile to Jews; it advised accusing peace-and-justice faculty members of "academic malpractice" as a more effective strategy to get them fired, than of accusing them of Israel-bashing.

158. Surasky, C. (2009, April 14.) It's official: Abe Foxman has lost his mind on Tutu. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.muzzlewatch.com/?s=it%27s+official%3A+abe+foxman+has+lost+his+mind+on+tutu>.

159. Tutu, Desmond. (2010, April 13). Divesting from injustice. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/desmond-tutu/divesting-from-injustice_b_534994.html. Under

international law, the Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands—the West Bank, Gaza, and East Jerusalem—is illegal, because it was acquired during the June 1967 War. According to the Fourth Geneva Conventions established after World War II, it is inadmissible to acquire territory by war.

160. “University of California student union votes to condemn California Assembly Resolution H.R. 35, encourages free speech in higher education,” (9/15/12), <http://calsjp.org/?p=1272>. H.R. 35 followed a report on Campus Climate by the University of California that conflated criticism of Israeli policy with hate speech.

The UC Berkeley Graduate Assembly later passed a resolution similar to the UC Student Association. Jewish Voice for Peace supported the student resolution, writing “Many Jewish UC students and professors have been very clear—efforts like HR35 aren’t about protecting Jewish students. They are about trying to protect the right-wing government of Israel from the criticism of others, many of whom are Jewish.” See “Hate speech on campus –against whom? Misrepresenting campuses as anti-Semitic is a disservice,” by Carol Sanders, (9/20/12), *Jweekly.com*. A letter submitted by the Center for Constitutional Rights and other civil rights groups to the UC President additionally speaks to the problematic comparison of student activism for Palestinian rights to “truly anti-Semitic and racist incidents on campus, such as noose-hangings and graffiti disparaging Jews, Muslims and the LGBTQ community; see “Letter to University of California President advising him of need to protect pro-Palestinian speech on campus,” www.ccrjustice.org.

161. Levy, G. (9/17/09). Disgrace in the Hague, www.haaretz.com. This news source, *Haaretz*, is considered the *New York Times* of Israel.

162. Falk, R. (9/24/09). Why the Goldstone report matters, www.zcommunications.org.

163. B’tselem and some other groups backed the main recommendations of the report but criticized some parts as flawed: for example, blaming Israel for the possible commission of crimes against humanity, a claim made without factual basis or hearing Israel’s version (because Israel refused to cooperate with the study), <http://www.btselem.org/node/120754>. Others disagreed with some key conclusions while supporting parts of the study, taking a nuanced careful approach—in stark contrast to those who dismissed the report *carte blanche*.

164. Rosen, B. (5/11/10). Alan Dershowitz and the politics of desperation, www.huffingtonpost.com.

165. Blumenthal, M. (7/25/10). IDF report confirming Goldstone’s key findings is suppressed inside Israel, <http://maxblumenthal.com/2010/07/idf-report-confirming-goldstones-key-findings-is-suppressed-inside-israel/>. The report itself, *Gaza Operation Investigations: Second Update, July 2010*, can be found at GazaUpdateJuly2010.pdf.

166. Shamir, S. (2/5/10). Nobel prize laureates back Elie Wiesel anti-Ahmadinejad ad, www.haaretz.com. Wiesel consistently conflates critiques of Israeli policies with anti-Semitism. Significantly (as recounted by physician/author Gabor Mate’), as a boy, Wiesel was imprisoned in Auschwitz, along with his father. When the Nazis beat his father to death on a top bunk, Wiesel covered below on the bottom bunk, afraid that if he moved or cried out, he would be next. Throughout this book I argue that unhealed traumatic experiences can then be projected onto innocent “others.” Chapter Ten explores this theme in depth.

167. Rosen, B. (5/11/10). Alan Dershowitz and the politics of desperation. Dershowitz called the report’s main conclusions “entirely false”, www.huffingtonpost.com, and Goldstone “evil,” <http://www.haaretz.com/news/dershowitz-goldstone-is-a-traitor-to-the-jewish-people-1.265833>.

168. Blumenthal, M. (3/13/10) Inside the Lawfare Project: Netanyahu’s attack on human rights NGO’s hits the States, <http://maxblumenthal.com/2010/03/inside-the-lawfare-project-netanyahus-attack-on-human-rights-ngos-hits-the-states/>. The specific charge came from David Mataas, senior legal counsel to B’nai B’rith Canada.

169. Otterman, S. (10/22/09). Gaza report author asks U.S. to clarify concerns, www.nytimes.com.

170. Cook, J. (10/6/09). How Israel buried the UN’s war crime probe, www.counterpunch.org.

171. Kucinich, D. (11/3/09). Standing against the ‘wrong is right’ Goldstone Resolution, www.huffingtonpost.com.

172. Falk, R. (9/24/09). Why the Goldstone report matters.

173. Pogrebin, L. C. (2010, January/February) Jewish McCarthyism strikes gold(stone). Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.momentmag.com/Exclusive/currentyear/02/201002-Opinion-Pogrebin.html>.

174. Kaiser, J. E. G. (2010, May 4). Rabbi and editor Michael Lerner’s home found vandalized. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.forward.com/articles/127718/>.

175. Levy, G. (2009, September 17). Disgrace in the Hague.

176. Goldstone, R. (2011, April 1). Reconsidering the Goldstone Report on Israel and war crimes. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved January 13, 2012, from <http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/reconsidering-the-goldstone-report-on-israel-and-war-crimes/2011/04/01/AFg111JC>. Significantly, Goldstone was only one of the Report's four authors, and the only one to partially backtrack from this official UN document.

177. Horowitz, A. (2011, April 4). Judge Goldstone retracts part of his report on Israeli assault on Gaza, leaves rest intact. *Democracy Now*. Retrieved January 13, 2012, from http://www.democracynow.org/2011/4/4/judge_goldstone_retracts_part_of_his. Horowitz is co-editor of the 2011 book *The Goldstone Report: The Legacy of the Landmark Investigation of the Gaza Conflict*.

178. The bulldozer driver said he did not see Rachel, even though she was wearing an orange fluorescent vest, and witnesses said she had been speaking to the driver shortly before

179. Pazornik, A. (2009, July 9). Film festival under fire for scheduling 'Rachel,' inviting mom. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/38507/film-festival-under-fire-for-scheduling-rachel-inviting-mom/>. The quote is from festival director Peter Stein.

180. Film festival, sponsors respond to 'Rachel' controversy. (2009, July 21). Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.jweekly.com/index.php/article/full/39307/a-message-from-the-s.f.-jewish-film-festival-about-rachel-screening>. The foundations referred to were the Taube and Koret Foundations. 'Rachel' later played in Tel Aviv and at Haifa's prestigious International Film Festival without incident.

181. Surasky, C. (2012, March 31). Jewish Community Relations Council of SF to young Jews: You can't speak here. *Muzzlewatch*. Retrieved April 7, 2012, from <http://www.muzzlewatch.com/2012/03/30/jewish-community-relations-council-of-sf-to-young-jews-you-cant-speak-here/>. The quote is from the panelists' letter to the Jewish Community Library, who cancelled the panel in consultation with its parent organization, the Bureau of Jewish Education, and with the Jewish Community Relations Council, consultant-advisor to the local Jewish Community Federation Endowment. Abileah was also ostracized for personally challenging Netanyahu about his policies, in a Congressional hearing a year earlier. Congregation Sha'ar Zahav later hosted the event.

Full disclosure: I was also targeted by these guidelines in April 2012 when the Jewish Community Center of the East Bay withdrew as cosponsor of a KPFA-radio sponsored event with Peter Beinart--because I was to moderate the event and was a founding board member of Jewish Voice for Peace, which supports withdrawing economic support from Israel's occupation. After the JCC withdrawal, Beinart cancelled the event. See <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/beinart-berkeley-talk-cancelled-mccarthyism-in-jewish-world> and <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/64734/zionism-author-cancels-kpfa-talk-in-berkeley/>.

182. Brostoff, M. (2010, May 6). Academic question. *Tablet*. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.tabletmag.com/life-and-religion/32915/academic-question/>.

183. Pine, D. (2010, March 4). Pluralism panel morphs into debate over new JCF rules. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/41572/pluralism-panel-morphs-into-debate-over-new-jcf-rules/>. Yet another example: Deborah Kaufman reports that in trying to screen the documentary she co-produced with Alan Snitow, *Between Two Worlds: The American Jewish Culture Wars*, many Jewish Film Festivals from Boston to Calgary couldn't screen the film "because of a funder, board member, or community member who warned of dire consequences for crossing some kind of political line." See her July 2012 *Tikkun* article, "The Jewish community's drift toward the right."

184. Levy, S. (2009, October 27). Bridging the gap with honesty and transparency. *Muzzlewatch*. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.muzzlewatch.com/?s=Bridging+the+gap+with+honesty+and+transparency>. Elissa Barrett acknowledged that Progressive Jewish Alliance lost funders because of its positions on Israel.

185. Wikipedia. Louis Brandeis. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from http://en.wikiquote.org/wiki/Louis_Brandeis. A significant 2012 example of attempted muzzled speech: when the California State Assembly passed a (non-binding) bipartisan resolution (HR 35) to oppose anti-Semitism on state university campuses, yet defined anti-Semitism to include "legitimate political activities" opposing Israeli government policies--in effect, seriously attacking academic freedom and free speech, "and the rights of students and faculty to raise awareness about human rights abuses by U.S.-backed governments." See Stephen Zunes August 30, 2012 article, "California State Assembly seeks to stifle debate on Israel," *HuffingtonPost.com*. Zunes notes that equating opposition to Israeli policies with anti-Jewish bigotry also "compromises legitimate efforts against the scourge of anti-Semitism."

See also Jewish folklorist Steve Koppman's September 27, 2012, Op Ed in *Jweekly.com*, "Protesting against Israel—valid or anti-Semitic?: Organized community conflates policy, values," which discusses "the incompatibility between Israel's policies towards the Palestinians and the historic values of our people." Finally, see the excellent *Daily Californian* Op Ed, (2012, October 16) by UC Berkeley senior, Isaiah Kirshner-Breen: UCSA resolution was merely one reaction to bill: why we should be focusing on HR35, not the UCSA reaction to it, <http://www.dailycal.org/2012/10/16/ucsa-resolution-was-merely-one-reaction-to-bill/>. The author disapproves of BDS campaigns, but "will absolutely defend the right of students to use them," adding that equating "valid political protest...with hate speech, effectively... [silences] a community of students on campus... We are bright people, and we should strive for a thoughtful dialectic...it is only through open, intellectual discourse that we can possibly grasp the truth."

186. Wind, M. and Mishly, N. (2009, September 24). From a letter posted on the Code Pink listserv written by the refusers, or *shministim* (twelfth-graders), Maya Wind and Netta Mishly.

187. Fleischman, D. and Klein, D. (2011 October 13). 'Occupy Wall Street' movement brings Jewish ethos to demonstrations. *JWeekly.com*. Retrieved January 13, 2012, from <http://www.jweekly.com/includes/print/63169/article/occupy-movement-brings-jewish-ethos-to-street/>.

188. Anti-Defamation League (2011, November 1). "Occupy Wall Street" demonstrations: anti-Semitic incidents surface. Retrieved January 13, 2012, from http://www.adl.org/main/Extremism/occupy_wall_street.htm.

189. Burke, K., Rotondo, C., and Siemaszko, C. (2011 November 11). Vandals torch three vehicles in Midwood, Brooklyn, scrawl anti-Semitic graffiti. *NYDailyNews.com*. Retrieved January 13, 2012, from <http://www.nydailynews.com/new-york/brooklyn/vandals-torch-vehicles-midwood-brooklyn-scrawl-anti-semitic-graffiti-article-1.976207?print>.

190. OWS official statement against anti-Semitism (2011 November 12). Retrieved January 9, 2012, from <http://blog.occupyjudaism.org/>.

191. Personal correspondence from Sina Arnold, December 2011.

192. Prominent Jews defend Ows from anti-Semitism claims. (2011 November 1). *The Jewish Week*. Retrieved January 13, 2012, from <http://www.thejewishweek.com/print/20363>.

193. Jewish Voice for Peace. (2011 November 13). Jewish groups stand up for free speech at Occupy Wall Street. Retrieved January 13, 2012, from <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/print/5812>.

194. Rosenberg, M.J. (2011 October 14). Opinion: Exploiting anti-Semitism to destroy Occupy Wall Street. *JewishJournal.com*. Retrieved January 13, 2012, from http://www.jewishjournal.com/articles/print/exploiting_antisemitism_to_destroy_occupy_wall_street_20111014/.

195. West, C. (2011 October 24). Dr. Cornell West: "We are in a magnificent moment of democratic awakening." *Democracy Now*. Retrieved January 13, 2012, from http://www.democracynow.org/2011/10/24/dr_cornel_west_we_are_in.

196. Berlet, C. (2009, June 10). Holocaust museum shooting, anti-semitic conspiracy theories, and the tools of fear. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/chip-berlet/holocaust-museum-shooting_b_213979.html.

197. Wise, A. and Rosen, B. (2012, February 2). A statement in support of the Penn BDS conference. *The Palestinian Talmud*. Retrieved April 7, 2012, from <http://palestiniatalmud.com/2012/02/02/a-statement-in-support-of-the-pennbds-conference/#comment-65>.

198. Ibid.

199. Herbert, B. (2009, June 12.) The way we are. *NYTimes.com*. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/13/opinion/13herbert.html>. I do not know if he is Jewish.

200. Berlet, C. (2009, September 17). Vast conspiracy of leftist parasites and traitors. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/chip-berlet/vast-conspiracy-of-leftis_b_290867.html. Berlet is Christian.

201. In 2012 the Supreme Court struck down three of the law's four provisions, that made it a crime for undocumented folks to be in the state, to work or look for work, and that allowed warrantless searches by police. Significantly, although it upheld the "show me your papers" provision, requiring police to check the immigration status of people they stop before releasing them, the Court left open the possibility of later challenges to this section of the law after it goes into effect.

202. Krugman, P. (2009, June 11). The big hate. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/06/12/opinion/12krugman.html>. Krugman is also a Pulitzer Prize-winner.

203. Berlet, C. (2009, June 10). Holocaust museum shooting, anti-semitic conspiracy theories, and the tools of fear.

Chapter Two: INSIDER/OUTSIDER: *Jews, Race, and Privilege*

1. Greenberg, C. (1998). Pluralism and its discontents (pp. 60.) In D. Biale, M. Galchinsky, & S. Heschel (Eds.), *Insider/outsider: American Jews and multiculturalism* Berkeley: University of California Press.
2. Rosenwasser, P., & Gatmon, A. (2000). Crosscurrents of Jewish women in a journey towards healing. *Bridges*, 8, 119.
3. Personal communication, July 20, 2010. Windwood is an African-American gentile.
4. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1992b). To be a radical Jew in the late 20th century (pp. 145). In *The issue is power: Essays on women, Jews, violence and resistance*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
5. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1996). Jews in the U.S.: The rising costs of whiteness (pp. 125). In B. Thompson & S. Tayagi (Eds.), *Names we call home: Autobiography on racial identity*. New York: Routledge.
6. Marder, D. (2007, April 5). Black Jew illuminates diversity of Judaism. *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Retrieved January 22, 2011, from http://www.jewishresearch.org/v2/2007/articles/growth/4_5_07.htm.
7. Levins Morales, A. (2005). Latino Jews in the United States. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
8. Rosenwasser, P., & Gatmon, A. (2000). Crosscurrents of Jewish women in a journey towards healing (pp. 118).
9. Ibid.
10. Edut, O. (2001). Bubbe got back: Tales of a Jewess with caboose (pp. 30). In D. Ruttenberg (Ed.), *Yentl's revenge: The next wave of Jewish feminism*. Seattle, WA: Seal Press.
11. Rosenwasser, P., & Gatmon, A. (2000). Crosscurrents of Jewish women in a journey towards healing (pp. 118).
12. Personal communication, July 19, 2010.
13. Ibid. Sephardim also settled in Greece, North Africa, the Caribbean; and some returned to the Middle East from Spain, so the terms Sephardim and Mizrahim mean different things to different people.
14. Piercy, M. (2002) *Sleeping with Cats* (pp. 43). New York: HarperCollins.
15. Brodtkin, K. (1998). *How the Jews became white folks and what that says about race in America*, (pp. 17). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press. Her book is excellent in regard to white Ashkenazi Jews.
16. Rosen, B. (11/8/11), From the American South to the West Bank: A Freedom Rider bears witness to human rights in Israel/Palestine, <http://mondoweiss.net> Ironically, Brom's Freedom Rider African-American colleague Marjorie, fair-skinned and green-eyed, who also refused to state her race, was booked as white and put in the white women's "tank." Broms notes "If we did nothing else during that ride, we did succeed in briefly integrating the jail." Retrieved February 10, 2012, from <http://mondoweiss.net/2011/11/from-the-american-south-to-the-west-bank-a-freedom-rider-bears-witness-to-human-rights-in-israelpalestine.html>.
17. Elly illustrates a key aspect of white privilege: when you have it, you don't have to think about it.
18. Ululating is flicking the tongue against the roof of the mouth, while cheering. *Intifada* is the name of specific Palestinian uprisings (1987-1993 and 2000-2005), resistance struggles against the Israeli occupation.
19. Personal communication, January 20, 2011. Thanks to Loolwa Khazzoom for initially sending me Linda's quote.
20. Elly Bulkin explains that these Sephardic Jews managed to remain in New Amsterdam (which became New York) even though Governor Peter Stuyvesant objected. In (1984). Hard ground: Jewish identity, racism, and anti-Semitism," in E. Bulkin, M. Pratt, & B. Smith (Eds.), *Yours in struggle: Three feminist perspectives on anti-Semitism and racism*, p. 107. Brooklyn, NY: Long Haul Press.
21. Stoval, T. (2006, January 25). Funny, you don't look Jewish: Local synagogue explores the changing face of Judaism. *The Montclair Times*. Retrieved January 22, 2011, from http://www.jewishresearch.org/v2/2006/articles/growth/1_25_06.htm. The statistic is from Paul Golin of Boston's Jewish Outreach Institute.
22. Khazzoom, L. (2009 March). Esther is our queen: expanding our vision of the Jewish family. In *@Wise, Beneath the Masks We Wear, Who Are We?* (pp. 6). Retrieved January 22, 2011, from www.wisela.org/WorkArea/downloadasset.aspx?id=38120, March 09@wise for web.pdf.

23. Khazzoom, L (1995). When Jewish means Ashkenazi: an exploration of power and privilege in the Jewish community. *Response Magazine*. Retrieved February 10, 2012, from <http://www.loolwa.com/archive/articles/pgs/ashkenazi.html>.
24. . Khazzoom, L. (2009 March). Esther is *our* queen: expanding our vision of the Jewish family. In *@Wise, Beneath the Masks We Wear, Who Are We?* (pp. 6).
25. Be'chol Lashon: In Every Tongue. Counting Jews of color in the United States. Retrieved January 22, 2011, from http://www.bechollashon.org/population/north_america/na_color.php.
26. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 100). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
27. Ibid., p. 36. Kaye/Kantrowitz cites Michael Gelbwasser, "Organization for black Jews claims 200,000 in U.S.," *Boston Jewish Advocate* (April 10, 1998): 38. She says estimates range from 100,000 to 250,000.
28. The Southern Poverty Law Center reports that a black supremacist wing of Hebrew Israelites preach that Christ is returning to enslave or kill whites, Jews, queers, others. However this extremist wing does not represent the Hebrew Israelite community, and lacks ties to both the power structure and to the Black community.
29. Setton, R. (2003b). The life and times of Ruth of the Jungle (pp. 5). In Khazzoom, L. (Ed.). *The flying camel: Essays on identity by women of North African and Middle Eastern Jewish heritage*. New York: Seal Press.
30. Ibid
31. Levins Morales, A. (2005). Latino Jews in the United States (pp. 9). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press.
32. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 38).
33. Ibid., p. 36.
34. Barshad, A. (2010 June). *Heeb*. Drake: The Heeb interview. Retrieved January 24, 2011, <http://www.heebmagazine.com/the-heeb-interview-with-drake-the-worlds-first-black-jewish-hip-hop-star/from>. *Schvartze* is a derogatory Yiddish word for black person.
35. Wahba, R. (2003). Benign ignorance or persistent resistance? (pp. 52) In Khazzoom, L. (Ed.). *The flying camel*.
36. Ibid., pp. 53.
37. Ibid., pp. 56.
38. Ibid.
39. Khazzoom, L. (2009 March). Esther is *our* queen: expanding our vision of the Jewish family, pp. 7.
40. Personal communication, October 1997.
41. Khazzoom, L. (2001). United Jewish feminist front (pp. 168). In D. Ruttenberg (Ed.), *Yentl's Revenge: The next wave of Jewish feminism* (pp. 168-180). Seattle, WA: Seal Press.
42. Ibid.
43. Rosenwasser, P., & Gatmon, A. (2000). Crosscurrents of Jewish women in a journey towards healing (pp. 122). This group was the council Anna Gatmon and I recruited and co-facilitated for Shakti Butler's film "The Way Home," about what holds oppression in place. Loolwa reminded me that she had to pressure me and Anna (also Ashkenazi) into adding group members, so that it would not be so Ashkenazi-dominant. I had conveniently forgotten about that.
44. Ibid.
45. Khazzoom, L. (2009 March). Esther is *our* queen: expanding our vision of the Jewish family, pp. 6.
46. Ibid., pp. 7.
47. Ibid. Racism by Ashkenazi Jews against Mizrahim is also prevalent in Israel.
48. Fishkoff, S. (2009 October 13.) Jews of color come together to explore identity. *Jewish Telegraph Agency*. Retrieved January 22, 2011, from <http://jta.org/news/article/2009/10/13/1008467/jews-of-color-choose-come-together-to-exlore-identity>.
49. Kivel, P. (2002). *Uprooting racism: How white people can work for racial justice* (Rev. ed.). Gabriola Island, British Columbia, Canada: New Society.
50. Brodtkin, K. (1998). *How the Jews became white folks and what that says about race in America* (pp. 60).
51. Ibid. pp. 58.
52. Steinberg, S. (1989). *The ethnic myth: Race, ethnicity, and class in America* (Rev. ed.). Boston: Beacon Press.

53. Ibid. Steinberg refers to *The Reports of the Immigration Commission*, vol. 3, op. cit. pp. 98-178.
54. Ibid. Steinberg points out though that the literacy rate for Jewish immigrants was similar to other immigrants from industrial backgrounds, such as northern Italians.
55. Ibid., pp. 99.
56. Ibid. pp. 71. Additionally, regarding the significance here of the Great Compromise, Brodtkin cites Lieberman, S. (1980) *A piece of the pie: Blacks and white immigrants since 1880* (pp. 5). Berkeley: University of California Press, which cites the Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, pp. 143-145 (1968). In an interview on KPFA radio in Berkeley, CA, on September 25, 2010, journalist Isabelle Wilkerson (who documents the story of African-Americans “great migration”) reports that a \$25,000 fee was charged in 1918 to anyone recruiting a black worker from the south. Steinberg adds that part of the rationale was that most immigrants were unwilling to work in the cotton fields.
57. Ibid., pp. 200.
58. Brodtkin, K. (1998). *How the Jews became white folks and what that says about race in America* (pp. 61).
59. Ibid., pp. 61-62. Brodtkin refers to Howe, I. (1980), *World of our fathers* (pp. 156-7), abridged edition, New York: Bantam.
60. Ibid., pp. 53. I do not know whether or not Taylor is Jewish.
61. Steinberg, S. (1989). *The ethnic myth: Race, ethnicity, and class in America*.
62. Ibid., pp. 132.
63. Ibid., pp. 103.
64. Ibid., pp. 176
65. Brodtkin, K. (1998). *How the Jews became white folks and what that says about race in America* (pp. 76). For example, Naomi Klein points out that “According to the Federal Reserve, in 2007 for every dollar held by the typical white family, the typical African-American family had only ten cents” (2009, September, *Minority death match*, *Harpers*, pp. 57).
66. Ibid., pp. 63
67. Ibid., pp. 38.
68. Wikipedia. History of the Jews in the United States. Retrieved January 22, 2011, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Jews_in_the_United_States.
69. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 11).
70. Brodtkin, K. (1998). *How the Jews became white folks and what that says about race in America*.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid., pp. 51.
76. Rosenwasser, P., & Gatmon, A. (2000). Crosscurrents of Jewish women in a journey towards healing (pp. 121).
77. Loeb, D. (2006). Sundown to sundown. (Excerpt from unpublished poem). Used with permission, c. Dyanna Loeb 2006.
78. COINTELPRO was an FBI-created Counter Intelligence Program in the 1960s-70s which illegally spied on, infiltrated, disrupted and weakened leftist political groups, including imprisoning (for decades) and murdering Black Panthers and American Indian Movement activists. Agents wrote Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., a letter encouraging him to commit suicide. See the 2011 video documentary *Cointelpro 101* by Claude Marks of the Freedom Archives, <http://freedomarchives.org/Cointelpro.html>.
79. Brodtkin, K. (1998). *How the Jews became white folks and what that says about race in America* (pp. 152).
80. Thandeka. (1999). *Learning to be white: Money, race, and God in America* (pp. 29). New York: Continuum.
81. White, K. (2006, November 17). Know your rightwing speakers: Norman Podhoretz. *Campus Progress*. Retrieved January 22, 2011, from http://campusprogress.org/articles/norman_podhoretz/.
82. Although Miller won a Pulitzer prize for drama, he was targeted by the House Un-American Activities Committee.
83. Thandeka. (1999). *Learning to be white* (pp. 32).
84. Levins Morales, A. (2012, March 11). Latinos, Israel and Palestine: Understanding Anti-Semitism. *La Prensa*.

85. Personal communication, June 24, 2010.
86. Rowley, R. & Soohen, J. (2010). *White power USA* (film documentary). Retrieved January 16, 2011, from http://www.democracynow.org/2010/1/11/white_power_usa_the_rise_of. Although extremist, they are trying hard to enter the U.S. mainstream.
87. Morales, A. L. (2005). Latino Jews in the United States (pp. 6-7). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos and Latinas in the United States*.
88. In *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 28), Kaye/Kantrowitz quotes Karen Brodtkin Sacks, “How did Jews become white folks?”, in Gregory and Sanjek, *Race*, 87.
89. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 207).
90. Kivel, P. (2002). *Uprooting racism*, (pp. 162). (Rev. ed.).
91. Lerner, M. (1992). *Socialism of fools* (pp. 121). Oakland, CA: Tikkun Books. For an excellent analysis of the complex intersections between racism and anti-Semitism, see Elly Bulkin’s 1984 essay “Hard ground: Jewish identity, racism, and anti-Semitism,” in E. Bulkin, M. Pratt, & B. Smith (Eds.), *Yours in struggle: Three feminist perspectives on anti-Semitism and racism* (pp. 91-230). Brooklyn, NY: Long Haul Press.
92. Bearing in mind that racism is an involuntary byproduct of living in U.S. society. And not to excuse the behavior, but believing that no one would oppress someone else unless they themselves had somehow first been hurt. In *Privilege, power and difference*, Allan Johnson points out, “Oppression and dominance name social realities that we can participate in without being oppressive or dominating people.” Also, check out The Catalyst Project in Oakland, CA, who work in majority white communities to deepen anti-racist commitment and build multiracial movements for liberation, “where all people are free from all forms of oppression and are able to live in sustainable relationship with the earth.”
93. Greenberg, C. (1998). Pluralism and its discontents (p. 75). In D. Biale, M. Galchinsky, & S. Heschel (Eds.), *Insider/outsider*.
94. *Ibid.*, pp. 61.
95. This exercise “Stand Up/Sit Down: Anti-Semitism,” (pp. 164) was developed by Michael Taller and printed in the invaluable resource by Hugh Vasquez and Isoke Femi, Vasquez, (1993). *A manual for unlearning oppression and building multicultural alliances*. Oakland, CA: TODOS Sherover-Simms Alliance Building Institute.
96. Cited by Evelyn Beck, (Ed.). (1989). *Nice Jewish girls: A lesbian anthology* (pp. xxiii), (Rev. ed.). Boston: Beacon Press. Moraga and Barbara Smith are not Jewish, I don’t know about Perez or Beverly Smith.
97. Fred Phelps heads the uber-homophobic anti-Semitic Westboro Baptist Church, an extended-family Kansas-based hate group, which pickets various events nationwide. David Duke was a former Ku Klux Klan Grand Wizard, and in the 1990’s served as a Republican in the Louisiana House of Representatives.
98. Lyons, M. N. (2003). Parasites and Pioneers: Antisemitism in White Supremacist America. in J. Alexander, L. Albrecht, S. Day and M. Segrest (Eds.), *Sing, Whisper, Shout, Pray!* edgework.com: EdgeWork Books.
99. This was Rabbi Hillel’s succinct response when a skeptic asked him to describe Judaism while standing on one foot. Hillel followed these words by adding “All the rest is commentary.”
100. Kershner, I. (2010, February 10). Museum creates new Jerusalem divide. New York Times. Retrieved January 23, 2011, from http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/11/world/middleeast/11jerusalem.html?_r=1.
101. Central Conference of American Rabbis. (2009, February 24). CCAR Resolution on the Jerusalem Location of the Museum of Tolerance. Retrieved January 23, 2011, from <http://data.ccarnet.org/cgi-bin/resodisp.pl?file=museum&year=2009>.
102. Lawler, A. (2011, October 21). Jerusalem’s Museum of Tolerance under Fire—for intolerance. *ScienceInsider*. Retrieved February 10, 2012, from <http://news.sciencemag.org/scienceinsider/2011/10/jerusalem-museum-of-tolerance.html>. The Center for Constitutional Rights notes that the burial ground was active until the new Israeli state appropriated this part of Jerusalem in 1948.
103. Surasky, C. (2009, April 25). Communication to Jewish Voice for Peace listserve. Used with permission.
104. *Ibid.*
105. Klein, N. (2009, September). Minority death match: Jews, blacks and the “post-racial” presidency,” (pp. 62). *Harpers Magazine*, 319.
106. *Ibid.*, pp. 60.

107. Ibid., p. 54. Thanks also to trusted friends who participated in the NGO Forum for clarifying some of this info, Elizabeth Seja Min and Susan Freundlich.
108. World Conference Against Racism. (2001, September 3). NGO Forum Declaration, #419. Retrieved January 23, 2011, from <http://i-p-o.org/racism-ngo-decl.htm>.
109. Klein, N. (2009, September). Minority death match (pp. 54). Specifically, then-UN High Commissioner on Human Rights Mary Robinson condemned the NGO document.
110. Ibid., (pp. 55).
111. Ibid.
112. Zunes, S. (2009, April 22). Missing an anti-racism moment. *Foreign Policy in Focus*. Retrieved January 23, 2011, http://www.fpif.org/articles/missing_an_anti-racism_moment.
113. Israeli Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (2001, September 9). The conclusion of the Durban conference-comments by Israeli leaders and officials. Retrieved January 22, 2011, from http://www.mfa.gov.il/MFA/MFAArchive/2000_2009/2001/9/The%20Conclusion%20of%20the%20Durban%20Conference-%20Comments.
114. Surasky, C. (2009, May 13). My word: Rebranding of U.N. conference undid years of human-rights work. *Oakland Tribune*. Retrieved February 18, 2011, from <http://imeu.net/news/article0016443.shtml>. The Badil Resource Center (www.badil.org) reports that the Jewish National Fund (JNF) was created in 1901 to acquire land and property rights in Palestine and beyond for exclusive Jewish settlement. In 2011, the JNF continues to destroy Bedouin villages (over 200,000 Palestinian shepherds living in Israel, usually in the Negev), to plant forests overtop the remains.
115. Surasky, C. April 23, 2009. Personal communication, used with permission.
116. Klein, N. (2009, September). Minority death match (pp. 63.)
117. Ibid.
118. Ibid., pp. 64.
119. Ibid.
120. West, C. (2000). On Black-Jewish relations (pp. 179). In M. Adams, W. Blumenfeld, R. Castaneda, H. Hackman, M. Peters, & X. Zuniga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice: An anthology on racism, anti-semitism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and classism*. New York: Routledge.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid., pp. 180.
123. Pomerance, Rachel. (2005, January 14.) "Jewish-Black Ties Loosen over Years." *The Jewish Journal*, Jewish Telegraphic Agency. Cited in Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 53).
124. Smith, B. (1984). Between a rock and a hard place: Relationships between Black and Jewish women (pp. 85). In E. Bulkin, M. Pratt, & B. Smith (Eds.), *Yours in struggle: Three feminist perspectives on anti-Semitism and racism* (pp. 65-88). Brooklyn, NY: Long Haul Press.
125. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The colors of Jews* (pp. 57).
126. Davis and Baldwin resigned from the advisory board of the black journal, *The Liberator*, because of its argument of Jewish conspiracy theories (Bulkin, "Hard Ground.")
127. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The colors of Jews* (pp. 51.)
128. Ibid., pp. 35. In an endnote, Kaye/Kantrowitz adds (pp. 233) "Though the plaintiff named was a different person with the same surname, a black man named Oliver Brown." She cites Nussbaum Cohen, Jewish Telegraph Agency, 1/14/2000, discussing Rabbi Marc Schneier's book, *Shared Dreams: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Jewish Community*.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid. pp. 63.
131. *Democracy Now* (2012, March 30), Adrienne Rich (1929-2012): Alice Walker & Frances Goldin on the Life of the Legendary Poet & Activist, retrieved June 16, 2012, from http://www.democracynow.org/2012/3/30/adrienne_rich_1929_2012_alice_walker. Rich and Allen Ginsburg were both white, Jewish, and gay.
132. Ibid.
133. Ibid.
134. De Veaux, A. (2004). *Warrior poet, a biography of Audre Lorde*. New York: Norton, p. 133.
135. Aurora Levins Morales, personal communication, February 11, 2012.
136. One survivor still remembered the teddy bear that arrived in a care package for her fourth birthday.

137. Segev, T. (2010, July 16). The makings of history/A personal and collective war. Retrieved January 22, 2011, from <http://www.haaretz.com/weekend/week-s-end/the-makings-of-history-a-personal-and-collective-war-1.302307>.

138. Ibid. And as we go to press, another example: when the LA Jewish Federation allowed anti-Muslim hate blogger Pamela Geller to give a speech, an interfaith coalition (including Jews) denounced her appearance and succeeded in pressuring the Federation to cancel Geller's talk

Chapter Three: LET'S TALK ABOUT "JEWISH POWER":

Re-thinking Stereotypes

1. Zunes, S. (1995, March). Anti-semitism in U.S. Middle East policy. *Z Magazine*. Retrieved February 4, 2011, from <http://www.zcommunications.org/anti-semitism-in-u-s-middle-east-policy-by-stephen-zunes>. Zunes is Episcopalian.

2. Structural advantage and power here refers to how more than a few individual Jews have significant decision-making roles in key institutions, from corporations to government, and so are part of the U.S. power structure. Examples are given in this chapter. I also mean that as predominantly white and middle/upper-middle class, sometimes owning class, more Jews than not have systemic advantage, meaning *power that we can tap into by virtue of our positions within the structure*. In general we are on the 'up side' of power dynamics in this country, as opposed to the 'down side.' Sociologist G. William Domhoff defines "structural economic power" as "the basis for dominating the federal government through lobbying, campaign finance, appointments to key government positions, and a policy-planning network made up of foundations, think tanks, and policy discussion groups." See WhoRulesAmerica.net, <http://www.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power>.

3. Newport, F. (12/24/12). In U.S., 77% identify as Christian, www.gallup.com. A year earlier, a 1/17/12 Forward article by N. Zeveloff put the figure at 1.8 percent ("U.S. Jewish population pegged at 6 million," <http://forward.com>.) Two new independent studies found that there are between 6.4 and 6.6 million Jews living in the U.S. as of January 2012. However, the United Jewish Communities say "there is no definitive estimate that everyone agrees on."

4. Pogrebin, Letty Cottin. (1982). Anti-semitism in the women's movement. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from jwa.org/feminism/_html/_pdf/JWA102e.pdf.

5. Kivel, P. (2004). *You call this a democracy? Who benefits, who pays and who really decides?* (pp. 17). New York: Apex Press.

6. Ibid., p. 32.

7. Ibid., p. 20.

8. Ibid.

9. Domhoff, G. (2011). Wealth, income, and power. *WhoRulesAmerica.net*. Retrieved February 19, 2012, from <http://www2.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power/wealth.html>. Domhoff adds that in 2007 "the average white household had 15 times as much total wealth as the average African-American or Latino household." In 2010, CEO's in all industries made about 100 times as much as their workers (and much more in the Dow-Jones companies); "CEOs now are able to rig things so that the board of directors, which they help select—and which includes some fellow CEOs on whose boards they sit—gives them the pay they want."

10. Kivel. *You call this a democracy?* (p. 21). (Chap 1, Note 136.) Kivel refers here to the thinking of sociologists C. Wright Mills, in *The Power Elite*, and G. William Domhoff, in *Who Rules America: Power and Politics in the Year 2000*. See also Domhoff's excellent 2006 article, "Mills's the Power Elite, 50 years later," http://www2.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/theory/mills_review_2006.html. In WhoRulesAmerica.net (2012), Domhoff specifies the power elite as the biggest corporate CEOs working together with top execs at foundations, think tanks and policy-discussion groups, adding that sometimes "they do fight among themselves," <http://www.ucsc.edu/whorulesamerica/power>.

11. Described by Peter Phillips and Mickey Huff in their excellent Op Ed, (2009, December 27), Inside the military-industrial-media complex: Impacts on movement for social justice. *Truthout*. Retrieved February 4, 2011, from <http://www.truth-out.org/topstories/122709vh4>.

12. Kivel, P. (2004). *You call this a democracy?* (pp. 21). Kivel cites Parenti, *Democracy for the Few*, 36.

13. Richard Alba (The University of Albany, SUNY) refers to these "narrow class interests" in his promotional quote on the cover of Zweigenhaft & Domhoff's 1998 book, *Diversity in the power elite*. Also relevant, from the Declaration of Occupy D.C.: "The rotation of decision makers between the public and

private sectors cultivates a network of public officials, lobbyists, and executive whose aligned interests do not serve the American people.”

14. Paul Kivel, personal communication, September 1, 2004. Also see: Letty Cottin Pogrebin’s 1982 article “Anti-semitism in the women’s movement,” and Aurora Levins Morales 2012 article, “Latinos, Israel and Palestine: Understanding Anti-Semitism:” “...the real power structure of this country which is solidly white and Protestant.”

15. Prell, R.-E. (1999). *Fighting to become Americans: Assimilation and the trouble between Jewish women and Jewish men* (pp. 125), Boston: Beacon Press; also Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America* (pp. 131). New York: Oxford University Press.

16. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America* (pp. 126).

17. Zweigenhaft, R., & Domhoff, W. (1998). Jews in the power elite. In *Diversity in the power elite: Have women and minorities reached the top?* (pp. 12-40). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

18. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America* (pp. 238).

19. Ibid. Dinnerstein cites Robert A. Bennett, “No Longer a WASP Preserve,” T, June 29, 1986, III, 1, 8.

20. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America* (pp. 129).

21. Goldberg, J. (1996). *Jewish power: Inside the American Jewish establishment* (pp. 117). Reading, MA: Perseus Books.

22. Zweigenhaft, R., & Domhoff, W. (1998). Jews in the power elite (pp. 22). In *Diversity in the power elite*. I do not know if Zweigenhaft and/or Domhoff are Jewish. Then (Presbyterian) venture capitalist Steven Pease published *The Golden Age of Jewish Achievement*, which listed 31% of the 2007 Forbes 400 “High Tech Entrepreneurs and CEO’s” as Jews. This means 69% of the CEOs were gentiles.

23. Pew Forum’s U.S. Religious Landscape Survey, 2007, retrieved July 6, 2012, from religions.pewforum.org/portraits. Data for Muslims is from the Pew Research Center, 2007, “Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream” (cited in Pew survey.)

24. Popper, N. (2004b, October 8). Nearly a million living in poor Jewish households: Study challenges longstanding views of need. *The Forward*, CVIII, 1 & 3.

25. In the 2007 Pew survey, earning less than \$14,000 (the lowest end of the scale): 9% were Hindus, 14% Jews, 25% from “mainline churches,” 31% Catholics, 35% Muslims, and 47% from “historically black churches.” Pew Forum’s U.S. Religious Landscape Survey, 2007, retrieved July 6, 2012, from religions.pewforum.org/portraits. Data for Muslims is from the Pew Research Center, 2007, “Muslim Americans: Middle Class and Mostly Mainstream” (cited in Pew survey).

26. Muller, J. (2010, March 24). *Forward*. Antisemitism and this recession: The dog that didn’t bark. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://forward.com/articles/126845/>. Muller notes that of the four surviving Wall Street firms in 2010, three were led by Christians, one by a Jew. I do not know whether or not Muller is Jewish.

27. *Democracy Now* Headlines (2010, April 26). Goldman Sachs execs Bragged of profiting from housing crash. Retrieved February 4, 2011, from <http://www.democracynow.org/2010/4/26/headlines>.

28. Meaning just as some Jews can act as oppressors, they can also be oppressed. Even still, it would be classic bigotry to hold all Jews responsible for the misdeeds of a few.

29. Do you need a \$100 Bernie Madoff doll? (2009, February 17). *Daily Finance*. Retrieved September 1, 2012, from <http://www.blogginstocks.com/2009/02/17/do-you-need-a-100-dollar-bernie-madoff-doll/>.

30. *Forward* editor J.J. Goldberg calls Madoff “a villain”, while also explaining “he was doing things that are illegal, but not that different from everybody else...Everybody...lost money. Which is a lot better than the people at Bear Stearns and Bank of America, who took the whole world down with them. The big difference between him and them is that the things that they were doing weren’t illegal anymore.” Nathan-Kazis, J. (2009, May 18). Why it matters that Madoff is Jewish. *New Voices*. Retrieved February 20, 2012, from <http://www.newvoices.org/community?id=0011>.

31. Leopold, L. (2009 July 17) *HuffingtonPost.com*. Wall street and anti-Semitism. Retrieved June 4, 2011, from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/les-leopold/wall-street-and-anti-semi_b_238098.html.

32. Scherer, M. (2010, May 24). The new sheriffs of Wall Street. *Time*, 24.

33. Ibid. Of course some women also bear responsibility for the breakdown and/or profited from it.

34. ADL (2011, November 4). ADL poll on anti-Semitic attitudes in America. Retrieved January 9, 2012, <http://www.fighthatred.com/fighting-hate/reports/915-adl-poll-on-anti-semiticattitudes-in-America>. The exact statistic here was 19%, while 20% said “Jews have too much power in business.” A 2011 example (reported by *JTA* on February 15, 2011): flyers distributed at a Chicago subway station against

mayoral front-runner Rahm Emanuel read, "I will run Chicago as I ran Freddie Mac, PROFITABLE (for me, me, me) thirty millions\$\$\$\$\$. I was entitled to it, being a Holocaust survivor (I mean my family)."

35. Wise, T. (2003, August 19). When paranoia meets prejudice: debunking the notion of a Jewish conspiracy. Retrieved February 4, 2011, from <http://www.timwise.org/2003/08/when-paranoia-meets-prejudice-debunking-the-notion-of-a-jewish-conspiracy/>.

36. Kivel, P. (2002). *Uprooting racism: How white people can work for racial justice* (Rev. ed.) (pp. 163). Gabriola Island, British Columbia, Canada: New Society.

37. Ibid.

38. Goldberg, J. (1996). *Jewish power* (pp. 280).

39. Fox network and more. Interesting: when Rupert Murdoch's son James stepped down from overseeing News Corp's newspapers, after the 2011 phone-hacking scandal, British Labour Party leader Ed Miliband said the scandal highlighted why new rules were needed to limit media consolidation. In May 2012, a British parliamentary report found Rupert Murdoch himself unfit to run a major international media company, as a result of the same scandal.

40. Graham, R. & Alford, M. (2009, January 29). The power behind the screen. *The New Statesman*. Retrieved February 4, 2011, from <http://www.newstatesman.com/film/2009/01/disney-hollywood-interests>.

41. Phillips, P. & Huff, M. (2009, December 27), Inside the military-industrial-media complex: Impacts on movement for social justice. *Truthout*. Retrieved February 4, 2011, from <http://www.truthout.org/topstories/122709vh4>.

42. Ibid. Also Graham, R. & Alford, M. (2009, January 29). The power behind the screen.

43. Phillips, P. & Huff, M. (2009, December 27), Inside the military-industrial-media complex. I do not know if Phillips and/or Huff are Jewish.

44. Paul Kivel, personal communication, September 1, 2004.

45. Kivel, P. (1998, February). I'm not white, I'm Jewish. But I'm white: Standing as Jews in the fight for racial justice. Paper presented at the Whiteness Conference, University of California at Riverside. Also check out the 2012 documentary *The Koch Brothers Exposed* by Robert Greenwald.

46. Immigrants Hall of Fame. Hollywood moguls. Retrieved February 5, 2011, from <http://slalli.tripod.com/archives.htm#Hollywood%20Moguls>. Thanks to Paul Kivel for telling me about this.

47. Thanks to Sandy Butler for this insight.

48. Stein, J. (2008, December 19). How Jewish is Hollywood? *LA Times* Op Ed. Retrieved February 5, 2011, from http://www.latimes.com/news/opinion/commentary/la-oe-stein19-2008dec19_0,4676183.column.

49. Graham, R. & Alford, M. (2009, January 29). The power behind the screen.

50. Ibid. Also Phillips, P. & Huff, M. (2009, December 27), Inside the military-industrial-media complex.

51. Zunes, S. (2009, February 2). Personal communication. Examples: nearly every U.S. President for quite a period of time was Episcopalian; Zweigenhaft and Domhoff cite a 1992 study by Ralph Pyle showing the overrepresentation of Episcopalians as corporate directors; and my colleague Jesse Bacon references Nicholas Lemann's book, *The Big Test*, about the SAT test history and the drive to create an education-based meritocracy with a subtext of Episcopalian dominance.

52. Berkman, J. (2009, October 5). At least 139 of the Forbes 400 are Jewish. *JTA*. Retrieved February 5, 2011, from <http://blogs.jta.org/philanthropy/article/2009/10/05/1008323/at-least-139-of-the-forbes-400-are-jewish>. Again, this means 2/3 are not Jews.

53. Paul Kivel, personal communication, October 19, 2009.

54. Ibid.

55. Kivel, P. Challenging Christian hegemony. Retrieved February 5, 2011, from <http://www.christianhegemony.org/about-christian-hegemony>.

56. Fox News. (2010, November 10). Glenn Beck: The puppet master. Retrieved December 17, 2010, from <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,602142,00.html>.

57. Elliott, J. (2010, November 9). Beck attacks Soros as 'Puppet Master'. Retrieved January 16, 2011, from http://www.salon.com/politics/war_room/2010/11/09/glenn_beck_soros_puppet_master. Salon.com notes that Beck's show is watched regularly by over 2 million people.

58. Schell, J. (2010, December 20). And now: Anti-Semitism. *The Nation*, 20-22. Beck ended up leaving Fox in Spring 2011. Ironically, Beck's far-right views on Israel also got him invited as a speaker at

the 2011 (Christian Zionist) Citizens United for Israel Conference, sharing the podium with Jews from the Israel Lobby.

59. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2006, March 25). Talk at "Facing the Challenge Within." Retrieved February 5, 2011, from www.diasporism.net/files/Antisemitism_on.doc.

60. Ibid.

61. Feldman, K. (2011, November 10). Consider Birthright Israel occupied. *Waging Nonviolence*. Retrieved February 20, 2012, from <http://wagingnonviolence.org/2011/11/consider-birthright-israel-occupied/#more-13544>. "Mic check" refers to an Occupy movement tool for ensuring everyone can hear, if there is no microphone: a speaker shouts out a short phrase, and those who can hear, echo it back.

62. Krugman, P. (2011, November 3) *New York Times*. Oligarchy, American style. Retrieved February 20, 2012, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/04/opinion/oligarchy-american-style.html>. I also like the way political economist Robert Reich said it, during "Occupy Cal" at UC Berkeley, on November 15, 2011: "It is not wealth that is the problem. It is the irresponsible use of wealth being used to undermine our democracy."

63. Biale, D. (1986). *Power and powerlessness in Jewish history* (pp. 181.) New York: Schocken Books.

64. Mearsheimer, J. & Walt, S. (2006, March 23). The Israel lobby. *London Review of Books*. Analyst Mitchell Plitnick also argues that a "small number of wealthy Jews...put up a great deal of money in campaign contributions" towards ongoing unconditional support of Israel "no matter what actions Israel takes and whether or not those actions serve American interests." In "Lobbies, pro and con," (2000, June 24), *The Third Way: Finding Balance in the Middle East* blog. These are often the funders that candidates do not want to antagonize.

65. Walzer, M. (1998). Multiculturalism and the politics of interest (pp. 96). In D. Biale, M. Galchinsky, & S. Heschel (Eds.), *Insider/outsider: American Jews and multiculturalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

66. Goldberg, J. (1996). *Jewish power*. Ron Kampeas of the Jewish Telegraph Agency wrote in June 2011, "estimates over the years have reckoned that Jewish donors provide between one-third and two-thirds of the party's money." See "Democrats launch major pro-Obama pushback among Jews," <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2011/06/07/3088053/democrats-launch-major-pro-obama-pushback-among-jews>.

67. Mearsheimer, J. & Walt, S. (2006, March 23). The Israel lobby. *London Review of Books*.

68. Stone, P. (12/03/12) Sheldon Adelson spent far more on campaign than previously known, www.huffingtonpost.com. Also *Democracy Now* (2012, July 18). As Senate GOP blocks DISCLOSE Act, top donor Sheldon Adelson probed for bribery and mob ties. Retrieved July 20, 2012, from http://www.democracynow.org/2012/7/18/as_senate_gop_blocks_disclose_act; quote is from journalist Peter Stone describing Adelson's characterization of Obama's economic policies. Also Plitnick, M. (2012, February 15). Updating anti-Semitism. *The Third Way*. Retrieved February 20, 2012, from <http://mitchellplitnick.com/2012/02/15/updating-anti-semitism/>. Adelson has close ties to Netanyahu and spends millions monthly distributing a free Israeli right-wing daily paper, *Israel Hayom*, with one of the largest readerships in Israel.

69. *Democracy Now*, (2012, August 31). [Amy Goodman questions top GOP donor David Koch: does concentration of wealth subvert democracy?](http://www.democracynow.org/2012/8/31/amy_goodman_questions_top_gop_donor) Retrieved August 31, 2012, from http://www.democracynow.org/2012/8/31/amy_goodman_questions_top_gop_donor. Other gentile megadonors include Texas billionaire Harold Simmons who as of early 2012 gave \$16.2 million to super-Pacs and campaigns backing Republicans. McGregor, R. (2012, March 19). Billionaire floods super-Pacs with funds. *Financial Times*. Retrieved April 2, 2012, from <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/57a366e8-71d4-11e1-b853-00144feab49a>. Also from Huffington Post, 12/03/12, check out "Donors giving \$500,000 plus to Super PACS."

70. *Forward.com*. (2012, January 27). Editorial: The Adelson factor. Retrieved February 20, 2012, from <http://www.forward.com/articles/150317/>. Specifically, individuals and corporations can give unlimited funds to political action committees supporting candidates, super PACs, as long as these are independent and do not coordinate with the candidate.

71. CBS News. (2009, October 7). Jews responsible for all "wars in the world," but Mel Gibson not responsible for DUI anymore. Retrieved February 5, 2011, from http://www.cbsnews.com/8301-504083_162-5368624-504083.html.

72. Goldberg, J. J. (2010, May 9). The vaudeville routine that has taken over American Jewry. Retrieved February 5, 2011, from <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/the-vaudeville-routine-that-has-taken-over-american-jewry-1.287611>. Stanford University Middle East Studies professor Joel Beinin explains that the

Lobby's role became greater after the Cold War, and the Christian Zionists' role became greater under President George W. Bush: personal communication, February 14, 2012.

73. Although Mearsheimer and Walt argue that oil interests were not a factor in the U.S. going to war in Iraq, other analysts disagree: Peter Beinart, Dr. Joel Beinin, Mitchell Plitnick, Cecile Surasky.

74. Greenwald, G. (2007, December 12). New poll reveals how unrepresentative neocon Jewish groups are. Salon.com. Retrieved February 5, 2011, from http://www.salon.com/news/opinion/glenn_greenwald/2007/12/12/ajc_poll.

75. Zunes, S. (2007, December 20). The Israel lobby revisited. *Foreign Policy in Focus*. Retrieved February 5, 2011, from http://www.organicconsumers.org/articles/article_9276.cfm.

76. Analyst Michael Parenti defines imperialism as a process in which a country imposes its economic and military power on another country/region "in order to expropriate its land, labor, natural resources, capital, and markets—in such a manner as to enrich the investor interests." In "What Do Empires Do?" by Michael Parenti. Both Stephen Zunes ("The Israel Lobby, Tikkun, November/December 2007) and Noam Chomsky ("The Israel Lobby," March 28, 2006, Znet) agree that U.S. middle east policy has been similar to U.S. foreign policy elsewhere.

77. Plitnick, M. & Toensing, C. (2007 Summer). "The Israel lobby" in perspective. *Middle East Report*.

78. Zunes, S. (2007, December 20). The Israel lobby revisited. Also, Zunes, S. (2006, May 16). The Israel lobby: How powerful is it really? *Foreign Policy in Focus*. Retrieved February 5, 2011, from <http://motherjones.com/politics/2006/05/israel-lobby-how-powerful-it-really>.

79. Buruma, I. (2003, August 21). How to talk about Israel. *New York Times Magazine*, 4. Retrieved February 5, 2011, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2003/08/31/magazine/31ANTISEMITISM.html>.

80. Analysts dispute exactly which Jewish groups comprise the Israel Lobby, but generally included are: the Orthodox Union, the ADL, the American Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Committee, B'nai Brith, Hadassah, the Wiesenthal Center, the Jewish Federations, the United Jewish Appeal, the various Jewish Community Relations Councils, most of the campus Hillels, the Zionist Organization of America, the Conference of Presidents, J Street, Americans for Peace Now, the American Israel Public Affairs Committee, the National Jewish Defense Council, the United Jewish Communities, and various media.

81. Plitnick, M. (2011, March 8). The UNSC veto and "The Israel Lobby." Retrieved February 24, 2012, from <http://mitchellplitnick.com/2011/03/08/the-uns-c-veto-and-the-israel-lobby/>. The Lobby also promotes itself this way, see Plitnick, M. & Toensing, C. (2007 Summer), "The Israel lobby" in perspective. Noam Chomsky argues that the Israel Lobby, however, is "dwarfed by the business and military lobbies," see his January 3, 2011 Op Ed in Truthout, "Breaking the Israel-Palestine Deadlock."

82. Mearsheimer, J. & Walt, S. (2006, March 23). The Israel lobby. *London Review of Books*.

83. Plitnick, M. & Toensing, C. (2007 Summer). "The Israel lobby" in perspective. In "The system of anti-Semitism," peace activist Glen Hauer writes, "To argue that absent pressure from U.S. Jewish establishment, the US government would naturally side with the angels in the Middle East is laughable." <http://glenhauer.com/>.

84. Mead, W. (2008, July/August). The new Israel and the old: Why gentile Americans back the Jewish state. *Foreign Affairs*. Retrieved February 5, 2011, from <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/64446/walter-russell-mead/the-new-israel-and-the-old>. Mead's father is Episcopal, I do not know Mead's religion.

85. Zunes, S. (2004, July 20). The influence of the Christian Right on U.S. middle east policy. *Foreign Policy in Focus*. Retrieved February 5, 2011, from <http://www.politicalaffairs.net/the-influence-of-the-christian-right-on-u-s-middle-east-policy/>.

86. Rubin, N. (2012, July 17). In Christian version of AIPAC conference, CUFI draws 5600 to Washington for pro-Israel lobbying. *JTA*. Retrieved July 20, 2012, from <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2012/07/17/3100966/john-hagees-cufi-presses-on-despite-jewish-skepticism>. Also, according to the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, one in five in the U.S. (60 million) consider themselves evangelicals.

87. Plitnick, M. (2004). Reclaiming the struggle against anti-semitism (pp. 8). In *Reframing anti-semitism*. Oakland, CA: Jewish Voice for Peace. Christian Zionism is part of the Christian Right, which refers to a wide spectrum of groups with ultra-conservative beliefs on everything from abortion to homosexuality to Israel-Palestine.

88. For example, the Conference of Presidents leadership (Malcolm Hoenlein) has attended CUFI rallies, and in 2007 AIPAC chose Hagee as their conference keynote.

89. Kivel, P. Kivel, P. Christian Zionism. Retrieved January 17, 2011, from <http://www.christianhegemony.org/articles>.

90. During 2011 summer recess, eighty-one reps plus spouses traveled to Israel for free trips sponsored by the American Israel Education Foundation, an ostensibly-charitable affiliate of AIPAC, but which CODEPINK charges may be an illegal AIPAC front group. AIPAC also recruits and trains students to speak out in support of their policies.

91. Cooper, David J. (2011, October). Hillel, Israel, Palestine and me. Retrieved February 24, 2012, from <http://www.kehillasynagogue.org/article.php/20111010161658470>.

92. Plitnick, M. & Toensing, C. (2007 Summer). "The Israel lobby" in perspective. *Middle East Report*. I do not know if Toensing is Jewish. Plitnick adds in his 2011 article, "The UNSC veto and 'The Israel Lobby,' "There are instances where what we might consider bad decisions are caused by the Lobby and some where they're caused by such other considerations."

93. Friedman, T. (2011, December 13). Op Ed: Newt, Mitt, Bibi, and Vladimir. *New York Times*. Retrieved February 24, 2012, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/12/14/opinion/friedman-newt-mitt-bibi-and-vladimir.html>.

94. Chomsky, N. (2006, March 28). The Israel Lobby? *ZNet*. Retrieved February 6, 2011, from <http://www.zcommunications.org/the-israel-lobby-by-noam-chomsky>.

95. Bennis, P. (2003a). Of dogs and tails: The changing nature of the pro-Israeli lobby, the unchanging nature of the U.S.-Israeli alliance (pp. 121). In T. Kushner & A. Solomon (Eds.), *Wrestling with Zion: Progressive Jewish-American responses to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict*. New York: Grove Press. Bennis reiterated this theme in a September 25, 2011, interview on KPFA with Philip Maldari, that the U.S. role and Lobby goals are intertwined. And as explained, these goals are also shared by defense contractors, oil interests, and Christian Zionists.

96. Paul Kivel, January 25, 2009, personal communication.

97. Massad, J. (2006, March 25/26). Blaming the Israel lobby. *Counterpunch*. Retrieved February 6, 2011, from <http://www.counterpunch.org/massad03252006.html>. Massad is not Jewish.

98. Ibid.

99. Mearsheimer, J. & Walt, S. (2006, March 23). The Israel lobby. *London Review of Books*. Also, Zunes, S. (2010, December 31). Could U.S. Foreign Policy in the Middle East be worse? *TruthOut*. According to Bravenewfoundation.org, in 2010 alone the Northrop Grumman CEO made \$22.84 million, the Lockheed Martin CEO made \$21.89 million, and the Boeing CEO made \$19.4 million—putting them in the top 0.01 percent of U.S. income earners. And just one example of close links between the government and the weapons industry: in 2011, William Daley left Boeing's board of directors to become President Obama's White House Chief of Staff.

100. Zunes, S. (2006, May 16). The Israel lobby.

101. Ibid. Also, Mitchell Plitnick notes in "Actually, we CAN change things if we decide to try," (2012, June 7), that "the amount of money the Israel Lobby can mobilize is big in terms of special interests, but it is far, far less than what is raised by major industries like insurance and pharmaceuticals, and...by special interests groups like the NRA and the AARP."

102. In February 2011, leading Israel activist/anthropologist Jeff Halper wrote, in "Working Around America": a new strategy on Israel/Palestine": "The strategic funding and political support (or threat of withdrawing them) of candidates in both parties by AIPAC and the clout of the Christian Right in the Republican Party is matched by the influence of Pentagon defense contractors who keep members of Congress in line by arguing that any cut in the billions given to Israel, by extension, to the other countries in the region...will cost jobs in their states and districts."

103. Walt, S. (2009, September 20). Settling for failure in the Middle East. *Washington Post*. Retrieved February 6, 2011, from <http://www.hks.harvard.edu/news-events/news/commentary/settling-failure-middle-east>. 76 senators signed the letter as did 329 members of the House.

104. Zunes, S. (2007, November/December). The Israel Lobby: a progressive response to Mearsheimer and Walt. *Tikkun*. Retrieved February 6, 2011, <http://www.tikkun.org/article.php/20090414113019393>.

105. Ibid. Also various articles by Mitchell Plitnick, *The Third Way*.

106. Survey/Chosen for what? Jewish values in 2012. Public Religion Research Institute. Retrieved September 2, 2012 from <http://publicreligion.org/research/2012/04/jewish-values-in-2012/>.

107. Welchman, A. (2008, June 10). Avnery on Obama: No I can. *Jewish Peace News*. Retrieved February 6, 2011, from http://jewishpeacenews.blogspot.com/2008_06_01_archive.html.

108. Kampeas, R. (2010, May 28). Welcome to Obama's Jewish America. *JTA*. Retrieved February 6, 2011, from <http://jta.org/news/article/2010/05/28/2739354/israel-but-not-just-israel-welcome-to-obamas-jewish-america>.

109. Rosenberg, M. (2010, March 18). Public opinion backs Obama not Netanyahu. *TPM Cafe*. Retrieved February 6, 2011, from http://tpmcafe.talkingpointsmemo.com/2010/03/18/rasmussen_americans_back_obama_in_israel_imbroglia/. The (right-leaning) Rasmussen poll reported that 49% of voters backed Obama.
110. Plitnick, M. (2011, March 8). The UNSC veto and “The Israel Lobby.” *The Third Way*. Retrieved July 7, 2012, from <http://mitchellplitnick.com/2011/03/08/the-unsc-veto-and-the-israel-lobby/>. Also see Rosenberg, M.J. (2011, February 14). Obama pledges to veto UN resolution condemning Israeli settlements. *Huff Post World*. Retrieved July 7, 2012, from <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/mj-rosenberg/obama-pledges-to-veto-un- b 822946.html>. Yet in July 2012 the State Department said, “We do not accept the legitimacy of continued Israeli settlement activity,” see July 10, 2012, “Wrong time for new settlements,” in *the New York Times*.
- Regarding AIPAC’s power, see also Mitchell Plitnick’s November 2, 2012 article “Unseating the Israel Lobby,” *Souciant.com*.
111. Horowitz, A. & Weiss, P. (2009, November 2). American Jews rethink Israel. *The Nation*. Retrieved February 6, 2011, from <http://www.thenation.com/article/american-jews-rethink-israel>.
112. Traub, J. (2009, September 13.) The new Israel lobby. *New York Times Magazine*. Retrieved February 6, 2011, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/09/13/magazine/13JStreet-t.html>. The quote is from J-Street founder Jeremy Ben-Ami. Also, another take on “pro-Israel,” from an interview with Cecile Surasky in *Moment Magazine*, January/February 2012, “What does it mean to be pro-Israel today?”: “Being pro-Israel means...acknowledging the painful histories of all of Israel’s citizens, including the 75 percent who are Jewish and have histories of genocide...and the 20 percent who are Palestinian... and who experienced the *Nakba*.”
113. Ben-Ami, J. (2010, February 5). Jeremy Ben-Ami’s remarks at J Street Local Launch. *J Street*. Retrieved February 6, 2011, from <http://www.jstreet.org/blog/?p=833>.
114. Horowitz, A. (2009, October 28). Squaring the circle and erasing the margins. *Mondoweiss*. Retrieved February 6, 2011, from <http://mondoweiss.net/2009/10/squaring-the-circle-and-erasing-the-margins.html#more-10416>.
115. Ben-Ami, J. (2011, September 9). J Street supports a Palestinian State. *J Street listserve*.
116. Fletcher, T. (2004). What is "anti-semitism" and does it still exist? In *Reframing anti-semitism: Alternative Jewish perspectives*. Oakland, CA: Jewish Voice for Peace.

Chapter Four: THE TRICKSTER IN OUR HEADS:

Internalized Jewish Oppression

1. Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider* (pp. 123). Freedom, CA: Crossing Press. Lorde was not Jewish. Two excellent films with content about internalized racism and anti-Semitism by director/producer Shakti Butler: *The Way Home*, (1998) available from New Day Films, 190 Route 17M, P.O. Box 1084, Harriman, NY 10926); and *Cracking the Codes: the system of racial inequality* (2012), www.worldtrust.org.
2. Friere, P. (1993), *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (Rev. ed.), New York: Continuum. Freire was not Jewish. Sander Gilman called this dynamic being "forced to internalize the projections of the dominant culture," (1991, *The Jew's body* (pp. 24), New York: Routledge. Freedom-fighter/martyr Stephen Biko explained this same dynamic in successfully rousing South African youth to fight apartheid.
3. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1992b). To be a radical Jew in the late 20th century. In *The issue is power: Essays on women, Jews, violence and resistance*, (pp. 84). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
4. Weissglass, J. (2000). *Understanding and ending the oppression of Jews: What you can do* (pp. 5). Santa Barbara, CA: National Coalition for Equity in Education. (Available from the Center for Educational Change in Mathematics and Science, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106).
5. Brown, C. (1995b). Cherie's talks. *Ruah Hadashah*, 9, p. 8.
6. Schwartz, M. (1995). Truth beneath the symptoms: Issues of Jewish women in therapy. In K. Weiner & A. Moon (Eds.), *Jewish women speak out*. Seattle, WA: Canopy Press.
7. Thanks to Dr. Wanella (Bola) Cofield for this idea, of self-love as an ongoing process. Check out her soon-to-be-published excellent 2012 dissertation, “Learning Circle–Sacred Space: A Case Study of African American Women Cultivating A Self-Loving Attitude in the Midst of Systemic Oppression,” California Institute of Integral Studies, San Francisco, CA.
8. Neumann, Y. (2004, August 21.) Opening panel remarks, pp. 77. In Andreas, J. In-depth report on the 2004 conference of - *FACING A CHALLENGE WITHIN*. Retrieved January 24, 2011, from

- <http://www.google.com/search?ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8&sourceid=navclient&gfns=1&q=In-depth+report+on+the+2004+conference+of+-+FACING+A+CHALLENGE+WITHIN>. Dr. Gabor Mate' made a similar point, in an interview on KPFA with host Philip Maldari, September 2, 2012: how important it is to become *self-aware* of emotions instilled in us from early childhood, that still affect our view of reality, to see how we all project our past onto the present, usually unconsciously. Mate' says that becoming aware of these projections (usually distortions) can help us become more effective activists.
9. Levins Morales, A. L. Personal communication, April 22, 2004. Used with permission.
 10. Abraham, S. (2005, Winter). I want my RC! A conscious community that keeps me going. *LOUDMOUTH*, 8, 10 (California State University, Los Angeles.) Retrieved January 24, 2011, from <http://www.google.com/search?ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8&sourceid=navclient&gfns=1&q=stephanie+abraham+-+I+want+my+RC!+A+conscious+community+that+keeps+me+sane>, Loudmouth8.pdf). Also, as Guy Izhak Austrian and Ella Goldman point out in their excellent article, "How to Strengthen the Palestine Solidarity Movement by Making Friends with Jews," "Like all cultures, Jewish cultures are exciting and complex, as well as scarred by irrationalities that stem from oppression."
 11. Hidary, V. This is an excerpt from Hidary's signature poem, The Hebrew Mamita, performed as part of Def Poetry Jam HBO, September 7, 2010. Retrieved January 2, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yAeWyGGTdEE>.
 12. Ackerman, D. (2007). *The Zookeeper's Wife* (pp. 155). New York: W. W. Norton.
 13. Khazzoom, L (1995). When Jewish means Ashkenazi: an exploration of power and privilege in the Jewish community. Response Magazine. Retrieved February 10, 2012, from <http://www.loolwa.com/archive/articles/pgs/ashkenazi.html>.
 14. Gilman, S. (1986). *Jewish self-hatred: Anti-semitism and the hidden language of the Jews*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. He argues that self-hatred can be traced in Jews throughout history, and that it is a consistent aspect of identity formation in Diaspora groups worldwide. The actual term "Jewish self-hatred" was not popularized until 1939 in Germany by Theodor Lessing (Gilman, p. 393). For an interesting/painful source book focused on European men, see Gilman's 1986 book, *Jewish self-hatred: Anti-semitism and the hidden language of the Jews*.
 15. Schwartz, M. (1995). Truth beneath the symptoms: Issues of Jewish women in therapy.
 16. Brown, C. (1994a). Jewish parents and children. *Ruah Hadashah*, 8, 67.
 17. Rothchild, A. (2007). *Broken Promises, Broken Dreams* (pp. 4). Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press .
 18. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1996). Jews in the U.S.: The rising costs of whiteness (pp. 126). In B. Thompson & S. Tayagi (Eds.), *Names we call home: Autobiography on racial identity*. New York: Routledge.
 19. I'm referring here to the critical lens of intersectionality, a term coined by African American legal scholar Kimberle Crenshaw, describing the idea that structural exclusion and disadvantage "can be based on the interaction of multiple factors rather than just one"—see the African American Policy Forum's "A primer on Intersectionality."
 20. Hagan, K. (1993). *Fugitive information: Essays from a feminist hothead* (pp. 37). New York: HarperCollins. I do not know if Hagan is Jewish.
 21. Tallen, B. (2000 June). "Who speaks for lesbians in NWSA?" Keynote at Dana Sugar Lesbian Institute, National Women's Studies Association Conference, Simmons College, Boston MA.
 22. Ibid.
 23. Lewin, K. (1948). *Resolving social conflicts* (pp. 189). (G. W. Lewin, Ed.). New York: Harper & Brothers. Lewin was a white European Jew who fled to the U.S. to escape Hitler.
 24. Lipsky, S. (1995). Internalized racism. *Black Re-emergence*, 2. Retrieved January 24, 2011, from http://www.rc.org/publications/journals/black_reemergence/br2/br2_5_sl.html. I do not know if Lipsky is Jewish.
 25. Anzaldua, G. (1987). *Borderlands/La frontera* (pp. 200). San Francisco: Aunt Lute. Anzaldua was not Jewish.
 26. Bell, L. (2007). Theoretical foundations for social justice education. In M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice: A sourcebook* (pp. 10). New York: Routledge. Bell references Foucault, M. (1980). *The history of sexuality*. New York: Vintage Books.
 27. Young, I. (2000). Five faces of oppression, (pp. 36). In M. Adams, W. Blumenfeld, R. Castaneda, H. Hackman, M. Peters, & X. Zuniga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice: An anthology on racism, anti-semitism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and classism*. New York: Routledge.

28. Harro, R. (2000). The cycle of socialization (pp. 18). In M. Adams, W. Blumenfeld, R. Castaneda, H. Hackman, M. Peters, & X. Zuniga, (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice: An anthology on racism, anti-semitism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and classism*. New York: Routledge.
29. Vasquez, H. & Femi, I. (1993). *A manual for unlearning oppression and building multicultural alliances* (p. 23). Oakland, CA: TODOS Sherover-Simms Alliance Building Institute. Vasquez and Femi are not Jewish.
30. Kinnell, G. (1980). Saint francis and the sow. Galway Kinnell – Online Poems. Retrieved January 24, 2011, from http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/g_l/kinnell/online.htm. I do not know if Kinnell is Jewish.
31. Written by Bitch for the Opening Ceremony of the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival, August 2008. Unpublished, used with permission. Bitch is not Jewish.

Chapter Five: SUCKLED ON WORRY

1. Schnur, S. (2001, Spring). The anatomy of worry. *Lilith*, 26, 24.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Lerner, M. (1992). *Socialism of fools* (pp. 8). Oakland, CA: Tikkun Books.
5. Prell, R.-E. (1999). *Fighting to become Americans: Assimilation and the trouble between Jewish women and Jewish men* (pp. 125). Boston: Beacon Press.
6. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America* (p. 132). New York: Oxford University Press.
7. Schwartz, M. (1995). Truth beneath the symptoms: Issues of Jewish women in therapy. In K. Weiner & A. Moon (Eds.), *Jewish women speak out* (pp. 140). Seattle, WA: Canopy Press.
8. Brown, C. (2008, May/June.) Unnumbing from the Holocaust. *Tikkun*, 34.
9. Brown, C. (1995b). Cherie's talks. *Ruah Hadashah*, 9, 9.
10. Brown, C. (1991, March/April). The dynamics of anti-semitism. *Tikkun* 6, 26.
11. Fletcher, T. (2004). What is "anti-semitism" and does it still exist? (pp. 39). In *Reframing anti-semitism: Alternative Jewish perspectives*. Oakland, CA: Jewish Voice for Peace.
12. Mennis, B. (2000). Jewish and working class (pp. 189). In M. Adams, W. Blumenfeld, R. Castaneda, H. Hackman, M. Peters, & X. Zuniga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice: An anthology on racism, anti-semitism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and classism*. New York: Routledge.
13. A *mezuzah* is a piece of parchment (often in a decorative case) inscribed with the Jewish prayer, the *Shema*. It is affixed to the doorframe in Jewish homes to fulfill the Biblical commandment to inscribe the words of the *Shema* "on the doorposts of your house" (Deuteronomy 6:9).
14. Brown, C. (2000, July 20). Speech at National Jewish Fast for Peace and Justice, Washington, D.C.
15. I'd like to think that our class on Anti-Semitism/Anti-Arabism gave her the courage, as a Jew, to confront that anti-Semitic remark.
16. Schwartz, M. (1995). Truth beneath the symptoms (pp. 140).
17. Fox News. (2009, May 8). Wesleyan murder suspect wrote 'kill Johanna,' 'ok to kill Jews' in journal, police say. Retrieved January 24, 2011, from <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,519483,00.html>. In 2011 Stephen Morgan, 32, was found not guilty by reason of insanity (paranoid schizophrenia). He allegedly targeted other Jewish students, and a copy of the "Protocols" was found in his motel room. It's also important to acknowledge the obvious: women are killed by men every day just for being women.
18. Brown, C. (1995a, March/April). Beyond internalized anti-semitism: Healing the collective scars of the past. *Tikkun* 10, 44.
19. Eckberg, M. (2000). *Victims of cruelty: Somatic psychotherapy in the treatment of posttraumatic stress disorder*. Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books. Also Hammer, B. (1995). Anti-semitism as trauma: A theory of Jewish communal trauma response (pp. 208). In K. Weiner & A. Moon (Eds.), *Jewish women speak out*. Seattle, WA: Canopy Press.
20. Hammer, B. (1995). Anti-semitism as trauma: A theory of Jewish communal trauma response (pp. 208). In K. Weiner & A. Moon (Eds.), *Jewish women speak out*. Seattle, WA: Canopy Press. Hammer describes her thinking as a theory of Jewish communal trauma response.
21. Mendelsohn, D. (2006). *The Lost* (pp. 391). New York: HarperCollins.
22. Klepfisz, I. (1990b). Resisting and Surviving America (1982) (pp. 61). In *Dreams of an insomniac: Jewish feminist essays, speeches and diatribes*. Portland, OR: Eighth Mountain Press.
23. *Democracy Now*, (2/3/10), Interview with Gabor Maté: In the realm of hungry ghosts, www.democracynow.org. Retrieved January 24, 2011, from <http://www.democracynow.org/2010/2/3/>

addiction.

24. *Democracy Now*, 2/15/10, Interview with Gabor Maté: When the body says no, www.democracynow.org. Retrieved January 24, 2011, from http://www.democracynow.org/2010/2/15/dr_gabor_mat_when_the_body.

25. *Democracy Now*, In the realm of hungry ghosts (Chap 5, Note 23).

26. Piercy, M. (1999). Growing up haunted (pp. 108). In *The art of blessing the day*. Alfred A. Knopf: New York.

27. Butler, Sandra., & Rosenblum, B. (1989). Reverberations (pp. 171). In M. Kaye/ Kantrowitz & I. Klepfisz (Eds.), *The tribe of Dina: A Jewish women's anthology* (Rev. ed.). Boston: Beacon Press.

28. Weissglass, J. (2000). *Understanding and ending the oppression of Jews: What you can do*, 8. Santa Barbara, CA: National Coalition for Equity in Education. (Available from the Center for Educational Change in Mathematics and Science, University of California, Santa Barbara, CA 93106).

29. Brown, C. (2011 Winter). Unhealed terror. *Tikkun*. Retrieved January 10, 2011, from <http://www.tikkun.org/article.php/winter2011brown>.

30. Rachel, N. (1989). On passing: From one generation to another (pp. 14). In E. Beck (Ed.), *Nice Jewish girls: A lesbian anthology*. Boston: Beacon Press.

31. Weingart, L. (2005, March). Commentary: Speaking to the Presbyterians about selective divestment. *Jewish Voice for Peace newsletter*. Retrieved January 24, 2011, from <http://www.jewishvoiceforpeace.org/content/speaking-presbyterians-about-selective-divestment>.

32. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 215). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

33. Ibid.

34. Thanks to white anti-racist organizer Chris Crass for this idea.

Chapter Six: “HELLO ASSIMILATION, GOODBYE PERSECUTION”

1. Edut, O. (2001). Bubbe got back: Tales of a Jewess with caboose (pp. 29). In D. Rutenberg (Ed.), *Yentl's revenge: The next wave of Jewish feminism*. Seattle, WA: Seal Press.

For a powerful/personal story about assimilation in 1930s/40s Baltimore, see Adrienne Rich's 1982 essay "Split at the Root."

2. Wahba, R. (2003). Benign ignorance or persistent resistance? (pp. 52). In Khazzoom, L. (Ed.). *The flying camel*. New York: Seal Press.

3. Klepfisz, I. (1990d) Secular Jewish identity: *Yidishkayt* in America (pp. 159). In *Dreams of an insomniac: Jewish feminist essays, speeches and diatribes*. Portland, OR: Eighth Mountain Press.

4. Ibid., pp. 151. April Rosenblum says this practice continued until the 1960s.

5. Lyons, M. (2003). Parasites and Pioneers: Antisemitism in White Supremacist America (pp. 317). In J. Alexander, L. Albrecht, S. Day and M. Segrest (Eds.), *Sing, Whisper, Shout, Pray!* edgework.com: EdgeWork Books.

6. Ibid.

7. Rosenwasser, P., & Gatmon, A. (2000). Crosscurrents of Jewish women in a journey towards healing. *Bridges*, 8, 120. The quote is from Sarah, working-class lesbian of Turkish heritage. Her last name is not identified in the article.

8. Jacobovici, S. (1997). *Hollywoodism: Jews, Movies, and the American Dream*. The National Center for Jewish Film. Retrieved January 30, 2011, from <http://www.brandeis.edu/jewishfilm/Catalogue/films/hollywoodism.htm>. The quote is from this film, which appears to have morphed into the film by A & E Entertainment, *Hollywood: An Empire of Their Own*. Retrieved January 30, 2010, from <http://www.newvideo.com/ae/hollywood-an-empire-of-their-own/>.

9. Libo, K. & Skakun, M. All that glitters is not Goldwyn: Early Hollywood moguls. Center for Jewish History, Retrieved January 30, 2011, from <http://www.cjh.org/p/52>. The founding Hollywood "moguls" are considered to include Harry and Jack Warner of Warner Brothers, Louis B. Mayer and Samuel Goldwyn of MGM, Harry Cohn of Columbia, Carl Laemmle of Universal, Adolph Zucker and Jesse Lasky of Paramount, and William Fox of 20th Century Fox. In the 1930s, Laemmle paid expenses for hundreds of Jewish refugees, lobbying the U.S. government to let them in; he also unsuccessfully tried to save the Jewish refugees on the *S.S. St. Louis* who were forced to returned to Europe. The Warner Brothers (changed by a clerk at Ellis Island from Wonskolaser) also lobbied Congress and FDR to stop Hitler's rise

to power. See the documentary, "The Brothers Warner," made by a Warner granddaughter, Cass Warner Sperling. Also see Jack Warner in Wikipedia.

10. Sorin, G. (1992). *The Jewish People in America*, 3. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. In Rosenblum, A. (2009 May/June). Offers we couldn't refuse: What happened to Jewish secular identity? *Jewish Currents*, 63, 17.

11. Prell, R.-E. (1999). *Fighting to become Americans: Assimilation and the trouble between Jewish women and Jewish men* (pp. 24). Boston: Beacon Press.

12. Rosenblum, A. (2009 May/June). Offers we couldn't refuse: What happened to Jewish secular identity? *Jewish Currents*, 63, 17. Yet Sarah Henry Lederman argues that settlement houses were also powerful political bases for some Jewish women, in "Settlement Houses in the United States," Jewish Women's Archives, retrieved January 20, 2011, from <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/settlement-houses-in-united-states>.

13. Horizontal hostility, meaning when targeted groups internalize dominant societal norms and prejudices, and also their anger at being oppressed, and project this onto their own group members.

14. Lyons, M. (2003). Parasites and Pioneers (pp. 315). Lyons cites Liebman, *Jews and the Left*, 150.

15. Hyman, P. (1995). *Gender and assimilation in modern Jewish history: The roles and representation of women* (pp. 18). Seattle: University of Washington Press.

16. Rich, A. (1982). "Split at the root: An essay on Jewish identity," www.public.asu.edu/.

17. Ibid.

18. Rosenwasser, P., & Gatmon, A. (2000). Crosscurrents of Jewish women in a journey towards healing. *Bridges*, 8, 121.

19. Ibid.

20. Gaynor, A. (1996). *Jewish American Princess jokes: A disparaging humor cycle as a vehicle for hate speech* (pp. 80). Unpublished bachelor of arts honors thesis, Bates College, Lewiston, ME.

21. Rosenblum, A. (2009 May/June). Offers we couldn't refuse (pp. 17).

22. Fremont, H. (1999). *After Long Silence: A Memoir*, cited in Rosenblum, A. (2009 May/June). Offers we couldn't refuse (pp. 17).

23. Hyman, P. (1995). *Gender and assimilation in modern Jewish history* (pp. 14).

24. Bush, L. (2011, October 5). Jewdayo: Napoleon's Sanhedrin. *Jewish Currents*. Retrieved May 5, 2012, <http://jewishcurrents.org/october-6-napoleons-sanhedrin-7418> from Bush is explicitly speaking about France, but the process was similar elsewhere.

25. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 13). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

26. Ibid.

27. Dinnerstein (1994) specifies the ADL and the AJC (American Jewish Committee.)

28. Hyman, P. (1995). *Gender and assimilation in modern Jewish history* (pp. 16-17).

29. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America*. New York: Oxford: University Press. Although Marshall did urge President Coolidge to veto the 1924 immigration restriction act against Jews.

30. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007, March.) Some notes on anti-Semitism from a progressive Jewish perspective. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.jewishcurrents.org/2007-mar-kayekantrowiz.htm>.

31. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America* (pp. 125).

32. Goldberg, J. (1996). *Jewish power: Inside the American Jewish establishment* (pp. 118). Reading, MA: Perseus Books. Goldberg writes that McCarthy himself "bent over backwards to avoid anti-Semitism" (pp. 118).

33. Bulkin, E. (1984). Hard ground: Jewish identity, racism, and anti-Semitism. In E. Bulkin, M. Pratt, & B. Smith (Eds.), *Yours in struggle: Three feminist perspectives on anti-semitism and racism*. Brooklyn, NY: Long Haul Press.

34. Jewish Virtual Library. Harvard's Jewish Problem. Retrieved January 30, 2011, from <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsourc/anti-semitism/harvard.html>.

35. See Aviva Kempner's wonderful 2009 documentary *Yoo-hoo, Mrs. Goldberg!*, <http://www.mollygoldbergfilm.org/home.php>. Berg's original name was Tillie Edelstein. Philip Loeb, who played Molly's husband Jake on TV, committed suicide in 1955 after being blacklisted in 1951 and fired from the show. When Berg fought his firing, the show was cancelled for eighteen months.

36. Dinnerstein, L. (1994). *Anti-semitism in America*.

37. Richter, C. (2007). A note from the director of *Fiddler on the Roof*. Muhlenberg Summer Music Theatre Program, Muhlenberg College, Allentown PA. *Fiddler* was written by Jerry Bock, Sheldon Harnick and Joseph Stein.
38. Hyman, P. (1995). *Gender and assimilation in modern Jewish history* (pp. 123).
39. Ibid., p. 159.
40. Biale, D. (1986). *Power and powerlessness in Jewish history* (pp. 210). New York: Schocken Books.
41. Greenberg, C. (1998). Pluralism and its discontents (pp. 64). In D. Biale, M. Galchinsky, & S. Heschel (Eds.), *Insider/outsider: American Jews and Multiculturalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
42. In *Fighting to become Americans* (pp. 160, (1999), Prell cites Marshall Slare's study.
43. Brodtkin, K. (1998). *How the Jews became white folks and what that says about race in America* (pp. 173.) New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
44. Prell, R.-E. (1999). *Fighting to become Americans* (pp. 9). Another example, from Adrienne Rich in her 1982 essay "Split at the Root: An essay on Jewish identity" –about her college friends at Radcliffe in 1947: "For these young Jewish women...it was acceptable, perhaps even necessary, to strive to look as gentile as possible; but they stuck proudly to being Jewish, expected to marry a Jew, have children, keep the holidays, carry on the culture."
45. Biale, D. (1998) The melting pot and beyond: Jews and the politics of American identity. In D. Biale, M. Galchinsky, & S. Heschel (Eds.), *Insider/outsider: American Jews and multiculturalism* (pp. 17-33). Berkeley: University of California Press.
46. Sources such as: 2001 National Jewish Population Survey; Case, E. (2010, November 9), Can the Jewish community encourage in-marriage AND welcome interfaith families?, retrieved January 30, 2011 from http://www.interfaithfamily.com/news_and_opinion/synagogues_and_the_jewish_community/Can_the_Jewish_Community_Encourage_In-marriage_and_Welcome_Interfaith_Families.shtml; and Warikoo, N., (2010, June 27), Do interfaith marriages threaten Jewish identity?, retrieved January 30, 2011, from http://www.usatoday.com/news/religion/2010-06-29-jewish-interfaith-marriage_N.htm. Also sociologist Steven Cohen, cited in Ravitz, J. (2009, October 28). 'New Jews' stake claim to faith, culture. *CNN*. Retrieved January 31, 2011, from http://articles.cnn.com/2009-10-28/living/new.and.emergent.jews_1_jewish-life-chosen-beer-rabbis?_s=PM:LIVING.
47. Lerner, M. (1992). *Socialism of fools* (pp. 76). Oakland, CA: Tikkun Books.
48. Marx, R. (1968). The people in-between (pp. 16). *Reform Judaism*.
49. Moragh, G. (1997). Breaking silence: Israel's fantastic fiction of the holocaust (pp. 150). In A. Mintz (Ed.), *The Boom in Contemporary Israeli Fiction*. Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England.
50. Gilman, S. (1986). *Jewish self-hatred: Anti-semitism and the hidden language of the Jews*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
51. Karen, R. (1992, February). Shame. *The Atlantic Monthly*, pp. 41.
52. Thandeka. (1999). *Learning to be white: Money, race, and God in America* (pp. 33). New York: Continuum.
53. Kaufman, G., & Raphael, L. (1987, Spring). Shame: A perspective on Jewish identity (pp. 33). In *Journal of Psychology and Judaism*, 11(1).
54. Jewish Liberation Draft Policy Statement No. 5 of Re-Evaluation Counseling. (2000). *Ruah Hadashah*, 10, 11.
55. Felman, J. (1996, July/August). Nurturing the soul. *Tikkun*, 11, 51.
56. Langman, P. (2000). Including Jews in multiculturalism. In M. Adams, W. Blumenfeld, R. Castaneda, H. Hackman, M. Peters, & X. Zuniga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice: An anthology on racism, anti-semitism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and classism*. New York: Routledge. Langman cites Klein, J. (1976). "Ethnotherapy with Jews." *International Journal of Mental Health*, 5, 26-38.
57. Forshpayzn (Appetizers): Jews in SDS. (2008 January-February). *Jewish Currents*, 62, 4. Retrieved February 2, 1011, from <http://jewishcurrents.org/2008-jan-cover.htm>.
58. Ibid.
59. Rosenblum, A. (2009 May/June). Offers we couldn't refuse (pp. 17). Rosenblum says "the disproportionately high number" of young Jewish civil rights workers "did not generally identify as Jews," although they "recalled that their concern about racism stemmed from early awareness of the Holocaust as a racist persecution against their own people" (pp. 23).

60. Lerner, M. (1992). *Socialism of fools* (pp. 86).
61. Abrahamson, A., & Pasternak, J. (1998, April 20). For U.S. Jews, era of plenty takes many far from roots. *The Los Angeles Times*, pp. A1, A10-11.
62. Loeb, D. (2010). Sundown to sundown. In *Birkat Ha-Gomel, A Survivor's Blessing*, contact dyanna.loeb@gmail.com. Used with permission. Loeb notes that this poem is recorded and featured on *Change the Nation* (2006), Youth Movement Records' compilation album.
63. For an exciting and original discussion of Diasporism, see Kaye/Kantrowitz's *The Colors of Jews*, pp. 193-225.

Chapter Seven: "THERE IS A 'REAL' JEWISH WOMAN AND I AM NOT HER": *Too much/Not enough*

1. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press
2. Eve Ensler speaking in Berkeley, CA, February 18, 2010 at King Middle School about her book *I Am An Emotional Creature*.
3. Kleeblatt, N. (1996b). *Too Jewish?: Challenging traditional identities* (inside cover). New York: The Jewish Museum; New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, p. 27.
4. Reichel, E. (1996). Untitled (pp. 148). In N. Kleeblatt, (Ed.). *Too Jewish?*
5. Pogrebin, L. (1982). Anti-semitism in the women's movement. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from jwa.org/feminism/_html/_pdf/JWA102e.pdf.
6. Bulkin, E. (1984). Hard ground: Jewish identity, racism, and anti-Semitism," in E. Bulkin, M. Pratt, & B. Smith (Eds.), *Yours in struggle: Three feminist perspectives on anti-Semitism and racism* (pp. 91-230). Brooklyn, NY: Long Haul Press.
7. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1992a). The issue is power: Some notes on Jewish women and therapy (pp. 190). In *The issue is power: Essays on women, Jews, violence and resistance*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
8. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1992b). To be a radical Jew in the late 20th century (pp. 149). In *The issue is power: Essays on women, Jews, violence and resistance*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.
9. Edut, O. (2001). Bubbe got back: Tales of a Jewess with caboose (pp. 27). In D. Ruttenger (Ed.), *Yentl's revenge: The next wave of Jewish feminism*. Seattle, WA: Seal Press.
10. Austrian, G. and Goldman, E. (2003). How to strengthen the Palestine solidarity movement by making friends with Jews. Retrieved February 6, 2012, from <http://www.soaw.org/resources/anti-opp-resources/111-anti-jewish-oppression/606-how-to-strengthen-the-palestine-solidarity-movement-by-making-friends-with-jews>.
11. Lieberman, R. (1996). Jewish Barbie (pp. 108). In N. Kleeblatt, (Ed.). *Too Jewish?*
12. Ibid. pp. 110.
13. Ibid., pp. 109.
14. Ibid., pp. 112.
15. Ackerman, D. (2007). *The Zookeeper's Wife* (p. 220). New York: W. W. Norton
16. Piercy, M. (2002) *Sleeping with Cats* (pp. 20). New York: HarperCollins.
17. Ibid.
18. Brodtkin, K. (1998). *How the Jews became white folks and what that says about race in America* (p. 166). New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
19. Steinem, G. (1992). *Revolution from Within* (pp. 228). Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
20. Pogrebin, L. (2010, March 26). The ten plagues – according to Jewish women. *The Forward*. Retrieved January 28, 2011, from <http://blogs.forward.com/sisterhood-blog/126921/>.
21. Wolf, N. (1991) The beauty myth. In Steinem, G. (1992). *Revolution from Within* (pp. 229).
22. Kushner, H. (1996). *How Good Do We Have to Be?*(pp. 48). Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
23. Steinem, G. (1992). *Revolution from Within* (pp. 229).
24. Edut, O. (2001). Bubbe got back: Tales of a Jewess with caboose (pp. 26).
25. Sh*t Christians say to Jews. (2012, January 8). Allison Pearlman made this youtube, says all these comments were actually said to her. Retrieved May 6, 2012, from <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=51dFlpwKkBM>.
26. Edut, O. (2001). Bubbe got back. Also Steinem, G. (1992). *Revolution from Within*.
27. Ibid. (Edut), (pp. 27).
28. Loeb, D. (2010). Never stop. In *Birkat Ha-Gomel, A Survivor's Blessing*. Used with permission.

29. Kleeblatt, N. (1996a). "Passing" into multiculturalism (pp. 16) In N. Kleeblatt (Ed.), *Too Jewish?: Challenging traditional identities*.
30. Naidus, B. (1996). The Plates: What kinda name is that? (pp. 143). In N. Kleeblatt (Ed.). *Too Jewish?: Challenging traditional identities*. New York: The Jewish Museum; New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
31. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1996). Jews in the U.S.: The rising costs of whiteness (pp. 123). In B. Thompson & S. Tayagi (Eds.), *Names we call home: Autobiography on racial identity* (pp. 121-137). New York: Routledge. Also, in *The Jew's Body* (1991) Gilman traces the history of nose surgery, which began in Austria and Germany in the late 1800's; Jews hoped that reducing their noses to "gentile contours" might heal the "disease" of Jewish visibility and so avoid attacks (pp. 187).
32. Gilman, S. (1991). *The Jew's body* (pp. 179). New York: Routledge. Quote by Moses Hess, German-Jewish revolutionary, explaining how Germans hated Jews less for their religion, more for their race. Thanks also to Paul Kivel for telling me how Christians believed marks of sin could be seen on the body.
33. Berger, A. (1989). Nose is a country/I am the second generation (pp. 137). In M. Kaye/Kantrowitz & I. Klepfisz (Eds.). *The tribe of Dina: A Jewish women's anthology* (Rev. ed., pp. 134). Boston: Beacon Press.
34. Mendelsohn, D. (2006). *The Lost* (pp. 228). New York: HarperCollins.
35. Significantly though, in the preceding story, it was an older man who intervened to ask my friend what *she* wanted to do for the yartzeit.
36. Stoval, T. (2006, January 25). Funny, you don't look Jewish: *The Montclair Times*. Retrieved January 22, 2011, from http://www.jewishresearch.org/v2/2006/articles/growth/1_25_06.htm.
37. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 185).
38. *Ibid.*, Kaye/Kantrowitz refers to Nussbaum, D., (2002, December 6), Finding their voice, *Jewish Week*.
39. Taller, M. (1994). Judging ourselves as Jews. *Ruah Hadashah* 8, 31.
40. Johns, T. (2008) *We are self affirming soul healing Africans* (pp. 323). Dissertation Abstracts International-A69/03. (ProQuest document ID. 1503397041). For another excellent contemporary study of internalized racism by an African-American woman, see Wanella (Bola) Cofield's doctoral dissertation (to be published in 2012), *Learning Circle-Sacred Space: A Case Study of African American Women Cultivating a Self-Loving Attitude in the Midst of Systemic Oppression*.

Chapter Eight: PUSH/PUSH/PUSH FOR PERFECTION

1. CBS News. (2007, October 12). Jewish groups condemn, boycott Ann Coulter. Retrieved January 28, 2011, from <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2007/10/12/national/main3361954.shtml>.
2. Gilman, S. (1986). *Jewish self-hatred: Anti-semitism and the hidden language of the Jews* (pp. 270). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
3. Kushner, H. (1996). *How Good Do We Have to Be?* (pp. 10). Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
4. Weingarten, G. (2000, August 8). Ma, you're gonna kvell at this news. *The Washington Post*, p. C1. Son of Sam, or David Berkowitz, was a U.S. serial killer and arsonist whose crimes terrorized New York City from July 1976 until his arrest in August 1977. Monica Lewinsky was a young White House intern, then staffer, whose intimate relationship with President Bill Clinton between 1995-1997 involved sexual contact. Clinton's lying about it led to his Republican-railroaded impeachment by the House in 1998 and then acquittal by the Senate in 1999.
5. Cameron, J. (2006). *Finding Water* (pp. 61). New York: Penguin Books. I don't know if Cameron is Jewish.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. Kushner, H. (1996). *How Good Do We Have to Be?* (pp. 37).
9. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 54.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

Chapter Nine: "WHERE DO I BELONG?"

1. Rothchild, A. (2007). *Broken Promises, Broken Dreams* (pp. 5). Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.

2. Smadja, C. (2003). The search to belong, (pp. 155). In Khazzoom, L. (Ed.). *The flying camel: Essays on identity by women of North African and Middle Eastern Jewish heritage*. New York: Seal Press.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 156.
5. Rosenwasser, P., & Gatmon, A. (2000). Crosscurrents of Jewish women in a journey towards healing. *Bridges*, 8, 121.
6. Kleinbaum, S. (2011 Winter). "Do not hold back." *Tikkun*, 51. *Newsweek* also named Kleinbaum one of 150 Women Who Shake the World—and the *Huffington Post* named her one of the Top 10 Women Religious Leaders, also one of the 15 Inspiring LGBT Religious Leaders.
7. Ibid.
8. Obviously an African-American track meet is not WASP-land, but the feeling of “not belonging” was there.
9. Tompkins, K. (2003). Home is where you make it (pp. 140). In Khazzoom, L. (Ed.). *The flying camel*.
10. Piercy, M. (1973). The Influence coming into play, THE SEVEN OF PENTACLES (pp. 90.) *To Be Of Use*. Doubleday: NY.
11. Ibid.

Chapter Ten: TAKING EGYPT OUT OF THE JEWS

1. Biale, D., Galchinsky, M., & Heschel, S. (1998). Introduction (pp. 5) In D. Biale, M. Galchinsky, & S. Heschel (Eds.), *Insider/outsider: American Jews and Multiculturalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
2. Miller, A. (1997). *The drama of the gifted child: The search for the true self* (pp. 129). (Rev. ed., R. Ward, Trans.). New York: Basic Books. (Original work published 1979). Admittedly, this doesn't excuse the abuse or explain why some who are abused don't themselves become abusers. I don't know if Miller is Jewish.
3. Tennenbaum, S. (2006, August 5). Why doesn't Israel work for peace? *Newsday*. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article14383.htm>.
4. Melamed, A. (2009, April 25). As victims, we're allowed. *Muzzlewatch*, reported in Jewish Peace News. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from http://jewishpeaceneeds.blogspot.com/2009_04_01_archive.html.
5. Baldwin, J. (1967, April 9). Negroes are anti-Semitic because they're anti-white (pp. 3). *New York Times*. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from <http://partners.nytimes.com/books/98/03/29/specials/baldwin-antisem.html>.
6. In 2010 this statistic still held, whereas in many other communities “the dollar bill stays within that community and exchanges hands up to eight times, before it leaves that community.” See Kadeem Lundy's article, “Patrick Freeman's Guide to Building Wealth, May 5, 2010, in *Black Star News*. When Farrakhan spoke at UC Berkeley in 2012, espousing his ‘Jews control everything’ rant (including the myth that Jews dominated the slave trade), a listener responded that what he got out of it “was how we as black students can take our education and utilize it to build the black community back up... We're looking at the minister's statements in terms of how to empower the black community, not all of the other controversial things...”. See KTVU.com, March 17, 2012, “Some students offended by Louis Farrakhan's UC Berkeley address.”
7. Brown, C. (2008, May/June.) Unnumbing from the Holocaust. *Tikkun*, 34.
8. Ibid.
9. Klepfisz, I. (1990b). *Khalomyes/Dreams in progress: Culture, politics and Jewish identity* (pp. 204-5). In *Dreams of an insomniac: Jewish feminist essays, speeches and diatribes*. Portland, OR: Eighth Mountain Press.
10. Ibid.
11. Lerman, A. (2009, March 7). Must Jews always see themselves as victims? *The Independent*. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/must-jews-always-see-themselves-as-victims-1639277.html>.
12. Biale, D. (1986). *Power and powerlessness in Jewish history*. New York: Schocken Books. Biale argues that repressing memories of the war, and “collective trauma” (pp. 209) prevented U.S. Jews from fully confronting the Holocaust until 1967.
13. Ibid., p. 200.
14. Ibid.
15. Goldberg, J. (1996). *Jewish power: Inside the American Jewish establishment* (pp. 147). Reading, MA: Perseus Books.

16. Ibid., p. 161.
17. Finkelstein, N. (2008, February 13). A farewell to Israel: The coming break-up of American Zionism. Speech in Berkeley CA. Also see his book, *The Holocaust Industry*.
18. Ibid.
19. Biale, D. (1986). *Power and powerlessness in Jewish history* (pp. 160-161).
20. Ibid. Also Lyons, M. (2003). Parasites and Pioneers: Antisemitism in White Supremacist America. in J. Alexander, L. Albrecht, S. Day and M. Segrest (Eds.), *Sing, Whisper, Shout, Pray!* edgework.com: EdgeWork Books.
21. Karon, T. (2009, December 16). Hannukah without the Taliban. *Rootless Cosmopolitan*, *Tonykaron.com*. Retrieved December 11, 2010, from <http://tonykaron.com/2009/12/11/hannukah-and-the-jewish-taliban/>.
22. Buber, M., 1921. (1983) A proposed resolution on the Arab question (pp. 61). In *A Land of Two Peoples: Martin Buber on Jews and Arabs*, (Ed.) Paul Mendes-Flohr, University of Chicago Press.
23. Biale, D. (1986). *Power and powerlessness in Jewish history* (pp. 161).
24. Ibid, p. 209.
25. Ibid., p. 137.
26. Legal scholar George Bisharat explained, for example, that “Palestinian citizens of Israel endure more than 35 laws that explicitly privilege Jews,” in (2010, September 3), “Israel and Palestine: A true one-state solution,” *Washington Post*. Bisharat is not Jewish.
27. Rose, J. (2005). *The Question of Zion* (pp. 82). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. And elsewhere in the world are similar movements which try to displace indigenous populations and build European societies in their stead.
28. I borrowed this concept from Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz, *The Colors of Jews*, p. 193. Also, the colonial enterprise of Israeli policy has been aided by the UK since the 1917 Balfour Declaration, as well as by France and the U.S. Peter Beinart imagines a more humane Zionism, one that does not wield power in Israel: see his article “The Failure of the American Jewish Establishment,” June 10, 2010, in the *New York Review of Books* as well as his more recent articles and books.
29. Hirt-Manheimer, A. (2003, Spring). The man who mistook his stereotype for himself: A conversation with Professor Sander Gilman on the origins and dynamics of Jewish self-hatred. *Reform Judaism*, 79.
30. Thanks to Kim Klein for telling me this specific phrase.
31. Brown, C. (1995a, March/April). Beyond internalized anti-semitism: Healing the collective scars of the past. *Tikkun* 10, 45.
32. Brown, C. (2003, February 12). *Anti-semitism*. Speech delivered at Hebrew College. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from http://www.btvshalom.org/resources/anti_semitism_brown.shtml.
33. Ibid.
34. Rabbis for Human Rights Hagadda Supplements 5770. (2009, April). Who sits with us at our Seder? Retrieved February 7, 2011, from <http://jfjfp.com/?p=11870>.
35. Steinem, G. (1992). *Revolution from Within*, (pp. 81). Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
36. Katan, U. (2001). To open my mouth and speak what I know (pp. 156-7). In D. Ruttenberg (Ed.), *Yentl's revenge: The next wave of Jewish feminism*. Seattle, WA: Seal Press.
37. Ibid., p. 156.
38. Ibid., p. 155.
39. Ibid., p. 160. Additionally, although not ready to share their stories publicly, other Jewish incest survivors have made the link between their abuse, anti-Jewish oppression, and the Israeli government abuse of Palestinians—and the need to let go of their attachment to being victims.
40. Ibid., p. 155.
41. Okun, T. (2008, December 31). I fear for the future of Judaism today. *Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions – USA*. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from <http://icahdusa.org/2008/12/i-fear-for-the-future-of-judaism-today/>.
42. Levy, G. (2009, February 8). Kahane won. *Haaretz*. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/kahane-won-1.269642>.
43. They continue “And don’t imply we should have gotten over it by now.” Austrian, G. and Goldman, E. (2003). How to strengthen the Palestine solidarity movement by making friends with Jews. Retrieved February 6, 2012, from <http://www.soaw.org/resources/anti-opp-resources/111-anti-jewish-oppression/606-how-to-strengthen-the-palestine-solidarity-movement-by-making-friends-with-jews>.

44. Goldberg, J. (1996). *Jewish power* (pp. 7). Goldberg is specifically referring to the gap between Jewish vulnerability and “the reality of Jewish power,” but I think the meaning holds as I describe it here.
45. Norman, J. & Welchman, A. (2009, March 8). Must Jews always see themselves as victims? *Jewish Peace News*. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from <http://jewishpeacenews.blogspot.com/search?updated-max=2009-03-11T09%3A15%3A00-07%3A00&max-results=7>. They use these words to summarize and introduce the words of Antony Lerman, former director of the Institute for Jewish Policy Research.
46. Eckberg, M. (2000). *Victims of cruelty: Somatic psychotherapy in the treatment of posttraumatic stress disorder* (p. 88). Berkeley, CA: North Atlantic Books.
47. Shavit, A. (2007, June 11). Avram Burg’s case against Israel. Interview with Burg. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from http://www.zionism-israel.com/israel_news/2007/06/avram-burgs-case-against-israel.html. Shavit uses these words to describe the thesis of Burg’s book *Defeating Hitler*.
48. Montell, J. (2001, January/February). The Al-Aqsa intifada. *Tikkun*, 16. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from http://www.tikkun.org/article.php/jan2001_montell.
49. Berger, J. (2003, January/February). A war of ghosts: Trauma theories, traumatic histories, and the Middle East. [Review of the book *Writing History, Writing Trauma*.] *Tikkun*, 18, 75. A rabbi friend of mine put it another way, “Palestinians are bearing the brunt of anti-Semitism.”
50. Boyarin, D. (2008 May/June). Their Nakba and ours. *Tikkun*, 23, 33.
51. Gilman, S. (1986). *Jewish self-hatred: Anti-semitism and the hidden language of the Jews* (pp. 391). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
52. Brown, C. (1994b). Responses to Harvey's letter: Updating Jewish liberation. *Ruah Hadashah*, 8, 12.
53. Ephron, D. (2001, September 5). 'Our guns are only causing our misery': Palestinian human-rights activist Eyad Sarraj lobbies for new, nonviolent tactics. *Newsweek International*. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from http://www.gcmhp.net/File_files/interviewwithEyadNewsweek.pdf.
54. Cohen, R. (2010, February 12). Hard Mideast truths. *New York Times*. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/12/opinion/12iht-edcohen.html?_r=1.
55. Rothchild, A. (2007). *Broken Promises, Broken Dreams* (pp. 12). Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.
56. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
57. *Ibid.*, p. 12. For an excellent/brief summary of what Rothchild is referring to, see *Israel & Palestine: A Very Short Introduction*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y58njT2oXfE&feature=youtu.be>, or <https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/share-this-video-today-is-our-day>. As described in the video, “one groups of refugees found a new home—creating a new group of refugees.”
58. Barely a century old, because in 1917 the British issued the Balfour Declaration to encourage a national home in Palestine for Jews, followed by Jewish immigration from Europe which began altering the demographic balance (with indigenous Arabs), creating tension in Jewish-Arab relations over the implications of Zionist immigration. A short excellent resource is Phyllis Bennis’ 2003 primer, *Understanding the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict*.
59. For example, the Fourth Geneva Convention bars occupying powers from settling their own populations in occupied lands. Also, Stephen Zunes points out that public opinion polls consistently show “that a majority of Americans believe U.S. military aid should be made conditional to human rights”; see his December 14, 2011 article “Obama ad condemns Israel aid opponents,” www.fpif.org.
60. Surasky, C. (2009, September 1). Naomi Klein shows you can boycott Israel without cutting off dialogue over Palestine. Interview with Klein and Israeli publisher Yael Lerer. *Alternet*. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from http://www.alternet.org/world/142341/naomi_klein_shows_you_can_boycott_israel_without_cutting_off_dialogue_over_palestine/.
61. Hari, J. (2009, February 6). The nightmare of Netanyahu returns. *The Independent*. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from <http://www.independent.co.uk/opinion/commentators/johann-hari/johann-hari-the-nightmare-of-netanyahu-returns-1547608.html>. Hari is quoting from a 1982 essay Oz wrote in response to Menachem Begin comparing the Palestinian leadership to Hitler.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Horowitz, A. (2009, October 30). Palestinian equal rights joins the progressive agenda on ‘The Daily Show’. *Mondoweiss*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://mondoweiss.net/2009/10/palestinian-equal-rights-joins-the-progressive-agenda-on-the-daily-show.html>.
64. Reese, C. (2003). Four former heads of Israeli security speak out. King Features Syndicate, Inc. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from <http://www.lewrockwell.com/reese/reese10.html>.

65. Herskovits, A. (2009, February 11). Who remembers the Holocaust? *Berkeley Daily Planet*. Retrieved February 9, 2011, from <http://www.berkeleydailyplanet.com/issue/2009-02-12/article/32244?headline=Who-Remembers-the-Holocaust->
66. Ibid. For example, various historians suggest that if Israel apologized for the 1948 displacement of hundreds of thousands of Palestinians, it would go a long way towards peace.
67. Miller, A. (1997). *The drama of the gifted child* (pp. 114-115).
68. Rose, J. (2005). *The Question of Zion* (pp. 144). Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
69. Lerner, M. (2004, March/April). Tikkun Passover Supplement 2004. *Tikkun*. Retrieved February 9, 2011, from http://www.tikkun.org/article.php/mar2004_lerner2.
70. Doctors report that increased cases of infant deformity, as well as miscarriages, are a result of the white phosphorous. See “Newborn in Gaza with severe defects,” January 28, 2010, *Palestine News Network*, and “New study finds strong correlation between birth defects and white phosphorous exposure of parents,” May 4, 2012, by Fabio De Ponte, <http://www.uruknet.de/colonna-centrale-pagina.php?p=87802&colonna=m>
71. B’Tselem. Statistics: Fatalities during operation “Cast Lead.” Retrieved January 21, 2011, from http://www.btselem.org/english/statistics/casualties.asp?sD=27&sM=12&sY=2008&eD=18&eM=01&eY=2009&filterby=event&oferet_stat=during. The majority of Gazans are under 18 years old.
72. Falk, R. (September 19, 2009). Why the Goldstone Report matters. *Intifada-Palestine.com*. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.zcommunications.org/why-the-goldstone-report-matters-by-richard-falk>.
73. Hass, A. (2009, October 18). Family who lost 29 members in Gaza war: We envy the dead. *Haaretz*. Retrieved February 9, 2011, from <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/news/family-who-lost-29-members-in-gaza-war-we-envy-the-dead-1.5943>. The number dead was later corrected to 21, but another 45 relatives were injured, most of them children. In May 2012, the Israeli military said its review of the massacre found no evidence of a war crime or deliberate targeting of civilians; see *Democracy Now*, May 3, 2012, “Israeli military clears soldiers in killings of Gaza relatives.”
74. Ibid.
75. Ibid.
76. Zunes, S. (2009, November 4). Bipartisan attack on international humanitarian law. *Foreign Policy in Focus*. Retrieved February 9, 2011, from <http://www.huffingtonpost.com/stephen-zunes/bipartisan-attack-on-international-humanitarian-law-1.5943>. See also Max Blumenthal, (2010, July 25), “IDF report confirming Goldstone’s key findings is suppressed inside Israel,” Retrieved January 21, 2011, <http://maxblumenthal.com/2010/07/idf-report-confirming-goldstones-key-findings-is-suppressed-inside-israel/>.
77. Pine, D. (2009, January 2). Local Jews defend, criticize Israel. *J Weekly.com*. Retrieved February 10, 2011, from <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/36450/local-jews-defend-criticize-israel/>. Pine is quoting Mervyn Danker, director of the American Jewish Committee’s Northern California chapter.
78. Cohen, R. (2009, January 7). The dominion of the dead. *New York Times*. Retrieved February 10, 2011, from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/08/opinion/08Cohen.html?_r=1.
79. Avnery, U. (2009, January 10). Gaza: Uri Avnery, how many divisions? Retrieved February 10, 2011, from <http://morris108.wordpress.com/2009/01/11/gaza-uri-avnery-how-many-divisions-100109/>.
80. Barker, A. (2010, December 28). Gazans mark two years since offensive. *ABC.net*. Retrieved February 10, 2011, from <http://www.abc.net.au/am/content/2010/s3102546.htm>. Quoting award-winning Gazan psychiatrist Dr. Eyad El-Sarraj, Mehdi Hasan reports that four years later, (11/15/12), that one in five children in Gaza suffer from PTSD; see “Ten things you need to know about Gaza,” www.huffingtonpost.co.uk. Colleagues highly recommend the 2010 Norwegian documentary, *Tears of Gaza*, which focuses on showing the effects of the assault on the civilian population, as seen through the eyes of a group of Palestinian children.
81. Hauslohner, A. (2010, August 13). Gaza’s siege mentality: Not deprivation but desperation. *Time*. Retrieved February 10, 2011, from <http://www.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,2010064,00.html>.
82. Rosen, B. (2009, September 27). A call to moral accounting. *Chicago Tribune*. Retrieved February 10, 2011, from http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2009-09-27/news/0909260269_1_yom-kippur-israel-blockade. Check out Rabbi Brant’s 2012 book, *Wrestling in the Daylight*, Just World Books.
83. In 2012 this hateful rant was still chanted in a major race riot by hundreds of teenaged Israeli soccer fans after winning a match in Beitar. Descending on a shopping mall, they spit on Palestinian women, yet it was barely reported by the media. A *Haaretz* commentator noted “If it was skinheads beating Jews the

whole world would know about this.” See “Hundreds of soccer fans crowd Jerusalem mall: ‘Death to Arabs’”, mondoweiss.net.

84. Rose, J. (2005). *The Question of Zion* (pp. 130-131). *The Independent*.

85. Lerman, A. (2009, March 7). Must Jews always see themselves as victims?

86. Derfner, L. (2009, October 7). Rattling the cage: Our exclusive right to self-defense. *Columns jpost.com*. Retrieved February 10, 2011, from <http://fr.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?pagename=JPost%2FJPArticle%2FShowFull&cid=1254861893834>.

87. Baltzer, A. (2009, February 6). What may come of the tragedies. *OpEdNews.com*. Retrieved February 10, 2011, from <http://www.opednews.com/articles/What-May-Come-of-the-Trage-by-Anna-Baltzer-090206-850.html>.

88. Ibid.

89. See the grass-roots group in Sderot, The Other Voice, who collected signatures for a cease-fire during the Israeli onslaught, www.othervoice.org, <http://www.othervoice.org/welcome-eng.htm>. Also see the moving plea by Sderot activist Nomika Zion, “War Diary from Sderot,” January 13, 2009.

90. Lerman, A. (2009, March 7). Must Jews always see themselves as victims? *The Independent*. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/middle-east/must-jews-always-see-themselves-as-victims-1639277.html>.

91. Wright, A., (12/8/12), Israel and Palestine: who is the victim and who is the aggressor? www.opednews.com. Anne Wright is a retired U.S. army colonel and former U.S. diplomat. I do not know if she is Jewish. As of 12/10/12, there were no statistics from B’Tselem; and the Palestinian Center for Human Rights listed 156 Palestinians dead as of 11/22/12, but many Palestinians later died of their wounds. Wright’s statistics are the most recent I could find, that I consider reputable, before going to press; and on 12/13/12, Democracy Now also cited the Palestinian death toll in Gaza from the November assault as “more than 180,” see (Headlines), “U.S. to replenish bombs used by Israel in Gaza attack.”

Veteran Israeli peace activist/negotiator Gershon Baskin reported that two hours before Hamas leader Ahmed Jabari was assassinated by Israel—which started the assault—he had received a proposal for a long-term truce developed by Israel and Hamas. See *Democracy Now*, 11/16/12, Israeli negotiator: Hamas commander was assassinated hours after receiving truce deal from Israel.

Also see Noam Chomsky’s 12/4/12 article, “Chomsky: what the American media won’t tell you about Israel,” www.alternet.org; Rabbi Brant Rosen’s 11/16/12 blog article, “Outrage in Gaza redux,” <http://rabbibrant.com/2012/11/16/outrage-in-gaza-redux/>; Phyllis Bennis’ 11/20/12 article, “Israel’s war on Gaza,” www.thenation.com; Stephen Zunes’ 11/26/12 article, “Abetting the carnage in Gaza,” www.fpif.org; and various resources suggested by Jewish Voice for Peace, <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/gaza-news-and-social-media-sources-articles-etc>.

92. Palestinian Center for Human Rights, (11/22/12), Israeli offensive on Gaza stopped following 8 days of attacks, http://www.pchrgaza.org/portal/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=9048:israeli-offensive-on-gaza-stopped-following-8-days-of-attacks-&catid=145:in-focus#.

93. Wright, A., (12/8/12), Israel and Palestine: who is the victim and who is the aggressor? www.opednews.com Also, Palestinian journalists were specifically targeted in the attacks, as well as Gaza infrastructure; see Democracy Now, 11/19/12, “Live report from Gaza hospital: As civilian toll mounts, Israel again bombs Palestinian journalists.”

94. Akram, F. et al, (11/19/12), Hamas leader dares Israel to invade Gaza amid airstrikes, www.newyorktimes.com. Those paying condolences to Dalou said his face was swollen from crying.

95. Bennis, P. (12/1/12). The Gaza ceasefire holds: a little bit to be thankful for, www.ips-dc.org. The IDF used U.S. weaponry made by Boeing, General Electric and Elbit U.S.A.; see “7 top things you should know about Gaza,” 11/12, *Jewish Voice for Peace*, <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/campaigns/take-action-for-gaza>. Citing the Common Dreams website, Democracy Now (12/13/12) reported that the Pentagon confirmed plans to replenish \$647 million of U.S.-made bombs and missiles used by Israel in the assault; see (headlines), “U.S. to replenish bombs used by Israel in Gaza attack.”

96. Greenwald, G., (11/17/12), Stop pretending the US is an uninvolved, helpless party in the Israeli assault on Gaza, www.guardian.co.uk.

97. Jewish Voice for Peace, (11/12), 7 top things you should know about Gaza, <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/campaigns/take-action-for-gaza>. Also, Israeli peace activist (and former army veteran/current army refuser) Amir Terkel wrote that the IDF bombs were “ten or twenty times more powerful” than the Gaza rockets—rockets which could destroy an apartment but not a whole building; and

the Israeli Iron Dome defense system reportedly destroyed 85% of rockets headed towards populated areas. See Terkel's 12/2/12 article, "From Israel: ... bomb shelters," http://salsa.democracyinaction.org/o/301/t/0/blastContent.jsp?email_blast_KEY=1262472.

98. Terkel, A., (12/2/12), From Israel: ... bomb shelters, http://salsa.democracyinaction.org/o/301/t/0/blastContent.jsp?email_blast_KEY=1262472. For a powerful personal account from a young activist who witnessed Gaza immediately after the bombing: "A small voice on a quick trip," <http://smallvoiceonaquicktrip.tumblr.com/>. Also see "Media Advisory: Middle East Children's Alliance Programs Address Trauma Faced by Children after 8 Days of Bombing in Gaza," (12/10/12), www.mecaforpeace.org.

99. Online petition from Other Voice, www.othervoices.org—originated 10/24,12 and continued during the assault on Gaza. Other Israeli peace groups placed an ad on *Haaretz's* front page: "No to the Elections War! We refuse war and the spilling of blood..." see Sarah Anne Minkin's article, 11/16/12, Refusing the elections war, www.thedailybeast.com.

100. Democracy Now, (11/19/12), Live report from Gaza hospital: as civilian toll mounts, Israel again bombs Palestinian journalists.

Although the 11/21/12 ceasefire agreement allowed for free movement by Gazans—including in border areas, and also allowing fishermen to fish six nautical miles offshore—Israeli soldiers and gunboats violated these agreements; see Phyllis Bennis' 12/1/12 article, "The Gaza ceasefire holds: a little bit to be thankful for," www.ips-dc.org; also 12/6/12, Emergency Delegation to Gaza winds up week of witness to war's devastation, Gazan's resilience, [Codepinkalert.org](http://codepinkalert.org).

101. Bisharat, G. (2010, June 4). Gaza occupation and siege are illegal. *SFGate*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from http://articles.sfgate.com/2010-06-04/opinion/21656709_1_gaza-strip-israel-international-law.

102. Zunes, S. (2010, June 10). Democratic Party defends Israeli attack. *HuffPost*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/stephen-zunes/democratic-party-defends_b_609405.html.

103. *Democracy Now*. (2010, June 4). As Obama refuses to condemn flotilla assault, survivors recount shootings, beatings aboard Mavi Marmara. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from http://www.democracynow.org/2010/6/4/as_obama_refuses_to_condemn_flotilla. As described to host Amy Goodman by flotilla participant Kevin Oviden, journalist Nicci Enchmarch held the Turkish journalist as he died.

104. *Democracy Now*. (2010, June 3). Flotilla passengers Huwaida Arraf of the Free Gaza Movement and retired army Colonel Ann Wright respond to Israeli claims on deadly assault. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.democracynow.org/2010/6/3/huwaida>.

105. Chomsky, N. (2010, June 8). *In These Times*. The real threat aboard the freedom flotilla. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.inthesetimes.com/article/6064/>

the_real_threat_aboard_the_freedom_flotilla/. In response to the allegation that one of the flotilla groups had terrorist links, Insani Yardim Vakfi (IHH), the Institute for Middle East Understanding reports "The Intelligence and Terrorism Information Center, a think tank with ties to Israel's Defense Ministry, concluded that there is "no known evidence of current links between IHH and 'global jihad elements.'"

106. From an interview with Netanyahu broadcast on KPFA radio in Berkeley, CA, June 2, 2010.

107. Bennis, P. (2010, June 7). Israel's flotilla massacre: Mad in the U.S.A. *Common Dreams.org*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.commondreams.org/view/2010/06/07-0>. Also Zunes, S. (2010, June 10). Democratic Party defends Israeli attack. *Huff Post*.

108. *Ibid* (Bennis).

109. Zunes, S. (2010, June 10). Democratic Party defends Israeli attack. *Huff Post*.

110. Rosen, B. (2010, May 31). *Ta'anit Tzedek: Jewish Fast for Gaza*. Open the gates: A rabbinical response to the Gaza freedom flotilla tragedy. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://fastforgaza.net/node/146>. As we go to press, the fastforgaza.net website is gone, but you can reach Rabbi Brant Rosen at his *Shalom Rav* blog, rabbibrant.com/. A personal note here: of course this was a horrific and unconscionable act by the Israeli government. Yet I was stunned to see how much more worldwide outrage there was to this one attack, which killed nine Turks, than to the three-week nonstop bombing of Gazans, which killed nearly 1400. Is this an indication of just how much Palestinians lives have been dehumanized?

111. *New York Times*. (2010, June 1). Israel and the blockade (editorial). Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/06/02/opinion/02wed1.html>.

112. Levinson, C. (2010, June 5). Leftist and rightist Israelis clash at Gaza flotilla protest in Tel Aviv. *Haaretz*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.haaretz.com/news/national/leftist-and-rightist-israelis-clash-at-gaza-flotilla-protest-in-tel-aviv-1.294359>. An additional Israeli response: the Knesset

stripped Palestinian MK Hanin Zoabi (a flotilla participant) of privileges, such as her diplomatic passport, and verbally assaulted her. She also received death threats.

113. In June 2011 Egypt's Rafah crossing was opened, allowing essential supplies through and limited numbers of people; other needed goods are smuggled in through tunnels. But as of early 2012, as a result of continued Israeli restrictions on imports like construction materials, fuel, food, and medical supplies, Gazan water systems remained crippled, people lacked steady electricity or electric fuel, and 95% of the water is undrinkable. The drastic Israeli limitations on exports impacts economic development, so 2012 unemployment in Gaza is at least 50%. What Gazans want most is mobility and freedom. See *B'Tselem's* "The siege on Gaza," also (the Israeli Legal Centre for Freedom of Movement) *Gisha: Gaza Gateway*, and *Al Haaq* for updates.

114. Kelly, M. (2012, August 27). UN: Gaza won't be 'liveable' by 2020 unless urgent action is taken. *Business Insider*. Retrieved August 31, 2012 from <http://www.businessinsider.com/gaza-wont-be-liveable-by-2020-unless-urgent-action-is-taken-2012-8>. Also see Professor Noam Chomsky's powerful article from his October 2012 trip to Gaza: (11/6/12), "Noam Chomsky's reflections on his visit to Gaza," www.pchrgaza.org.

115. Peter, T. (2010, September 23). UN's Gaza flotilla probe finds Israeli soldiers committed 'willful killing.' *Christian Science Monitor*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/terrorism-security/2010/0923/UN-s-Gaza-flotilla-probe-finds-Israeli-soldiers-committed-willful-killing>.

116. *BBC News*. (2012, June 13). Israeli report critics PM Netanyahu over Gaza flotilla. Retrieved July 7, 2012, from <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-18428785>.

117. Siegman, H. (2010, June 11). Israel's greatest loss: Its moral imagination. *Haaretz.com*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/israel-s-greatest-loss-its-moral-imagination-1.295600>.

118. Yagna, Y. (2010, September 28). Jewish Gaza-bound activists: IDF used excessive force in naval raid." *Haaretz.com*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/jewish-gaza-bound-activists-idf-used-excessive-force-in-naval-raid-1.316247>. The quote about the Gaza siege was from former Israeli air force pilot (and now refuser) Yonatan Shapira.

119. *Ibid*. Another passenger was Rami Elhanan who lost his daughter Smadar to a suicide bombing in Israel in 1997.

120. Tolan, S. (2010, June 5). Israel and the psychology of 'never again.' *Salon.com*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from http://www.salon.com/news/feature/2010/06/05/never_again_israel. Tolan is not Jewish.

121. Leary, J. (2005). *Post traumatic slave syndrome: America's legacy of enduring injury and healing* (pp. 195). Milwaukie OR: Uptone Press. Leary notes that cortisol can be passed through the placenta to unborn infants as well. I realize this could contradict my earlier contention that Jews are not born afraid, though I still believe my statement basically stands. And stress does not necessarily correlate with fear.

122. Steen, X. (2009, January 1). Escaping the trauma vortex. *The Jerusalem Post*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.jpost.com/Home/Article.aspx?id=127321>.

123. *Ibid*.

124. Gottlieb, L. (2009) Kavanah for erev Yom Kippur. *Danforth Jewish Circle, djctoronto.com* Retrieved January 29, 2011, from <http://djctoronto.com/explore/erevyk2009sermon.php>. Gottlieb was among the first ten women rabbis in the U.S.

125. Waskow, A. (2001, September). Kotsker rebbe. *Shalom Center* listserve.

126. Wind, M. (2009, September 13). Presentation at Jewish Voice for Peace chapter meeting, Berkeley, CA.

127. From a radio interview on KPFA-fm in Berkeley, CA, on June 2, 2010, with host Brian Edwards-Tiekert.

128. For more info about Israeli children as soldiers-to-be, see New Profile's 2004 Report on Child Recruitment in Israel, *newprofile.org*, http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0CFMQFjAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.child-soldiers.org%2Fdocument%2Fget%3Fid%3D1294&ei=feL5T4KyDoWQrgG87_2LCQ&usg=AFQjCNHLvUVOjm1ZFHElfgEbf3ztN4jDA&sig2=YmDHyQZ0U-TfrtNLxFSnzA

129. Sherwood, H. (2010, August 22). Israeli army's female recruits denounce treatment of Palestinians. *The Observer*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/aug/22/israel-female-soldiers-gaza-occupation>.

130. *Ibid*.

131. Veteran Israeli soldiers speak out about service (2012, June 6). *Maanews.net*. Retrieved July 7, 2012, from <http://www.maanews.net/eng/ViewDetails.aspx?ID=497599>. The Israeli group Breaking the Silence has collected testimonies from 800 Israeli soldiers who served in the West Bank and Gaza.
132. Feldman, Y. (2009, February 5). Lieberman's anti-Arab ideology wins over Israel's teens *Haaretz*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.haaretz.com/news/elections/lieberman-s-anti-arab-ideology-wins-over-israel-s-teens-1.269489>.
133. MC. (2010, July 7). The writing on the Warsaw Ghetto wall- an interview with Yonatan Shapira. *Indymedia*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.indybay.org/newsitems/2010/07/07/18652903.php>.
134. Ibid.
135. "Munich" refers to the terror attack which murdered eleven Israeli athletes at the 1972 Olympics in Munich by Arab guerrillas of the Black September movement. My group of women was here to protest then-Prime Minister Ariel Sharon's anti-Palestinian policies. When he spoke, we rose up shouting "war criminal" in Hebrew, and holding banners; we were then attacked by people sitting around us, and the police hauled us out of the stadium, arrested and interrogated us at the station, and later released us at 2am.
136. Cole, J. (2010, January 21). Ignoring Gaza's humanitarian crisis. *Salon.com*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from http://www.salon.com/news/opinion/feature/2010/01/21/gaza_blockade.
137. *Democracy Now* (2012, March 5). Debate: attacking Iran, AIPAC, Israel-Palestine and Obama with Rashid Khalidi and Jonathan Tobin. Quote is from Rashid Khalidi, who is not Jewish. Retrieved March 11, 2012, from http://www.democracynow.org/2012/3/5/debate_attacking_iran_aipac_israel_palestine. Scott McConnell's 11/27/12 article in *The National Interest*, "Why Americans don't understand Palestine," also says "It is also true that Hamas leaders have expressed interest in a long-term negotiated truce."
- Plus in a 2012 *Haaretz* poll, 53% of U.S. Jews said they would support a Palestinian state; see "62% of U.S. Jews would re-elect Obama," April 3, 2012, by Natasha Mozgovaya, <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/survey-62-of-u-s-jews-would-reelect-obama-4-say-israel-is-most-important-issue-1.422405>.
138. Zunes, S. (2011, May 20). Two steps back, one step forward. *Foreign Policy in Focus*. Retrieved March 18, 2012, from http://www.fpif.org/articles/obamas_mideast_speech_two_steps_back_one_step_forward
139. Similarly, in 2011 the Gaza Youth Manifesto for Change states: "We want three things. We want to be free. We want to be able to live a normal life. We want peace. Is that too much to ask?"
140. Freedman, S. (2008, June 22). Culture of fear. *Guardian.co.uk*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2008/jun/22/israelandthepalestinians.fear>.
141. See New Profile's Charter, *newprofile.org*, retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.newprofile.org/english/?p=21>.
142. Klein, N. (2007, June 16). Gaza: Not just a prison, a laboratory. *The Nation*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.countercurrents.org/klein160607.htm>.
143. Ibid.
144. Ibid.
145. Cook, J. (2010, July 12). Israel paves the way for killing by remote control. *The National*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.thenational.ae/news/worldwide/middle-east/israel-paves-the-way-for-killing-by-remote-control>.
146. Klein, N. (2007, June 16). Gaza: Not just a prison, a laboratory.
147. Klein, N. (2007). Losing the Peace Incentive: Israel as Warning (pp. 541). In *The Shock Doctrine*. New York, NY: Picador.
148. Ibid.
149. Ibid., quote is from Len Rosen. New Profile co-founder Rela Mazali notes that half of Israel's land is "controlled...by security organizations"; see "Selling Israeli Militarism like toothpaste", (2011, June 23), *the Real News*.
150. Another example: Israeli banks finance the occupation. See more at whoprofits.org/.
151. In providing checkpoint technology, Hewlett-Packard is serving a similar need now for the Israeli army as IBM and Polaroid did in supplying systems of population control for South Africa's apartheid regime.
152. Weingart, L. (2004, November 11) The wrath of the Jews. *ZNet*, Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.zcommunications.org/the-wrath-of-the-jews-by-liat-weingart>.
153. Bennis, P. (2003b). *Understanding the Palestinian-Israeli conflict*. Lowell, MA: Trans-Arab Research Institute.

154. Weingart, L. (2004, November 11) The wrath of the Jews. *Znet*.

155. These are, respectively, the Foreign Assistance Act and the U.S. Arms Export Control Act. I note that the Foreign Assistance Act ends, however, with the phrase “unless such assistance will directly benefit the needy people in such country,” so perhaps the U.S. government justifies such aid by privileging Israeli perceived needs (not just for security, but for domination as well) over Palestinian human rights. The U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation reported in April 2011 that in the previous decade, the U.S. gave Israel more than 670 million weapons, valued at nearly \$19 billion, which killed nearly 3000 unarmed Palestinians who were not participating in hostilities. See www.weaponstoisrael.org.

Significantly, in October 2012, 15 prominent U.S. Christian leaders wrote a letter calling on Congress to ensure military aid to Israel is consistent with U.S. law—bringing on cries of anti-Jewish bigotry from Jewish mainstream organizations, although rabbis signed a counter letter in support of the Christian leaders. See “Rabbinical support for the end of unconditional military aid to Israel,” (10/15/2012), <http://palestiniantalmud.com/2012/10/15/rabbinical-support-for-the-end-of-unconditional-military-aid-to-israel/> as well as Rabbi Brant Rosen’s Op Ed in *JTA*, 10/23/12, “Christian’s letter was reasonable, worded sensibly,” <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2012/10/23/3110126/op-ed-christians-letter-was-reasonable-worded-sensitively>. Additionally, in his 11/2/12 article, “Unseating the Israel Lobby” (*Souciant.com*), Mitchell Plitnick argues, “The goal should not be to end aid to Israel, but to get Israel to cooperate with US policy in order to get that aid,” meaning the two acts explained above, and so changing our relationship with Israel “into a more normal alliance.”

156. See also Note 99 in Chapter Three.

157. Bennis, P. (2008, December 30). The Gaza crisis. *ZSpace*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.zcommunications.org/the-gaza-crisis-december-2008-by-phyllis-bennis>.

158. *Ibid*.

159. Guttman, N. (2009, December 16). U.S.-Israeli arms cooperation quietly growing. *Forward.com*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.forward.com/articles/121182/>. Also Bennis, P. (2010, August 4). Why the US won’t cut ties with Israel, no matter how extreme its government gets. *Alternet*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from http://www.alternet.org/story/147733/why_the_u.s._won%27t_cut_ties_with_israel_no_matter_how_extreme_its_government_gets/. Qualitative Military Edge (QME) means Israel gets newer/better weapons than her Arab/Muslim neighbors. Also contributing to QME is the \$680 million pledged to Israel in 2012 towards the Iron Dome Missile Defense System, made in Israel. See Bumiller, E. and Sanger, D., “Israel unveils iron dome missile defense system,” (2011, May 23), *New York Times*.

160. *Democracy Now*. (2012, January 9). Drones, Asia and cyber war: Pentagon shifts priorities in new review; budget still exceeds Bush era. Retrieved March 17, 2012, from http://www.democracynow.org/2012/1/9/drones_asia_and_cyber_war_pentagon. Quote is from William Hartung, author of *Prophets of War: Lockheed Martin and the Making of the Military-Industrial Complex*, referring to the \$60 billion arms deal with Saudi Arabia, saying “there’s not a deal that’s ever come close to this.” Plus, since Qualitative Military Edge means Israel gets the best weapons, “the result is a U.S.-generated arms race” (see Walter Pincus’ October 17, 2011 Op Ed in the *Washington Post*, “United States needs to reevaluate its assistance to Israel.”)

161. Barrows-Friedman, N. (2010, February 10). US expanded weapons stockpiling in Israel. *Truthout*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.truth-out.org/us-expanded-weapons-stockpiling-israel56700>. Stockpiling has been going on with Israel since 1990, South Korea has a similar arrangement. Also, Pincus, W. (2011, October 17). *Washington Post* Op Ed, “United States needs to reevaluate its assistance to Israel.” Retrieved March 17, 2012, from http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/united-states-needs-to-reevaluate-its-assistance-to-israel/2011/10/15/gIQAK5XksL_story.html. In 2012 the stockpiling is expected to reach \$1.2 billion.

162. *Huffington Post*. (2012, October 28). Austere Challenge 2012: U.S. General Martin Dempsey In Israel to oversee military drill. Retrieved October 29, 2012, from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/10/28/austere-challenge-2012-dempsey-israel_n_2035481.html

163. Bennis, P. (2010, August 4). Why the US won’t cut ties with Israel, no matter how extreme its government gets. *Alternet*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from http://www.alternet.org/story/147733/why_the_u.s._won%27t_cut_ties_with_israel_no_matter_how_extreme_its_government_gets/. In June 2011, Congress awarded the “highest-ever level of funding to the joint U.S.-Israel missile defense program,” to protect U.S. interests “in the volatile Middle East” from “dangerous regimes” in Iran, Syria, Lebanon and Gaza, “and wherever America’s troops and citizens are

stationed.” See JTA (2011, June 1), “Record amount approved for U.S.-Israel missile defense program.” U.S. academic institutions are profiting as well: in December 2011, Cornell University won a bid to partner with the Technion–Israel Institute of Technology, Technion develops military arms technology more than any other Israeli university.

164. Zunes, S. (2007, May 18). US role in Lebanon debacle. *Foreign Policy in Focus*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from http://www.fpif.org/articles/us_role_in_lebanon_debacle.

165. An example of how the U.S. is not an “honest broker” in Palestinian-Israeli negotiations. The Palestine Papers show that the U.S. coordinated positions with Israel in behind-the-scenes negotiations—and then pressured Palestinians to accept Israeli demands, relegating Palestinian rights to the background.

166. The U.S. (and Israel) opposed the UN statehood bid, saying this should not substitute for direct negotiations. A Pew Research Center poll in fall 2011 showed a plurality of Americans favored the US recognizing Palestine, while a Hebrew University poll reported that about 70 percent of Israelis thought Israel should go along, if the UN recognized a Palestinian state. As of 2011, over 100 countries have recognized the state of Palestine, and a 2012 Public Religion Research Institute poll found that 53% of U.S. Jews supported a Palestinian state. As of early 2012, the U.S. has used its veto in the UN Security Council 41 times to block efforts to secure Palestinian rights, playing what many see as an obstructive role in reaching a just peace.

The new Palestinian status in the UN is now the same as that of the Vatican. Though some say the new status will not change facts on the ground, others point out that Palestinians can now gain access to UN agencies, could bring Israel to the International Criminal Court for violations of international law, and can sign treaties to protect its natural gas fields and air space. See George Bisharat’s 12/3/12 Op Ed, “Palestine’s state status enables security,” www.sfgate.com. Significantly, the UN resolution reaffirmed Israel “as a state among the nations with its right to self-determination while affirming that a Palestinian state has an equal right;” see Rabbi David Cooper’s Op Ed, 12/6/12, “Being a friend to the Jewish state means criticizing wrong-headed actions,” www.jweekly.com.

Response to the vote illuminated cracks in mainstream Jewish consensus; although rabbis at a large Manhattan synagogue later wrote that the email to their congregation applauding Palestine’s new nonmember status had been premature, they did not retract their original words, that the UN vote was “a great moment...an opportunity to celebrate the process that allows a nation to come forward and ask for recognition.” See Sharon Otterman and Joseph Berger’s 12/4/12 *New York Times* article, “Cheering U.N. Palestine vote, synagogue tests its members,” and Adam Horowitz’s 12/6/12 article in www.mondoweiss.com, “One day later: B’nai Jeshurun leaders regret voicing support for Palestine UN bid.”

167. In response to the UN granting Palestine nonmember observer status, Israel authorized 3000 new Jewish-only homes in East Jerusalem/West Bank settlements, *plus* a plan to complete a settlement in the “E1” area, which will split the West Bank in half. The Israeli group Peace Now reports that Israel has authorized more settlements in 2012 than in any year in the past decade; see *Democracy Now*, 12/3/12, “Israel expands settlements, seizes PA funds after U.N. statehood vote” and “Israel advances settlement to bisect Occupied West Bank.” U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein responded, “It’s an indication of Israel’s continuing to stick a thumb in the eye of the Palestinians,” and J Street called the move “a dagger aimed at the heart of a future Palestinian state;” see Churches for Middle East Peace Bulletin 12/8/12, “What does the E-1 announcement mean for a two-state solution?,” email info@cmap.org.

168. UNESCO is the United Nations Economic, Scientific and Cultural Organization. 1990’s US law prohibits such funding, claiming Palestine lacks “internationally recognized attributes” of statehood; the US had provided 22% of UNESCO funding. However, as of early 2012, Obama was seeking a congressional waiver to restore funding to UNESCO.

169. In a *New York Times* Op Ed (2011, November 22), “Israel and Pinkwashing,” activist/writer Sarah Schulman described pink-washing as “a deliberate strategy to conceal the continuing violations of Palestinians’ human rights behind an image of modernity signified by Israeli gay life,” see http://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/23/opinion/pinkwashing-and-israels-use-of-gays-as-a-messaging-tool.html?_r=1. In her excellent July 3, 2012 article in *Tikkun*, “Revealing the truth behind the rainbow: Seattle’s anti-pinkwashing success,” Wendy Elisheva Somerson argues that “well-funded American Jewish institutions consistently use their power to shut down conversations about Palestine every chance they get.”

170. Somerson, W. (2012, July 3) “Revealing the truth behind the rainbow,” *Tikkun*, retrieved July 13, 2012, from <http://www.tikkun.org/nextgen/revealing-the-truth-behind-the-rainbow-seattles-anti-pinkwashing-success>.

171. Cohen, R. (2010, February 12). Hard Mideast truths. *New York Times*. Retrieved February 7, 2011, from http://www.nytimes.com/2010/02/12/opinion/12iht-edcohen.html?_r=1.
172. Ibid.
173. Levy, G. (November 1, 2009). America, stop sucking up to Israel. *Haaretz*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.haaretz.com/print-edition/opinion/america-stop-sucking-up-to-israel-1.5029>.
174. Lerman, A. (2009, March 7). Must Jews always see themselves as victims?
175. In April, 2011, dozens of Israeli artists and intellectuals signed a declaration calling for an end to Israel's occupation, and endorsing a Palestinian state on the basis of 1967 borders, to liberate both peoples; see Ethan Bronner's *New York Times* article (April 19, 2011), "Israeli intellectuals press for Palestinian state." In June 2012 more than 50 international aid groups and UN agencies, including the World Health Organization, Save the Children, and Amnesty International, issued a joint appeal to end the Israeli blockade of Gaza, citing the poisoning of 95% of Gaza's water. See *Democracy Now*, June 15, 2012, "UN, aid groups call for end of Gaza blockade."
176. Specifically within Israel, ending the system of ethnic privilege and racism, which only grants Palestinians second-class citizenship, recognizing some of their rights, but not their full equal rights as Israeli citizens, especially regarding housing and land ownership.
177. Beinart, P. (2010, June 10). The failure of the American Jewish establishment. *New York Review of Books*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2010/jun/10/failure-american-jewish-establishment/?pagination=false>. Beinart's article is all the more powerful because he himself is a young-ish pro-Israel Zionist.
178. Horowitz, A. (2009, October 28). Squaring the circle and erasing the margins. *Mondoweiss*. Retrieved February 6, 2011, from <http://mondoweiss.net/2009/10/squaring-the-circle-and-erasing-the-margins.html#more-10416>.
179. From email listserve, October 2009, used with permission. Admittedly, as I try to imply throughout this book, such healing from the *Shoah* is an ongoing journey, with many different layers and aspects, which will be different for each of the millions of Jews and others affected.
180. In her July 2012 *Tkkun* article "The Jewish community's drift towards the right," co-producer/director of the documentary *Between Two Worlds: The American Jewish Culture Wars* Deborah Kaufman writes that "few national Jewish organizations...are organized democratically, where members actually vote for representative membership...Few remember the days when leaders were elected based on vision and commitment, making them accountable to members."
181. Chazan, N. (2009, March 9). Critical currents: A tale of two polls. *JPost.com*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.jpost.com/Home/Article.aspx?id=153763>.
182. Beinart, P. (2010, June 10). The failure of the American Jewish establishment. Beinart is quoting from pollster Frank Luntz.
183. Ibid. Similarly, in Dana Goldstein's 2011 *Time* article, Why fewer young American Jews share their parents' view of Israel, she cites a survey of rabbinical students at New York's Jewish (Conservative) Theological Seminary: about 70% said they were "disturbed" by Israel's treatment of Arab Israelis and Palestinians, compared with half of those ordained between 1980-1994. Also see Jewish folklorist Steve Koppman's September 27, 2012, Op Ed in *Jweekly.com*, "Protesting against Israel—valid or anti-Semitic?: Organized community conflates policy, values," where he writes about the "conflation of Judaism, the Jewish people and the policies of...Israel promoted sadly by the organized American Jewish community as it chronically subordinates Jewish values and teachings to whatever Israel's government does."
184. Ibid (Beinart). Note: Beinart's 2012 book also argues that young liberal Jews are also turning away from establishment Zionism because the Jewish mainstream fails to foster open debate about Israel. Beinart edits the Daily Beast blog "Open Zion;" in 2012 he called for boycotting products made in Israeli settlements, see his Op Ed in the (3/18/12) *New York Times*, "To Save Israel, Boycott the Settlements."
185. Beinart, J. (2009, August). Rachel Corrie in Palestine...and in San Francisco. *Middle East Report*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.merip.org/mero/interventions/beinartINT2.html>.
186. Ibid.
187. Sokatch, D. (2007, September 13). We must teach about Israel—warts and all. *Jewish Journal*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from http://www.jewishjournal.com/opinion/article/we_must_teach_about_israel_warts_and_all_20070914/.
188. Ibid. Case in point: a young staffer at the San Francisco Jewish Federation was walked directly out the door the morning after the 2009 San Francisco gay pride march, where she marched in the official

Jewish contingent carrying a sign “No Pride in Occupation.” She was placed on forced leave until her previously announced departure.

189. Ettinger, M. (2010) Okupacia (pp. 14-15). In Adelfang, O. (Ed.), *Shifting sands: Jewish women confront the Israeli occupation*. Bellevue, WA: Whole World Press.

190. Ibid., p. 17.

191. Beliak, H. (2009, July). Quoted in Jewish Voice for Peace listserv.

192. In this call, officially known as the BDS Movement (Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions), Palestinians ask for divestment from all Israeli companies, boycotts of Israeli products (since nearly the entire Israeli economy is linked to the Occupation), and international sanctions against Israel. This call from Palestinian civil society has three goals: to end the occupation, equality for Palestinians living in Israel; and recognition of Palestinian refugees’ right of return. Whereas some Jews and many mainstream organizations attack this strategy, (the conservative Koret Foundation created a \$ 6 million initiative to counteract BDS activities, calling these anti-Semitic), Jewish Voice for Peace, also various rabbis and Jewish Israelis, reject the idea that BDS is inherently anti-Semitic. See two useful articles: “BDS backer in hot seat at shul forum” in the *Boston Jewish Advocate*, October 2011; and “A statement in support of the PennBDS Conference” by Rabbis Alissa Wise and Brant Rosen, February 2, 2012, *The Palestinian Talmud*, <http://palestiniantalmud.com/2012/02/02/a-statement-in-support-of-the-pennbds-conference/#comment-65>.

The Jewish Council on Public Affairs, the Israel Action Network, and others have accused the Methodist and Presbyterian churches of being anti-Jewish because of their growing campaigns to divest from U.S. corporations profiting from the Occupation. Meanwhile, the Israeli Knesset passed an anti-Boycott law in 2011 that applies severe penalties to Israeli groups and individuals supporting BDS, including the boycott of settlement products—a law criticized by a plethora of Jewish (including Israeli) groups as anti-democratic and violating free speech; as of late 2012, various Israeli groups are appealing the law.

The reason for the BDS strategy? The 2011 Russell Tribunal in Cape Town, South Africa, “ruled that Israel has established an institutionalized regime of domination amounting to apartheid as defined under international law. Israel is discriminating against and eliminating an entire nation on racial grounds in a systematic and institutionalized way...” See “Civil disobedience against the Israeli government” by Nurit Peled-Elhanan, *Israeli-Academia-Monitor.com*, [http://israel-academia-monitor.com/index.php?type=large_advic&advice_id=8403&page_data\[id\]=173&cookie_lang=en](http://israel-academia-monitor.com/index.php?type=large_advic&advice_id=8403&page_data[id]=173&cookie_lang=en).

In June 2012, a watershed victory in the movement to divest from companies profiting from Israel’s occupation: leading investment firm Morgan Stanley Capital International (MSCI) removed Caterpillar from its Socially Responsible Investing lists, saying Cat’s role in Israeli human rights violations were a key factor in the decision, following a major campaign by anti-occupation groups nationwide. Soon after, pension-fund giant TIAA-CREF divested \$72 million shares of CAT stock from their socially responsible funds. Before that, the Quakers fully divested from Caterpillar. And a month later, after intense debate, the Presbyterian Church failed to pass similar divestment by only two abstaining votes. Some Presbyterians said they were swayed by testimony from young Jewish activists who had witnessed Palestinian suffering in the West Bank, see “Presbyterian Church votes steer clear of controversies,” July 8, 2012, by Benjamin Mueller, *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*.

193. Mackey, R. (2010, August 27). Boycott of theatre in Israeli settlement grows. *New York Times*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2010/08/27/boycott-of-theater-in-israeli-settlement-grows/>. The quote is from dramaturg Vardit Shalfi. Also, as of 2012, other self-identified Zionist groups and individuals are supporting boycotting products made in settlements. Like Americans for Peace Now (a member of the Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish Organizations), Rabbi Arthur Waskow, and Peter Beinart, who wrote a *New York Times* Op Ed about what he called “Zionist BDS”: “To save Israel, boycott the settlements,” <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/19/opinion/to-save-israel-boycott-the-settlements.html?pagewanted=all>. In 2012 the U.S. Methodist and Presbyterian national bodies voted to join the boycott of products made in settlements; as of 2012, more than 600,000 settlers live illegally in Palestinian territory. Also in 2012, UN special rapporteur on human rights in Palestine Richard Falk submitted a report to the General Assembly called for boycotting companies linked to settlements in the West Bank, saying these are complicit in the Israeli occupation. See “UN independent expert calls for boycott of businesses profiting from Israeli settlements,” 10/25/12, *un.org*.

194. At the request of Israeli activists, Jewish Voice for Peace mobilized the campaign to get the U.S./UK showbiz professionals involved. See www.jewishvoiceforpeace.org.

<http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/campaigns/making-history-support-israeli-artists-who-say-no-normalizing-settlements-4>.

195. Guttman, N. (2010, September 8). Why some Jewish stars support Israeli artistic boycott. *Forward.com*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.forward.com/articles/131135/>.

196. Abileah, R. (2010, April 15). Showdown for human rights in Berkeley. *Mondoweiss.net*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://mondoweiss.net/2010/04/showdown-for-human-rights-in-berkeley.html>. The two U.S. corporations targeted by this bill were United Technologies and General Electric, both of which manufacture arms used to kill Palestinian civilians by the Israeli army. For an illuminating Jewish panel discussion about these issues, see “Is BDS the Way to End the Occupation?” in the July/August 2010 *Tikkun*. See also Donna Nevel and Dorothy Zellner’s article, “Why the BDS Campaign is effective and right,” (Autumn 2012), *Jewish Currents*, pp. 4-5.

197. Alpert, R. (2011, Winter). Solidarity with Palestinian activists. *Tikkun*, 30.

And in a 2012 interview with Mitchell Plitnick, Rabbi Brant Rosen explained “BDS is not anti-Semitic...If we think the occupation is intolerable and this call [the 2005 call from Palestinian civil society for boycott, divestment, sanctions] is a smart and ethical response to leverage power to get Israel to cease, then we must support it;” see “Wrestling in the Daylight: an interview with Rabbi Brant Rosen, (12/6/12), www.mitchellplitnick.com.

198. For example, the number of illegal settlements has tripled, the building of a Separation Wall, the attack on and siege of Gaza, increased limitations on Palestinian mobility.

199. Tutu, D. (2012, May 1). Justice requires action to stop subjugation of Palestinians. *Tampabay.com*. Retrieved July 13, 2012 from <http://www.tampabay.com/opinion/columns/justice-requires-action-to-stop-subjugation-of-palestinians/1227722>.

200. Mozgovaya, N. (2009, February 11). Pro-Palestinian Bronx expressway banner—a Jewish initiative. *Haaretz.com*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/news/pro-palestinian-bronx-expressway-banner-a-jewish-initiative-1.269944>.

201. Levins Morales, A. (2003) Foreword (pp. 9-10). In Wineman, S., *Power under: Trauma and nonviolent social change*. Aurora Levins Morales’ Foreword is powerful, and Wineman’s book appears to be as well—focused on recognizing the humanity of the abuser and integrating this ability into our social change work. The book is downloadable for free at gis.net/~swineman/Power_Under.pdf.

202. Roy, S. (2007, April 7). How can children of the Holocaust do such things? *Counterpunch*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.counterpunch.org/roy04072007.html>.

203. Ibid.

204. Millennial activists Guy Izhak Austrian and Ella Goldman say the same, in “How to strengthen the Palestine solidarity movement by making friends with Jews”: “Remember that Jews can hear anything you want to say about Israel/Palestine if it’s obvious that you care about Jews and our safety.”

205. Hale, G. (2009, February 26). Ni’lin pays tribute to Jewish victims of the Holocaust. *Common Ground News Service*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.commongroundnews.org/article.php?id=24913&lan=en&sid=0&sp=0>.

206. Grossman, D. (2006, November 7). A state of missed opportunities. Journalist’s Speech at the Rabin memorial ceremony in Tel Aviv, translation by Haim Watzman. *The Guardian*. Retrieved February 12, 2011, from <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2006/nov/07/israel>.

207. Gottlieb, L. (2009) Kavanah for erev Yom Kippur. *Danforth Jewish Circle, djctoronto.com*. Retrieved January 29, 2011, from <http://djctoronto.com/explore/erevyk2009sermon.php>.

208. Ibid.

Chapter Eleven: ON THE FRONT LINES: An Activist’s Vignettes

1. In September 1982, during the Lebanese Civil War, Christian Phalangist militia massacred approximately 2000 children, women and men in *Sabra* and *Shatila* refugee camps in Lebanon (some estimates are as high as 3500)—while Israeli soldiers, who were in control of the area, allowed the militias into the camps, did nothing to stop the slaughter, and prevented civilians from escaping. Israeli historian Benny Morris says Israelis agreed to authorize Lebanese forces to “mop up” these camps, in an effort to root out terrorists. Afterwards, 400,000 Israelis protested the massacre, and the Israeli Kahan Commission found that Israel was responsible for participating in the violence and recommended the dismissal of the Army chief. Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon was also forced to resign, since the Commission concluded that he bore personal responsibility and should never again hold public office—though he then became

Prime Minister in 2001. The U.S. nurse whose letter is referred to is Ellen Siegel, who was volunteering at Gaza Hospital. See "The Sabra and Shatila Massacre", *electronicintifada.net*, <http://electronicintifada.net/bytopic/>. Also see the animated Israeli film *Waltz With Bashir*.

2. Women In Black (WIB) was founded by women in Jerusalem in 1988, just after the outbreak of the first *intifada*. They stand weekly throughout Israel, holding signs calling for an end to the Occupation. (also throughout the world, including the U.S.) In the tradition of the Women of the Black Sash (South Africa) and the Mothers of the Disappeared (Argentina, many of whom are also Jewish), WIB is a feminist nonviolent international movement against militarism, war, and violence. See www.womeninblack.org.

3. Rosenwasser, P. (1992a). *Voices from a 'promised land': Palestinian & Israeli peace activists speak their hearts* (pp. 34). Willimantic, CT: Curbstone Books. All the quotes in this paragraph are from the interview with Veronika Cohen. This book is now out of print, but this same interview is in another of my books, still in print, *Visionary Voices, women on power: Conversations with shamans, activists, teachers, artists and healers*, which you can get from Aunt Lute Press in San Francisco.

4. In "Lives of Women Under Occupation", the Haifa Feminist Center reports "A sharp increase in the rate of deadly domestic violence against women within Israeli households ... as an indirect result of the military conflict. Nearly half of the women killed in domestic violence in Israel during ... [recent] years were murdered by soldiers and security guards who carried licensed weapons that they turned on family members and partners." See also www.newprofile.org. From what I know as an activist, it's true worldwide: that militarism breeds domestic violence as well.

5. Rosenwasser, P. (1992a). *Voices from a 'promised land'* (pp.152). Approximately 20% of Israeli citizens are Palestinian. Note: although this book is out of print, you can order it on my website.

6. *Ibid.* p. 222.

7. Berson, M. (1987). A connection of spirit: An interview with Alice Walker. *1987 Sisterfire! Festival Program Book*, (pp. 16-18). Washington, DC: Roadwork.

8. In Oakland it's the difference between white and multi-racial middle class communities, and poor/working class communities of color. Generally in Israel at that time, worst off (most oppressed) were the Bedouins, next the other Palestinians, then the Jews of color—both Ethiopian and Mizrahi.

9. These last two sentences are from the Mission Statement of the (short-lived) Coalition of Jews for Justice, which we founded in the Bay Area at the beginning of the Second *Intifada*.

10. Though there was no proof that the settler had been killed by these cave dwellers. As of July 2012, Israeli army forces are still threatening to demolish most of the Palestinian village of Susya, in the South Hebron hills, although the Israeli peace movement is fighting to prevent the demolition; the nearby Jewish settlement of Sussya is built on Susya's lands.

11. From keynote address by Terry Greenblatt at the San Francisco Jewish Film Festival, July 2001 (at Wheeler Auditorium on UC Berkeley campus).

12. *Ibid.* These words were also part of a speech Terry gave before the UN Security Council May 7, 2002, *coalitionofwomen.org*. Retrieved January 28, 2011, from http://coalitionofwomen.org/home/english/articles/terry_greenblatt_at_un/

13. Thanks to Susan Freundlich for her perspective and description of this event.

14. *Warrior Poet*, the name of Alexis DeVeaux's excellent biography of Lorde.

15. Lorde, A. (1997). *The cancer journals* (pp. 15). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

Chapter Twelve: CRACKING THE CODE OF OUR CONDITIONING

1. Hagan, K. (1993). *Fugitive information: Essays from a feminist hothead* (pp. 88). New York: HarperCollins. I don't know if Hagan is Jewish.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 89.

3. From an "Art and Politics" panel Davis was on in Los Angeles, November 6, 2011. I heard this on KPFA radio in Berkeley, a broadcast from Pacific Radio Archives.

4. Brown, C. (1995a, March/April). Beyond internalized anti-semitism: Healing the collective scars of the past. *Tikkun* 10, 46.

5. Steinem, G. (1992). *Revolution from Within* (pp. 102). Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

6. The specific methodology we used, Cooperative (or Collaborative) Inquiry, is well-suited for exploring internalized oppression. Part of action research, cooperative inquiry is designed for small groups to investigate compelling questions about our own lived experience—with each other, *not on* someone else. An excellent user-friendly resource: "A Short Guide to Cooperative Inquiry" by Peter Reason and John

Heron (also called "A Layperson's Guide to Cooperative Inquiry") <http://www.human-inquiry.com/cishortg.htm>. See also the introduction to the Action-oriented Reader's Guide at the end of this book.

Significantly, sociologist Kurt Lewin is credited with formalizing action research and experiential learning in 1946, the forerunner of Cooperative Inquiry. Lewin had first-hand experience with anti-Semitism in Nazi Germany, which led to his passion for resolving inter-group conflict. He saw this process as a tool for resolving such conflict and eliminating minority self-hatred as well as injustice. See Lewin, K. (1948). *Resolving social conflicts* (G. W. Lewin, Ed.). New York: Harper & Brothers.

7. Also, see the Action-oriented Reader's Guide for examples of the actions we tried, and good questions for reflection.

8. Forster, E. M. (1910). *Howard's End*. London: Edward Arnold. "Only connect" is the motto of the book. Forster was not Jewish.

9. Lynne Gelzer, April 2010, personal communication.

10. Berkowitz, G. (2002). UCLA Study on Friendship Among Women, www.anapsid.org. In (Melissa Kaplan's) *Chronic Neuroimmune Diseases*. Retrieved January 29, 2011, from <http://www.anapsid.org/cnd/gender/tendfend.html>.

11. Ibid.

12. Ibid.

13. Moragh, G. (1997). Breaking silence: Israel's fantastic fiction of the holocaust (pp. 180). In A. Mintz (Ed.), *The Boom in Contemporary Israeli Fiction*. Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press/University Press of New England.

14. Ibid., pp. 178.

15. Weingart, L. (2004, November 29). The wrath of the Jews. *ZNet*, Retrieved January 29, 2011, from <http://www.zcommunications.org/the-wrath-of-the-jews-by-liat-weingart>.

16. Thanks to Cherie Brown for this idea.

17. Felman, J. (1996, July/August). Nurturing the soul. *Tikkun*, 11, 51.

18. Hidary, V. Excerpted from Hidary's signature poem, The Hebrew Mamita, performed as part of Def Poetry Jam HBO, September 7, 2010. Retrieved January 2, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yAeWyGGTdEE>.

19. Hagan, K. (1993). *Fugitive information: Essays from a feminist hothead* (pp. 98). New York: HarperCollins.

20. Ibid., p. 88

21. Ibid.

22. Edut, O. (2001). Bubbe got back: Tales of a Jewess with caboose (pp. 27). In D. Ruttenberg (Ed.), *Yentl's revenge: The next wave of Jewish feminism*. Seattle, WA: Seal Press.

23. Siegel, R. (1995) Jewish women's bodies: Sexuality, body image and self-esteem (pp. 53). In K. Weiner & A. Moon (Eds.), *Jewish women speak out*. Seattle, WA: Canopy Press.

24. Thorne, L. (1994). Challenging racism. *Ruah Hadashah* 8, 50.

25. Shumofsky, M. (1994). Uprisings day 1994. Unpublished essay.

26. Rachel, N. (1989). On passing: From one generation to another (pp. 15). In E. Beck (Ed.), *Nice Jewish girls: A lesbian anthology* (Rev. ed.). Boston: Beacon Press.

27. Although articulated here by Amy, thanks to Sonika Tinker and Dinyah Rein (*Loveworks*) for this concept, which I learned from them and brought to the group.

28. Roy, Arundhati. (2003, January 27). Confronting empire. Porto Alegre, Brazil (World Social Forum). *Zcommunications.org*. Retrieved January 29, 2011, from <http://www.ratical.org/ratville/CAH/AR012703.html>. Roy is not Jewish.

29. Steinem, G. (1992). *Revolution from Within* (pp. 157.)

30. Wahba, R. (2003). Benign ignorance or persistent resistance? (pp. 65). In Khazzoom, L. (Ed.). *The flying camel*. New York: Seal Press.

31. Rosenblum, A. (2007). "the past didn't go anywhere: making resistance to anti-Semitism part of all of our movements" (pp. 31). Retrieved January 14, 2011, from <http://www.pintelevid.com/past/>. I've said it earlier but want to reaffirm: this is an excellent, brief, resource for the topics in this book.

32. Ibid.

33. Jordan, J. (1994). A powerful hatred. In *Affirmative Acts: Political Essays*. Anchor Books: Doubleday. Jordan was not Jewish.

34. Thanks to Staci Haines for this concept in her book, *The survivor's guide to sex: How to have an empowered sexlife after child sexual abuse* (1999), San Francisco: Cleis Press.

35. Piercy, M. (1973). (Excerpt from) The aim, the best that can be hoped for: THE MAGICIAN (pp. 93). In *To Be Of Use*. Doubleday: NY.

Chapter Thirteen: JEWISH-POSITIVE

1. Hiday, V. This is an excerpt from Hiday's signature poem, The Hebrew Mamita, performed as part of Def Poetry Jam HBO, September 7, 2010. Retrieved January 2, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yAeWyGGTdEE>.

2. Marder, D. (2007, April 5). Black jew illuminates diversity of Judaism. *Philadelphia Inquirer*. Retrieved January 31, 2011, from http://www.jewishresearch.org/v2/2007/articles/growth/4_5_07.htm.

3. Ibid.

4. Cooper, David J. (2010, September 8). On joy and redemption, a sermon for Erev Rosh Hoshana. Kehilla synagogue, Piedmont, CA, *old.kehillasynagogue.org*. Retrieved January 31, 2011, from <http://www.kehillasynagogue.org/article.php?story=20100915153320272>.

5. Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel referred to the Philosophy of Radical Amazement. Other spiritual traditions refer to this idea as well.

6. Saxe-Taller, J. (2010 September). Rosh Hashana 5771 sermon. Congregation Sherith Israel, San Francisco CA. Unpublished essay, used with permission.

7. Ibid.

8. According to Wikipedia, collective effervescence is the basis for French sociologist "Émile Durkheim's theory of religion as laid out in his 1912 volume *Elementary Forms of Religious Life*." Thanks to Rabbi David J. Cooper's 2010 Erev Rosh Hoshana sermon which spoke of this concept, quoting Barbara Ehrenreich's book *Dancing in the Streets: A History of Collective Joy*, in which she cites Durkheim.

9. Cooper, David J. (2010, September 8). On joy and redemption. (Erev Rosh Hoshana sermon). *Old.kehillasynagogue.org*. Retrieved Jun 3, 2012, from <http://old.kehillasynagogue.org/article.php?story=20100915153320272&query=on%2Bjoy%2Band%2Bredemption>

10. Bush, L. (2011, September 21.) Jewish women watching. *Jewish Currents*. Retrieved May 27, 2012, from <http://jewishcurrents.org/september-21-jewish-women-watching-7224>. The ad was in 2001. The group has also confronted the Christian Right, attacks on reproductive rights, and "Jewish racist voices" that protested the creation of the Khalil Gibran International Academy, focused on Arab culture.

11. The first woman rabbi was Regina Jonas, from Berlin, ordained in 1935. Rounded up by the Nazis, survivors said her sermons in Thereisenstadt were uplifting. She was murdered in 1944 in Auschwitz.

12. Eden, A. (2009, November 6). Women at Jewish organizations lag behind in promotions. *The Forward*. Retrieved January 31, 2011, from <http://blogs.jta.org/philanthropy/article/2009/11/06/1008990/forward-women-at-jewish-organizations-1>. Overall women make 78 cents for every dollar men earn (Grumm, Patrick and Ramdas, March 9, 2009, Women can lead the way to recovery, *San Francisco Chronicle*.) For more info, see the research report, "Cultivating the Talent: Women Professionals in the Federation System," by Didi Goldenhar and Sivanie Shiran, <http://www.advancingwomen.org/files/8/228.pdf>. Thanks to Dana Schneider for this info. Also see "Federation making strides in improving its record on women, but kinks remain" by Dan Klein, November 1, 2011, *JTA*. Klein notes of the "top speakers" at the 2011 Federation General Assembly, none were women.

But as we go to press, just in from Jill Jacobs of Rabbis for Human Rights: based on the annual Slingshot Guide, women direct more than half of the most *innovative* U.S. Jewish organizations; see 11/1/12, Women lead more than half of most innovative Jewish organizations in America, <http://www.rhr-na.org>.

13. Thanks to Bonnie for sharing this with me. She teaches at George Washington and Georgetown Universities and for years coordinated the Jewish Womyn's Tent at the Michigan Womyn's Music Festival.

14. Jacobs, M. (2010 September/October). Love the life—and activism—you're in. *Tikkun*, 81-82.

15. Fishkoff, S. (2011, January 10). Singer-songwriter Debbie Friedman, inspiration to thousands, dies at 59. *JTA*. Retrieved January 12, 2011, from <http://www.jta.org/news/article/2011/01/10/2742484/a-song-for-debbie-friedman>. Friedman recorded 22 albums, composing feminist/spiritual folk and liturgical songs that revitalized Jewish worship.

16. Gottlieb, L. (2009). Kavanah for Erev Yom Kippur 5770. *Danforth Jewish Circle*, *djtoronto.com*. Retrieved January 29, 2011, from <http://djtoronto.com/explore/erevyk2009sermon.php>.

17. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 222). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

18. Cohen, S. & Kelman, A., assisted by Blitzer, L. (2007). Beyond distancing: Young adult American Jews and their alienation from Israel. The Jewish Identity Project of Reboot. www.bjpa.org. Retrieved December 31, 2010, from <http://bjpa.org/Publications/details.cfm?PublicationID=326>. Peter Beinart's article mentioned in Chapter Ten was partly based on this study.
19. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 200).
20. Ravitz, J. (2009, October 28). 'New Jews' stake claim to faith, culture. *CNN*. Retrieved January 31, 2011, from http://articles.cnn.com/2009-10-28/living/new.and.emergent.jews_1_jewish-life-chosen-beer-rabbis?_s=PM:LIVING. The last phrase quoted is from Ari Wallach—who used the term “Judaism. 2.0.” and was one of the forces behind “The Great Shlep,” referred to in the next sentence.
21. Neuman, J. (2010, August 26). So much for controlling the media. *Heeb*. Retrieved January 31, 2011, from <http://www.heebmagazine.com/so-much-for-controlling-the-media/>.
22. Lange/Levitsky, D. (2009 August). *Monthly Review*. Jews Confront Zionism.
23. Ravitz, J. (2009, October 28). 'New Jews' stake claim to faith, culture. Paraphrasing Ari Wallach.
24. Ibid. The quote is from Andy Abrams.
25. The point is to first connect with your friend and communicate that this is the conditioning all non-Jews receive, just as all white people are taught racism, either directly or indirectly, by a white-dominant society. And fine to do it lightly, even with humor!
26. Dorf, J. (2007, January 16). Jenny Schechter and Jewish visibility in the GLBT community. www.ourchart.com. juliedorf's blog.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Pogrebin, Letty Cottin. (1982). Anti-semitism in the women's movement. *Jwa.org*. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from jwa.org/feminism/_html/_pdf/JWA102e.pdf.
30. Axner, M. (2011, August 19). Why holding a picket sign is good for the Jews. *The Jewish Advocate*. Boston, MA.
31. Thanks to Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb and Sandy Butler who gave me ideas for this.
32. Khazzoom, L. (2009 March). Esther is *our* queen: expanding our vision of the Jewish family. In @Wise, *Beneath the Masks We Wear, Who Are We?* www.wisela.org. Retrieved January 22, 2011, from www.wisela.org/WorkArea/downloadasset.aspx?id=38120, March 09@wise for web.pdf.
33. Rosenwasser, P., & Gatmon, A. (2000). Crosscurrents of Jewish women in a journey towards healing. *Bridges*, 8, 119.
34. Wahba, R. (2003). Benign ignorance or persistent resistance? (pp. 65). In Khazzoom, L. (Ed.). *The flying camel*. New York: Seal Press.
35. Susser, D. (2009, October 30.) A long way home: Local rabbi conducts ceremony of return for crypto-Jews. *Jewish News of Greater Phoenix*. <http://www.jewishaz.com>. Retrieved December 30, 2010, from <http://www.jewishaz.com/issues/story.mv?091030+home>. The *Conversos* from the Spanish Inquisition (see Chapter One) were crypto Jews, but there are also crypto Jews from various countries and centuries. The Jews in this ceremony were all B'nei Anusim Hispanic Sephardi.
36. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 159).
37. Gold, R. (2011, November 16). What does a Jew look like? Ask Rabbi Capers Funnye. *Haaretz.com*. Retrieved May 27, 2012, from <http://www.haaretz.com/jewish-world/what-does-a-jew-look-like-ask-rabbi-capers-funnye-1.395893>. Rabbi Funnye is the first African-American member of the Chicago Board of Rabbis, works with the Pan African Jewish Alliance, cofounded the Alliance of Black Jews, and is a cousin of Michelle Obama. His congregation is not affiliated with any denomination, and includes Africans, African-Americans, Ashkenazim, B'nai Anusim, Filipinos, Latinos, Sephardim, and Caribbean Jews.
38. Khazzoom, L (1995). When Jewish means Ashkenazi: an exploration of power and privilege in the Jewish community. *Response Magazine*. www.loolwa.com. Retrieved February 10, 2012, from <http://www.loolwa.com/archive/articles/pgs/ashkenazi.html>
39. Ibid. Khazzoom asks those who grew up in Iran, Syria, Ethiopia, Turkey, if they have told their children/grandchildren their stories, recorded the songs, folk tales, traditions? She urges their children/grandchildren to record these stories, ask them questions, get the information, while they're still alive.
40. Ibid. Later Khazzoom directed a temple-affiliated project that normalized Jewish multiculturalism, as part of U.S. Jewish identity.
41. Khazzoom, L. (2001). United Jewish feminist front (pp. 178). In D. Ruttenger (Ed.), *Yentl's Revenge: The next wave of Jewish feminism*. Seattle, WA: Seal Press.

42. Ueshiba, M. (1992). *The art of peace* (pp. 33) (translated by John Stevens). Boston: Shambala Books.
43. Amida prayer, 2007 Yom Kippur machzor (prayerbook), p. 17, Kehilla Synagogue, Oakland CA.
44. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. & Klepfisz, I., (with Mennis, B.) (1989.) In gerangl/In struggle (pp. 339). In M. Kaye/Kantrowitz & I. Klepfisz (Eds.), *The tribe of Dina: A Jewish women's anthology* (Rev. ed.), Boston: Beacon Press.
45. Excerpt from Leon Rosselson's song, "My Father's Jewish World." This song can be found as an individual download, and it is also on the CDs by Fuse Records: *Turning Silence into Song* and *The Last Chance* (an 8-song CD on Israel/Palestine).
46. Arditti, R. (1989). To be a Hanu. In M. Kaye/Kantrowitz & I. Klepfisz (Eds.), *The tribe of Dina*.
47. Bush, L. (2012, April 13). Gracia Mendes Nasi. *Jewishcurrents.org*. Retrieved May 27, 2012 from <http://jewishcurrents.org/april-13-gracia-mendes-nasi-9737>. Quote is by Marianna D. Birnbaum, *The Long Journey of Gracia Mendes*.
48. Bush, L. (2010, October 2). Groucho Marx. *JewishCurrents.org*. Retrieved February 2, 2011, from <http://jewishcurrents.org/october-2-groucho-2833>.
49. Suhl, Y. (Ed.). (1967). *They fought back: The story of the Jewish resistance in Nazi Europe* (pp. 3-4). New York: Schocken Books. Hilberg lost twenty-six members of his extended family in the Shoah.
50. Ibid., pp. 4
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.
53. Working with Frankl in Theresienstadt were Rabbis Leo Baeck and Regina Jonas.
54. Bush, L. (2011, October 23). The dancer in Birkenau. *JewishCurrents.org*. Retrieved May 27, 2012, from <http://jewishcurrents.org/october-23-the-dancer-in-birkenau-7614>. The Nazi was Josef Schillinger, the woman was possibly "a former Warsaw dancer named Horowitz," as reported by Martin Gilbert in *The Holocaust: A History of the Jews during he Second World War*.
55. Marans, N. (2009, November 2). Op-Ed: Kristallnacht in Munich, then and now. *JTA*. Retrieved January 31, 2011, from <http://jta.org/news/article/2009/11/02/1008888/op-ed-kristallnacht-in-munich-then-and-now>.
56. Gilbert, M. (2000). The Holocaust: Maps (pp. 160.) In M. Adams, W. Blumenfeld, R. Castaneda, H. Hackman, M. Peters, & X. Zuniga (Eds.), *Readings for diversity and social justice: An anthology on racism, anti-semitism, sexism, heterosexism, ableism, and classism*. New York: Routledge.
57. Berenbaum, M. (1993). *The world must know: The history of the holocaust as told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (pp. 176.) New York: Little, Brown.
58. Historian Leonard Zeskin estimates of the 20-30,000 Jews who joined Soviet partisans, 20% survived. See "Commemorating the Warsaw Uprising and Jewish Resistance during the Holocaust," April 18, 2008, <http://www.leonardzeskind.com>. See also the extraordinary documentary, *The Partisans of Vilna*, and read the powerful interview by Aviva Cantor, "She Fought Back: An Interview with Vilna Partisan Vitke Kempner," in *Lilith*, Issue # 16.
59. Gilbert, M. (2000). The Holocaust: Maps (pp. 160.) And another story: in 1942, the Jews of the Byelorussian ghetto of Nieswiez set fire to their own homes to avoid a Nazi "selection," then fought guards with weapons they had gathered. Some escaped through the flames and formed a Jewish fighting force in the forests, battling the Nazis for two years, some even surviving.
60. Suhl, Y. (Ed.). (1967). *They fought back* (pp. 6). Lawrence Bush reports in "Unarmed Resistance," *Jewishcurrents.org*. that Lachva was one of the first ghetto uprisings. Half the Jewish population was killed, ninety survived the war.
61. Ibid., p. 221.
62. Berenbaum, M. (1993). *The world must know*.
63. Bush, L. (2012, October 14). *Jewish Currents*. Revolt in Sobibor. Retrieved October 14, 2012, from <http://jewishcurrents.org/october-14-revolt-in-sobibor-12491>. Half of the camp's 600 inmates escaped, but most were killed by pursuers or while crossing minefields; 53 survived, some fighting as partisans.
64. Mark, B. (1967). The Warsaw ghetto uprising (pp. 109). In Suhl, Y. (Ed.), *They fought back*.
65. Edelman, M. (undated.) The ghetto fights (published in a pamphlet called "The Warsaw Ghetto: The 45th Anniversary of the Uprising"). Interpress Publishers, p. 31. Retrieved January 31, 2011, from <http://www.writing.upenn.edu/~afilreis/Holocaust/warsaw-uprising.html>. Edelman dedicates this pamphlet to the memory of Abrasha Blum, crediting Blum's composure and presence of mind as enabling them all to weather "the nightmare of those terrible times."

66. Ibid., p.2.
67. Ibid., p. 23
68. Litwoman, J. (1982). Some women in the resistance. Compiled for the San Francisco Jewish Feminist Conference, 1982. Unpublished essay, used with permission by Rabbi Jane Rachel Litman.
69. Suhl, Y. (1967). Little Wanda with the braids, (pp. 51). In *They fought back*.
70. Suhl, Y. (Ed.). (1967). *They fought back* (pp. 2).
71. Suhl, Y. (1967). Rosa Robota – heroine of the Auschwitz underground (pp. 220). In *They fought back*.
72. Ibid., pp. 222.
73. Ibid., pp. 223.
74. Litwoman, J. (1982). Some women in the resistance. Compiled for the San Francisco Jewish Feminist Conference, 1982. Unpublished essay, used with permission by Rabbi Jane Rachel Litman. The quote by Korczak, as described by Litman, was from a talk Korczak gave to “a group of Labor Zionist women in Tel Aviv” (before her death in 1988).
75. Mendelsohn, D. (2006). *The Lost* (pp. 403). New York: HarperCollins.
76. Berenbaum, M. (1993). *The world must know* (pp. 157). And: how tragic that *any* Jews who wanted to leave were left behind.
77. Their combined efforts were able to delay deportation until the tide turned against the Nazis. Based (mostly) on information from Michael Bar-Zohar’s 1998 book, *Beyond Hitler’s Grasp: The Heroic Rescue of Bulgaria’s Jews* (Adams Media Corporation, Holbrook, MA).
78. Bush, L. (2010, September 12). Varian Fry in Vichy France. *JewishCurrents.org*. Retrieved February 2, 2011, from <http://jewishcurrents.org/september-13-varian-fry-in-vichy-france-2717>.
79. Mosque founder Si Kaddour Benghrabrit “used patiently woven networks of friendship to save lives.” From Derri Berkani’s documentary *The Mosque of Paris: A Forgotten Resistance*.
80. Setton, R. (2003a). Jew/Arab/woman: Notes toward an identity. In *Jewish women from Muslim societies* (pp. 19). Hadassah International Research Institute on Jewish Women and American Sephardi Federation.
81. Mendelsohn, D. (2006). *The Lost* (pp. 456).
82. Berenbaum, M. (1993). *The world must know* (pp. 160).
83. Ibid., p. 159.
84. The article was written by congregant Alan Canton.
85. Fishkoff, S. (2009, November 2). Hillel groups responding to hate acts by bringing together campus communities. *JTA*. Retrieved February 2, 2011, from http://www.hillel.org/about/news/2009/nov/02Nov09_Hatred.htm. The quote is from Joe Gettinger.
86. See “Jewish group, Rabbis condemn charging of Muslim students by Orange County DA,” February 7, 2011, www.Jewishvoiceforpeace.org, <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/jewish-group-rabbis-condemn-charging-of-muslim-students-by-orange-county-da>.
87. Fletcher, T. (2004, October). Anti-Semitism Talk at KTA Conference (Kindertransport Association Conference, Burlingame, CA). Unpublished speech, used with permission.
88. Ibid.
89. Excerpt from Leon Rosselson’s song, “My Father’s Jewish World.” I omitted the first two lines of the chorus, which are “It’s not a nation, not a religion.” Used with permission.

Chapter Fourteen: LIBERATORY HEALING

- Greenspan, M. (2003, May-June). Healing through the dark emotions in an age of global threat. *Tikkun*, 18, 22.
- Brooks, D. (2011, March 7). The new humanism. *New York Times*. Retrieved May 19, 2012, from <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/08/opinion/08brooks.html>.
- Steinem, G. (1992). *Revolution from Within* (pp. 171). Boston: Little, Brown and Company. Collins is not Jewish.
- Ibid., p. 170.
- Ibid.
- Ibid., p. 173.
- Ibid., p. 172.
- Ibid., p. 173.

9. Roth, C. (2010, February 17). Bay area holocaust survivors respond to "Mein Kampf" exhibit. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved January 3, 2011, from <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/g/a/2010/02/17/ellia.DTL>.
10. Ibid.
11. Cameron, J. (2006). *Finding Water*. New York: Penguin Books. Cameron is not Jewish.
12. Ibid., p. 9.
13. Also martial arts, dance, Rosen work, more. Also the Feldenkrais Method of body-and-consciousness work, using exercise and bodily awareness for well-being and health. Founded by Moshe Pinchas Feldenkrais, born in 1906 in the Ukraine, his goal was not just more flexible bodies, but also more flexible minds.
14. Gottlieb, L. (2009) Kavanah for erev Yom Kippur. *Danforth Jewish Circle*, djctorange.org. Retrieved January 29, 2011, from <http://djctorange.com/explore/erevyk2009sermon.php>.
15. Boskin, N. (2010 September). Yom kippur drash. Kehilla Community Synagogue. www.kehillasynagogue.org. Retrieved January 29, 2011, from <http://www.kehillasynagogue.org/article.php?story=20100927120543841>.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Hanna, T. (1986). What is somatics? *Somatics: Magazine-Journal of the Bodily Arts and Science*, 5(4), 2. In Johns, T. (2008). We are self affirming soul healing Africans. *Dissertation Abstracts International-A69/03*. (ProQuest document ID. 1503397041).
22. Johns, T. (2008). We are self affirming soul healing Africans (pp. 128-129). *Dissertation Abstracts International-A69/03*. (ProQuest document ID. 1503397041).
23. Steen, X. (2009, January 1). Escaping the trauma vortex. *The Jerusalem Post*. Retrieved February 11, 2011, from <http://www.jpost.com/Home/Article.aspx?id=127321>.
24. Levine, P. (2005). *Healing trauma: A pioneering program for restoring the wisdom of your body*. Boulder CO: Sounds True. I do not know if Levine is Jewish.
25. Ibid., p. 39.
26. Steen, X. (2009, January 1). Escaping the trauma vortex.
27. Haines, S. (2012, April 10). 2012 Somatics and trauma advance training information. (Listserve email). See www.somaticsandtrauma.org. Haines is not Jewish.
28. Haines, S. (2009, December 7). Somatics and Trauma 2010 Trainings. (Listserve email). www.somaticsandtrauma.org.
29. Haines, S. (1999). *The survivor's guide to sex: How to have an empowered sex life after child sexual abuse*. San Francisco: Cleis Press.
30. Haines, S. (2009, December 7). Somatics and Trauma 2010 Trainings. As we go to press, from the April 3, 2012, "Changes at generative somatics" Newsletter (Listserve email): Haines' organization is partnering with the Strozzi Institute to build the first national somatic organization that is majority people of color and majority queer, also accessible to working class and poor communities. They hope to mobilize well-intentioned projects and communities towards systemic change, who are outside the social justice movement. Participants will practice with community based organizations that serve youth, survivors of violence, people with HIV/AIDS, and/or work for racial/environmental justice and violence prevention. See www.somaticsandtrauma.org.
31. Johns, T. (2008, September). We are self affirming soul healing Africans (pp. iv). *Dissertation Abstracts International-A69/03*. (ProQuest document ID. 1503397041).
32. Johns, T. (2008, March 3). Dissertation defense, California Institute of Integral Studies. Personal communication, also discussed beginning p. 288 of dissertation, see above.
33. Johns, T. (2008, September). We are self affirming soul healing Africans.
34. Ibid., p. 283.
35. Ibid., p. 280.
36. Johns, T. A. (2007). Learning to love our Black selves: Healing from internalized racism (pp. 482). In P. Reason & H. Bradbury (Eds.), *The safe handbook of action research: Participative inquiry and practice*. Los Angeles: Sage. Also in Johns, T. (2008, September). We are self affirming soul healing Africans (pp. 280).

37. Johns, T. (2008, September). We are self affirming soul healing Africans (pp. 281).
38. Ibid., p. v.
39. Ibid., p. 288.
40. Brown, C. (2011 Winter). Unhealed terror, *Tikkun*. Retrieved January 10, 2011, from <http://www.tikkun.org/article.php/winter2011brown>.
41. *Democracy Now*. (2/15/10) Interview with Gabor Maté: When the body says no, www.democracynow.org. Retrieved January 24, 2011, from http://www.democracynow.org/2010/2/15/dr_gabor_mat_when_the_body.
42. Ibid.
43. Abraham, S. (2005, Winter). I want my RC! A conscious community that keeps me going. *LOUDMOUTH*, 8, 10 (California State University, Los Angeles.) Retrieved January 24, 2011, from <http://www.google.com/search?ie=UTF-8&oe=UTF-8&sourceid=navclient&gfs=1&q=stephanie+abraham+-+I+want+my+RC!+A+conscious+community+that+keeps+me+sane,Loudmouth8.pdf>. Abraham is not Jewish.
44. King, M. L. (6/24/57). “On the Power of Peaceful Persuasion” (speech).
45. I am using pseudonyms here instead of initials, to make it easier to follow the story.

Chapter Fifteen: HOPE INTO PRACTICE—*Choosing Justice Despite our Fears*

1. Surasky, C. (2010, January 17). Jewish Voice for Peace listserv, used with permission.
2. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 198-199). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
3. I’m borrowing this concept from Paul Kivel, in his February 1998 paper “I’m not white, I’m Jewish. But I’m white: Standing as Jews in the fight for racial justice” (pp. 9), presented at the Whiteness Conference, University of California at Riverside. Also, make sure to check out Ezra Berkeley Nepon’s fascinating 2012 activist text on Jewish social movements in the U.S., with an eye to new 21st century possibilities: *Justice, justice shall you pursue: a history of New Jewish Agenda*, newjewishagenda.net.
4. For background and explanation of Rabbi Luria’s cosmology myth, which transformed the meaning of *tikkun olam*, see Howard Schwartz’s *Tikkun* article, March 28, 2011, How the Ari created a myth and transformed Judaism. www.tikkun.org. Retrieved July 16, 2012, from <http://www.tikkun.org/nextgen/how-the-ari-created-a-myth-and-transformed-judaism>.
5. Wise, A. (2012, February 1). Sell the Torah, put the kid in school. *PalestinianTalmud.com*. Retrieved April 16, 2012, from <http://palestinianalmud.com/2012/02/01/sell-the-torah-put-the-kid-in-school/>. Wise explains that Mussar comes from Proverbs 1:2 and can be found in the Torah, Gemara, Halakah (Jewish law), Jewish literature and the history of Jewish labor and social justice activism. It was also an ethical, spiritual and cultural movement founded in the 19th century in Eastern Europe by Rabbi Israel Salanter. See Wise’s powerful story on this blog post
6. Berg, A. (2007, December). A Zionist changes his mind. *Tikkun*, 57.
7. The original from *Pirkei Avot 2:21*//Verses of the Fathers (a Talmudic compilation of rabbinical ethical teachings): “It is not incumbent upon you to complete the work, but neither are you at liberty to desist from it.” See Chapter Eleven for another version.
8. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007, March.) Some notes on anti-Semitism from a progressive Jewish perspective. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.jewishcurrents.org/2007-mar-kayekantrowiz.htm>.
9. Ibid.
10. Miller, A. (1997). *The drama of the gifted child: The search for the true self* (pp. 4). (Rev. ed., R. Ward, Trans.). New York: Basic Books. (Original work published 1979). In a September 5, 2012, talk in Berkeley CA, sponsored by radio station KPFA, Physician/author Gabor Maté spoke of a similar idea, though framed differently: “How self-awareness within supports progress without.” Also, check out the *UNtraining workshops*, a “provocative and compassionate approach” that focuses on healing personal and social oppressions. Trainer Rita Shimmin writes “Loving yourself is a political act. We are taught not to love ourselves, and from that place we are easily manipulated.”
11. Lerner, M. (2009, October 8). Say no to the war in Afghanistan and Pakistan. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved February 13, 2011, from http://articles.sfgate.com/2009-10-08/opinion/17183235_1_religious-traditions-capitalist-materialism.
12. Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb also attests to this idea in (2009) Kavanah for erev Yom Kippur. Danforth Jewish Circle, djctoronto.org. Retrieved January 29, 2011, from <http://djctoronto.com/explore/>

[erevyk2009sermon.php](#). See also Buddhist teacher Pema Chodrun's book, *Comfortable with Uncertainty*, who says if we can see ourselves clearly, and feel good-hearted about ourselves, "there's no obstacle to feeling loving-kindness for others as well" (p. 12).

13. Windwood, A. (2010, July 16). Oscar Grant, Israel and reaching for grace. Rockwood Leadership Institute Newsletter. www.rockwoodleadership.org. Retrieved October 30, 2010, from <http://www.rockwoodleadership.org/article.php?id=213>). Windwood credits "my friend Roz" for this idea. Windwood is not Jewish.

14. Daphne Leef's Speech September 3, 2011. *Haaretz.com*. Retrieved April 15, 2012, from <http://makom.haaretz.com/blog.asp?rId=275>. She is referring to the 2011 summer protests in Tel Aviv, mostly for economic justice, the largest social protests in Israeli history up to that point. This was about 5.5% of Israel's population, equivalent to about 22 million in the U.S. There were up to 120 protest encampments in cities throughout Israel along with the one-day demos.

15. Zinn, H. (1994). *You can't be neutral on a moving train: A personal history of our times* (pp. 208). Boston: Beacon Press.

16. Source unknown, used with permission of Dr. Reagon. Reagon is not Jewish.

17. Ibid.

18. Berlet, C. (2009, September 18). Conspiracy nation. *The Independent*. Retrieved February 13, 2011, from <http://www.independent.org/2009/09/17/conspiracy-nation/>. Berlet is a practicing Christian.

19. "Obama Remarks on 40th Anniversary of the Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr." (2008, April 4). Retrieved September 10, 2012, from <http://www.prx.org/pieces/25178-obama-speaks-in-indiana-on-the-40th-anniversary-of>

20. Rosenwasser, P. (1992b). *Visionary voices, women on power: Conversations with shamans, activists, teachers, artists and healers* (pp. 179). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books. The quote is from an interview with the late activist/comedian Fran Peavey.

21. Pogrebin, L. (2011, Winter). Hard-won tips for twenty-first century activists. *Tikkun*, 60, 25th Anniversary Issue. Of course we get discouraged sometimes; the point is, to let ourselves really feel that when it comes up, to cry or write or talk to a friend so that it doesn't keep building up inside us—and then refocus on reasons to be hopeful. Also, Dr. Bernice Johnson Reagon reminds us that as crucial as working in coalitions are, to band together and win victories, that working for a common goal with folks who we may also have significant differences with can be very hard, it's not a place where we get to feel comfortable.: "You can't stay there all the time," she reminds us. Check out her excellent legendary article "Coalition Politics: Turning the Century" in *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology*.

22. Ibid. (Pogrebin)

23. Smith, B. (2011, Winter). How we treat each other makes a difference. *Tikkun*, 68, 25th Anniversary Issue. A telling anecdote: in his 2010 *New Yorker* article "Small Change," Malcolm Gladwell reports that college freshman Ezell Blair was at that Greensboro lunch counter, to change Jim Crow segregation laws, because he was with two good friends from high school, plus his college roommate.

24. Brown, R. (2011 September) Organizer reflection: July 19th in Philly. *JVP Organizing Newsletter*. Issue 3. Retrieved April 15, 2012, from <http://www.scribd.com/doc/64716497/Jewish-Voice-for-Peace-Organizing-Newsletter-Sept-2011>. Speaking of relationships, long-time organizer Elly Bulkin notes in her essay "Hard ground: Jewish identity, racism, and anti-Semitism," p. 192, in *Yours in struggle: Three feminist perspectives on anti-Semitism and racism*: "When my personal connections to *women of various identities* are extremely limited, these limitations are reflected in my thinking, my words, and my activism." (italics added)

25. Klein, N. (2011 October 6). Occupy Wall Street: The most important thing in the world now. *The Nation*. Retrieved April 15, 2012, from <http://www.thenation.com/article/163844/occupy-wall-street-most-important-thing-world-now>.

26. Ibid.

27. Levins Morales, A. (2012, March 11). Latinos, Israel and Palestine: Understanding Anti-Semitism. Retrieved March 17, 2012, from <http://www.laprensama.com/2012/03/latinos-israel-and-palestine-understanding-anti-semitism/>

28. Surasky, C. (2010, January 17). Jewish Voice for Peace listserve, used with permission.

29. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 64).

30. Bush, L. (2010, October 31). November 1: Women strike for peace. *JewishCurrents.org*. Retrieved February 13, 2011, from <http://jewishcurrents.org/november-1-women-strike-for-peace-3042>. A 1977

Gallup poll named Abzug one of the twenty most influential women in the world. Rabbi Arthur Waskow called her “perhaps the toughest, smartest, bravest Jewish progressive of our generation.”

31. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 64).

32. Lubeck, S. (2010, July 15). Tisha B’Av reflection on the Oscar Grant killing. *JWeekly.com*. Retrieved February 13, 2011, from <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/58636/tisha-bav-reflection-on-racial-injustice-in-our-society/>. It’s been true since I can remember: one out of every three black men will spend time in Juvenile Hall, jail, or prison in their lifetime.

33. Somerson, W. (2010, July/August). The intersection of anti-Occupation and queer Jewish organizing. *Tikkun*, 58.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., p. 73.

36. Ibid.

37. Horn, J. (2011, October 13.) Occupy Wall Street Jews to ‘Occupy Judaism’. *Jpost.com*. Retrieved April 14, 2012 from <http://www.jpost.com/JewishWorld/JewishFeatures/Article.aspx?id=241629>.

38. Ibid. Jews held similar services at Occupy Boston, Philly and D.C.. Alex Sugerman-Brozman wrote in “Kol Nidre at Occupy Boston: We are the 99% and the 1%”: “It is a core tenet of progressive social movements that we do not necessarily blame the individuals within institutions, but the institutions themselves, and the structures that give those institutions so much unaccountable power...to me, the 1% is in all of us. It is that part of us that is susceptible to greed and cynicism...Social movements must proceed on the belief that everyone can change...”

39. Personal email, October 10, 2011, used with permission. David Wilensky of *New Voices*, the national Jewish student magazine, wrote “Afterward, I felt like I was walking on air.”

The following Rosh Hoshana, Vilkomerson spoke more about this event, at a talk at her shul: “Suddenly I understood the ancient tradition of call and response as it must have been in the days of the temple. And by the act of repeating what the leader said, I had to actually own and feel the words, even when they made me uncomfortable,” adding that when folks were invited to call out their own sins, “whether we agreed with them or not...we had to repeat them, and in so doing...we all became more human to one another.” Personal communication, used with permission. Vilkomerson is Executive Director of Jewish Voice for Peace.

40. April 1: Occupy Interfaith Freedom Seder & Palm Sunday Processional. *Occupy Judaism*. Retrieved April 14, 2012, from <http://blog.occupyjudaism.org/post/19716936730/april-1-occupy-interfaith-freedom-seder-palm-sunday> Also see http://www.kolotchayeinu.org/ritual_processional. Participating were Occupy Faith NYC, Occupy Judaism, Occupy Catholics, Jews for Racial & Economic Justice, the Shalom Center, Congregation Kolot Chayeinu and Judson Memorial Church. Both holidays are explicitly connected to themes of Occupy Wall Street.

41. Eisner, J. (2011, October 13). Why ‘Occupy Judaism’ is turning point. *Forward.com*. Retrieved April 14, 2012 from <http://forward.com/articles/144298/why-occupy-judaism-is-turning-point/>.

42. Ibid.

43. Horn, J. (2011, October 13.) Occupy Wall Street Jews to ‘Occupy Judaism’. *Jpost.com*.

44. Cooper, D. J. (2008, May). How do we manage spiritually during hard times? *Kol Kehilla newsletter. Kehillasynagogue.org*, Piedmont, CA.

45. Others to check out: Mazon, Jspot.org blog, Bet Tzedek Legal Services, the Jewish Campaign for Immigration Reform, many more—including Keshet, which works for full inclusion of queer Jews in Jewish life and offers a “Jewish Guide to the Marking of the Transgender Day of Remembrance.” Also, Jews On First! has defended the First Amendment against the Christian right, but since early 2013 is no longer updating their website. See later in the chapter for groups specifically focused on peace in Israel/Palestine.

An April 2012 survey of U.S. Jews about Jewish values by the Public Religion Research Institute found that: 84% said pursuing justice was “somewhat or very important,” 72% said the same about *tikkun olam*, and 46% said a commitment to social equality was key to their Jewish identity.

See also Ezra Berkeley Nepon’s wonderful 2012 book, *Justice, justice shall you pursue: A history of New Jewish Agenda*—a must-read. New Jewish Agenda was a multi-issue, national membership organization that practiced participatory grassroots democracy, with over 45 chapters and 5000 members, from 1980-92. It included task forces on Middle East peace, LGB rights, nuclear disarmament, Central American solidarity, economic justice, Jewish feminism, ending South African apartheid, more. Agenda was “an explicitly Jewish voice in local, national and international justice movements,” founded in an effort

“to apply Jewish values, traditions and insights” to the problems and needs of the 1980s. This history, these lessons, are crucial for present-day activists. Also included is a fascinating summary of the origins of “tikun olam” in an essay by Rachel Mattson.

46. This New York bill guarantees domestic workers overtime at time and a half, a day off every week, and a statement of hours, similar to other workers.

In his essay in Ezra Nepon’s 2012 book *Justice, justice shall you pursue* (see above), Daniel Rozsa Lang/Levitsky notes that “JFREJ was founded in large part as a response to the ‘mainstream’ Jewish community’s efforts to shun and discredit Nelson Mandela after his release from prison because of his support for Palestinian liberation.”

47. Bend the Arc stated as one of its chief goals to bridge the gap “between the cautious voices of many [Jewish] institutions and the more diverse justice-oriented Jews on the street.” May it be so.

48. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 122-123). Quote is from Linda Holtzman.

49. Petterson, S. (2011, September 22). A Rosh Hashanah sermon. *Kehillasynagogue.org*. Retrieved April 15, 2012, from <http://kehillasynagogue.org/2011/09/22/a-rosh-hashanah-sermon-2011-5772/>.

50. LGBTI rights. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex.

51. Renewal Rabbi Arthur Waskow founded the Shalom Center in 1983. *JewishCurrents.org* explains that after Martin Luther King Jr.’s murder in 1968, “Waskow’s experience of walking through the military-occupied District of Columbia led to his writing *The Freedom Seder*, weaving together Jewish, Black and other liberation struggles.”

52. For example, see Adam Horowitz’s *Mondoweiss* 12/17/12 article, “‘Jews Against Islamophobia’ condemns latest round of Geller ads in NYC.”

53. Dreier, P. & May, D. (2007, October 1). Progressive Jews organize. *The Nation*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://www.thenation.com/article/progressive-jews-organize>. The four community networks are: Pacific Institute for Community Organizing, the Industrial Areas Foundation, the Gamaliel Foundation, and the Direct Action and Research and Training Center.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 125). The speaker is organizer Vic Rosenthal. JCA also runs non-congregational programs, including one for “Indie” Jews.

57. Ibid., p. 136.

58. Heschel, A. (1983). *I Asked for Wonder*, (p. 88). Samuel Dresner (Ed.). New York: Crossroad Publishing Company.

59. *Jewish Week*. (2008, June 14). 36 under 36. Also, *Jewish Philanthropy*, (2010, June 16), 36 under 36: Visionaries for a new era, retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://ejewishphilanthropy.com/36-under-36-visionaries-for-a-new-era/>.

60. Slutsky, C. (2009, May 15). 36 under 36: 2009. *Mochajuden.com*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://mochajuden.com/?p=562>.

61. Lipman, S. (2010, June 15). Making a space for Latin American Jews. *New York Jewish Week*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from http://www.thejewishweek.com/special_sections/36_under_36/rabbi_mendy_weitman_26.

62. Falk, M. (1996). “Vhavta” in *The book of blessings: New Jewish prayers for daily life, the Sabbath, and the New Moon festival*. New York: HarperCollins, (1999 paperback, Boston: Beacon Press).

63. Rosenblum, A. (2007). “the past didn’t go anywhere: making resistance to anti-Semitism part of all of our movements” (pp. 19). Retrieved January 14, 2011, from <http://www.pintelevid.com/past>.

64. Herbert, B. (2010, January 29). A radical treasure. *New York Times*. Retrieved February 13, 2011, from http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/30/opinion/30herbert.html?_r=1. At the 2012 Democratic National Convention, senatorial candidate Elizabeth Warren said something similar: “People feel like the system is rigged against them. And here’s the painful part: They’re right...Oil companies guzzle down billions in profits. Billionaires pay lower tax rates than their secretaries. And Wall Street CEOs, the same ones who wrecked our economy and destroyed millions of jobs, still strut around Congress, no shame, demanding favors and acting like we should thank them.” See *Democracy Now.Org*, 9/6/12.

65. Healey, J. (2011, November 15.) When hope comes back (A poem for the 99%). Retrieved April 15, 2012, from <http://joshhealey.org/2011/11/16/when-hope-comes-back/>. Reminds me of how I felt several months later, “locking down” (chaining ourselves to) Wells Fargo headquarters in downtown San Francisco, beneath a banner “We are unstoppable! Another world is possible.” (With others, we succeeded in closing the bank offices for the day.)

66. Ibid.
67. Gottlieb, L. (2009, April 1). Peace through understanding. Jewish Voice for Peace listserv. Retrieved April 23, 2012, from <http://peacethroughunderstanding.blogspot.com/2009/04/jewish-voice-for-peace.html>. Gottlieb was among the first ten women rabbis in the U.S.
68. Ibid. See near the end of Chapter One.
69. An excellent animated/brief resource is *Israel & Palestine: A Very Short Introduction*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y58njT2oXfE&feature=youtu.be>, or <https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/share-this-video-today-is-our-day>.
- Also, Aurora Levins Morales explains, "Israel needs to be pressured...in exactly the same way that the Congo needs to be pressured, that tortured country where millions have died in wars over the precious metal that makes our cell phones work, and the legacy of Belgian colonial rule, known for its extreme brutality, is reenacted...between Congolese people." See Levins Morales, A. (2012, March 11). Latinos, Israel and Palestine: Understanding Anti-Semitism. <http://www.auroralevinsmorales.com/1/post/2012/03/latins-israel-and-palestine-understanding-anti-semitism.html>.
70. Rosenblum, A. (2007). "the past didn't go anywhere" (pp. 21).
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., p. 20.
73. "When a child's first wish is for clean water, the conditions under Israeli occupation become stunningly clear." Eda Gordon, in MECA News, Summer 2011, Middle East Children's Alliance newsletter. As of 2012, 95% of Gaza's water is still unsafe to drink.
74. Kamel, R. (2004). Jews, Israel, and the United States: Talking points for Jewish antiwar activism. *U.S. Campaign to end the Israeli occupation*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://www.endtheoccupation.org/article.php?id=12>.
75. Cattori, S. (2008, November 1). What is the lesson to be learned from the Holocaust? An interview with Hedy Epstein. *Information Clearinghouse*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article19044.htm>.
76. Rothchild, A. (2007). *Broken Promises, Broken Dreams* (pp. 19). Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.
77. Butler, J. (2010, April 14). You will not be alone. *The Nation*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from http://www.thenation.com/article/you-will-not-be-alone?comment_sort=ASC.
78. Butler, J. (2012, August 27). Judith Butler responds to attack: 'I affirm a Judaism that is not associated with state violence.' *Mondoweiss*. Retrieved August 31, 2012, from <http://mondoweiss.net/author/judith-butler>.
79. Personal communication with Rabbi Margaret Holub, July 22, 2012, used with permission.
80. Horowitz, A. (2009, October 30). Palestinian equal rights joins the progressive agenda on 'The Daily Show.' *Mondoweiss*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://mondoweiss.net/2009/10/palestinian-equal-rights-joins-the-progressive-agenda-on-the-daily-show.html>.
81. Ibid.
82. *YoungJewishProud*. (2010). The young Jewish declaration. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://www.youngjewishproud.org/about/>.
83. Ibid.
84. *Ta'anit Tzedek /Jewish Fast for Gaza*. About fastforGaza.net. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://fastforgaza.net/about>. As we go to press, it looks like this website is for sale. In a 2012 interview, Rabbi Brant explained, "I see my Jewish liberation as inextricably bound up with Palestinian liberation." See Mitchell Plitnick's interview with Rosen, 12/6/12, "Wrestling in the Daylight: an interview with Rabbi Brant Rosen, www.mitchellplitnick.com.
85. Nobel prize-winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu specifically cited "the brave rabbis of Jewish Voice for Peace" (for their letter in support of divestment from companies profiting from the occupation) in his April 30, 2012 article, "Justice requires action to stop subjugation of Palestinians," *tampabay.com*.
86. Surasky, C. (2007, July 2). Jewish Voice for Peace listserv, used with permission. In his February 14, 2011, *JNews* article "Views of Egypt show new Jewish discourse in USA," Middle East analyst (and former JVP Policy Director) Mitchell Plitnick called JVP "the biggest and most effective grassroots Jewish political group in the country."
87. Surasky, C. (2010, November 12). Jewish Voice for Peace listserv, used with permission. However in a stunning illustration of white Jewish privilege, although these brave young Jews were booed and physically attacked, no charges were brought against them. Yet when ten Muslim students (nonviolently) interrupted Israeli Ambassador Michael Oren's speech at UC Irvine the previous February, they were

convicted of two misdemeanors in criminal court. See <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/jewish-group-rabbis-condemn-charging-of-muslim-students-by-orange-county-da>.

88. Abileah, R. (2010, November 9). Jewish values vs. Israeli policies: Why five young Jews disrupted PM Netanyahu in New Orleans. *Mondoweiss*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://mondoweiss.net/2010/11/jewish-values-vs-israeli-policies-why-five-young-jews-disrupted-pm-netanyahu-in-new-orleans.html>.

89. Miller, S. ((2010, November 8). Hecklers disrupt Netanyahu's speech at U.S. Jewish conference. *Haaretz.com*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://www.haaretz.com/news/diplomacy-defense/hecklers-disrupt-netanyahu-s-speech-at-u-s-jewish-conference-1.323644>. Jewish folklorist Steve Koppman makes a similar point, comparing Israeli treatment of Palestinians with traditional Jewish values, see his September 27, 2012, Op Ed in *Jweekly.com*, "Protesting against Israel—valid or anti-Semitic?: Organized community conflates policy, values."

90. Small, J. (2010, November 18). King speaks out at Jewish assembly. *The Phoenix*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://www.swarthmorephoenix.com/2010/11/18/news/king-speaks-out-at-jewish-assembly>.

91. Occupy the occupiers: A Jewish call to action. (2011, November 8). *Young, Jewish and Proud*. Retrieved April 14, 2012, from <http://www.youngjewishproud.org/occupy-the-occupiers-a-jewish-call-to-action/>.

92. Weiss, P. (2010, November 8). Five young Jews disrupt Netanyahu speech with call for new Jewish identity. *Mondoweiss*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://mondoweiss.net/2010/11/five-young-jews-disrupt-netanyahu-speech-with-call-for-new-jewish-identity.html>. In her article "Progressive except on Palestine," on *The Hill*, JVP director Rebecca Vilkomerson wrote, "Many analysts, including Israelis, believe the occupation is the single greatest threat to peace in the region."

93. Cooper, David J. (2011, October). Hillel, Israel, Palestine and me. Retrieved February 24, 2012, from <http://www.kehillasynagogue.org/article.php/20111010161658470>.

94. Rosen, B. (2011, January 2). JRC in Israel/Palestine: My final thoughts. *Shalom rav*. www.rabbibrant.com. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://rabbibrant.com/author/rabbibrant/page/3/>.

95. Ellis, M. (1987). *Toward a Jewish theology of liberation*. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books.

96. Levins Morales, A. (2012, March 11). Latinos, Israel and Palestine: Understanding Anti-Semitism. *La Prensa*. Also, from "How to strengthen the Palestine solidarity movement by making friends with Jews": "When Jews are struggling to articulate their experiences of an oppression that is kept so eerily invisible, your first response should not sound like a debate... Instead, value our trust in you and listen. Put thought and caring into appropriate ways to raise" your points. www.auroralevinsmorales.com.

97. U.S. Palestinian Community Network. (2012, March 13). Granting no quarter: A call for the disavowal of the racism and anti-Semitism of Gilad Atzmon. *Uspcn.org*. Retrieved April 15, 2012, from <http://uspcn.org/2012/03/13/granting-no-quarter-a-call-for-the-disavowal-of-the-racism-and-antisemitism-of-gilad-atzmon/>.

98. Ibid.

99. Weingart, L. (2005, March). Commentary: Speaking to the Presbyterians about selective divestment. *Jewish Voice for Peace newsletter*. Retrieved January 24, 2011, from <http://www.jewishvoiceforpeace.org/content/speaking-presbyterians-about-selective-divestment>.

100. In a 2012 interview with Mitchell Plitnick, Rabbi Brant Rosen encourages "real dialogue, which occurs when you focus on the painful issues you don't agree on instead of just celebrating the things you have in common;" see "Wrestling in the Daylight: an interview with Rabbi Brant Rosen, (12/6/12), www.mitchellplitnick.com.

Also check out "When Shmuley met Rae," August 30, 2012, by Ron Kampeas, about a "surprisingly heartfelt talk between a leftist activist and a right-wing rabbi," *blog.JTA.org*.

101. Pollack, L. (2008, December 29). Outraged American Jews turn last night of Hanukkah into shiva for Gaza: Latkes and laments. *Mondoweiss*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://mondoweiss.net/2008/12/outraged-american-jews-turn-last-night-of-hanukkah-into-shiva-for-gaza.html>.

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid.

104. Gottlieb, L. (2008, May/June). Refusing to be enemies. *Tikkun*, 23, 43.

105. This quote is often attributed to Lilla Watson, Indigenous Australian woman from the Gangulu tribe, a visual artist, activist and women's studies/aboriginal epistemology scholar. According to wikipedia, Watson prefers the quote be attributed as I have done here, since it was born of a collective process.

106. From the February 2011 Jewish Voice for Peace statement on the uprising in Egypt: “Given the history of persecution and genocide Jews have survived, we understand the uneasiness that some Jews and Israelis feel at the prospect of unknown outcomes of revolutions among Israel’s neighbors. We think the uprisings are cause for hope.” See

<http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/jewish-voice-for-peaces-statement-to-the-egyptian-people>.

107. Gottlieb, L. (2011, Winter). Tikkun olam: The art of nonviolent civil resistance. *Tikkun*, 43, 25th Anniversary Issue.

108. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007, March.) Some notes on anti-Semitism from a progressive Jewish perspective. www.jewishcurrents.org. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.jewishcurrents.org/2007-mar-kayekantrowiz.htm>.

109. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews*.

110. Excerpt from “Red Sea: April 2002” by Aurora Levins Morales, from the forthcoming collection *Poet On Assignment*. Used with permission. For more about her work and ideas, see <http://www.auroralevinsmorales.com/>.

111. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 123).

112. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1992c). While patriarchy explodes. In *The issue is power: Essays on women, Jews, violence and resistance*, (pp. 226). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

113. Used with permission. Dr. Reagon is also founder of the riveting African-American a capella group Sweet Honey in the Rock.

114. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1992a). The issue is power: Some notes on Jewish women and therapy. In *The issue is power: Essays on women, Jews, violence and resistance* (pp. 197). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

115. From the irrepressible extraordinary activist, and my late friend, Fran Peavey, in my interview with her “From the Heart,” in Rosenwasser, P. (1992b). *Visionary voices, women on power: Conversations with shamans, activists, teachers, artists and healers*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

116. Lorde, A. (1997). *The cancer journals* (pp. 13), Special Edition. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books. Lorde was not Jewish.

117. Klepfisz, I. (1990d). *Yom Hashoah, Yom Yerushalayim: A meditation*. In *Dreams of an insomniac: Jewish feminist essays, speeches and diatribes* (pp. 128). Portland, OR: Eighth Mountain Press.

ACTION-ORIENTED READER’S GUIDE

In addition to my own experience and thinking, a few ideas for the questions and exercises in this Guide came from the following:

*Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz, Irena Klepfisz, and Bernice Mennis in their wonderful 1989 handbook, *Ingerangl/in struggle: A handbook for recognizing and resisting anti-semitism and for building Jewish identity and pride*. In M. Kaye/ Kantrowitz & I. Klepfisz (Eds.), *The tribe of Dina: A Jewish women's anthology* (Rev. ed., pp. 334-346). Boston: Beacon Press;

* Irena Klepfisz’ chapter “Anti-semitism in the Lesbian/Feminist Movement” in her 1990 book *Dreams of an insomniac: Jewish feminist essays, speeches and diatribes* (pp. 56-59). Portland, OR: Eighth Mountain Press;

* “Stereotypes of Jews,” p. 294, by Maurianne Adams & Katja Hahn D’errico in “Antisemitism and anti-Jewish oppression curriculum design, 2007, in M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice*, 2nd ed. New York: Routledge;

* Dinyah Rein and Sonika Tinker (when they worked together as *Loveworks*)

* also Wendy Somerson, Joan Lester, and Sandy Butler.

Huge thanks and appreciation to all of them.

1. For more information, also see Note 6 for Chapter Twelve: Cracking the Code of our Conditioning

2. The original version of this exercise, “Stand Up/Sit Down: Anti-Semitism,” was developed by Michael Taller and printed in Hugh Vasquez and Isoke Femi’s 1993 *A manual for unlearning oppression and building multicultural alliances* (pp. 164), Oakland, CA: TODOS Sherover-Simms Alliance Building Institute.

3. Thanks to Taj Johns and SASHA (Self Affirming Soul Healing Africans) for creating this idea in their work to heal from internalized racism, described in John’s 2008 dissertation, *We are self affirming soul healing Africans* (pp. 286). See bibliography.

4. In this context oppressor is used to refer to one group that systemically dominates, victimizes, exploits others in a harsh inhumane way for its own benefit

Chapter Fifteen: HOPE INTO PRACTICE—*Choosing Justice Despite our Fears*

1. Surasky, C. (2010, January 17). Jewish Voice for Peace listserv, used with permission.
2. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 198-199). Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.
3. I'm borrowing this concept from Paul Kivel, in his February 1998 paper "I'm not white, I'm Jewish. But I'm white: Standing as Jews in the fight for racial justice" (pp. 9), presented at the Whiteness Conference, University of California at Riverside. Also, make sure to check out Ezra Berkeley Nepon's fascinating 2012 activist text on Jewish social movements in the U.S., with an eye to new 21st century possibilities: *Justice, justice shall you pursue: a history of New Jewish Agenda*, newjewishagenda.net.
4. For background and explanation of Rabbi Luria's cosmology myth, which transformed the meaning of *tikkun olam*, see Howard Schwartz's *Tikkun* article, March 28, 2011, How the Ari created a myth and transformed Judaism. www.tikkun.org. Retrieved July 16, 2012, from <http://www.tikkun.org/nextgen/how-the-ari-created-a-myth-and-transformed-judaism>.
5. Wise, A. (2012, February 1). Sell the Torah, put the kid in school. *PalestinianTalmud.com*. Retrieved April 16, 2012, from <http://palestinianalmud.com/2012/02/01/sell-the-torah-put-the-kid-in-school/>. Wise explains that Mussar comes from Proverbs 1:2 and can be found in the Torah, Gemara, Halakah (Jewish law), Jewish literature and the history of Jewish labor and social justice activism. It was also an ethical, spiritual and cultural movement founded in the 19th century in Eastern Europe by Rabbi Israel Salanter. See Wise's powerful story on this blog post
6. Berg, A. (2007, December). A Zionist changes his mind. *Tikkun*, 57.
7. The original from *Pirkei Avot 2:21*//Verses of the Fathers (a Talmudic compilation of rabbinical ethical teachings): "It is not incumbent upon you to complete the work, but neither are you at liberty to desist from it." See Chapter Eleven for another version.
8. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007, March.) Some notes on anti-Semitism from a progressive Jewish perspective. Retrieved January 21, 2011, from <http://www.jewishcurrents.org/2007-march-kayekantrowiz.htm>.
9. Ibid.
10. Miller, A. (1997). *The drama of the gifted child: The search for the true self* (pp. 4). (Rev. ed., R. Ward, Trans.). New York: Basic Books. (Original work published 1979). In a September 5, 2012, talk in Berkeley CA, sponsored by radio station KPFA, Physician/author Gabor Mate' spoke of a similar idea, though framed differently: "How self-awareness within supports progress without." Also, check out the *UNtraining workshops*, a "provocative and compassionate approach" that focuses on healing personal and social oppressions. Trainer Rita Shimmin writes "Loving yourself is a political act. We are taught not to love ourselves, and from that place we are easily manipulated."
11. Lerner, M. (2009, October 8). Say no to the war in Afghanistan and Pakistan. *San Francisco Chronicle*. Retrieved February 13, 2011, from http://articles.sfgate.com/2009-10-08/opinion/17183235_1_religious-traditions-capitalist-materialism.
12. Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb also attests to this idea in (2009) Kavanah for erev Yom Kippur. Danforth Jewish Circle, djctoronto.org. Retrieved January 29, 2011, from <http://djctoronto.com/explore/erevyk2009sermon.php>. See also Buddhist teacher Pema Chodrun's book, *Comfortable with Uncertainty*, who says if we can see ourselves clearly, and feel good-hearted about ourselves, "there's no obstacle to feeling loving-kindness for others as well" (p. 12).
13. Windwood, A. (2010, July 16). Oscar Grant, Israel and reaching for grace. Rockwood Leadership Institute Newsletter. www.rockwoodleadership.org. Retrieved October 30, 2010, from <http://www.rockwoodleadership.org/article.php?id=213>). Windwood credits "my friend Roz" for this idea. Windwood is not Jewish.
14. Daphne Leef's Speech September 3, 2011. *Haaretz.com*. Retrieved April 15, 2012, from <http://makom.haaretz.com/blog.asp?rid=275>. She is referring to the 2011 summer protests in Tel Aviv, mostly for economic justice, the largest social protests in Israeli history up to that point. This was about 5.5% of Israel's population, equivalent to about 22 million in the U.S. There were up to 120 protest encampments in cities throughout Israel along with the one-day demos.
15. Zinn, H. (1994). *You can't be neutral on a moving train: A personal history of our times* (pp. 208). Boston: Beacon Press.
16. Source unknown, used with permission of Dr. Reagon. Reagon is not Jewish.
17. Ibid.

18. Berlet, C. (2009, September 18). Conspiracy nation. *The Independent*. Retrieved February 13, 2011, from <http://www.independent.org/2009/09/17/conspiracy-nation/>. Berlet is a practicing Christian.
19. "Obama Remarks on 40th Anniversary of the Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr." (2008, April 4). Retrieved September 10, 2012, from <http://www.prx.org/pieces/25178-obama-speaks-in-indiana-on-the-40th-anniversary-of>
20. Rosenwasser, P. (1992b). *Visionary voices, women on power: Conversations with shamans, activists, teachers, artists and healers* (pp. 179). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books. The quote is from an interview with the late activist/comedian Fran Peavey.
21. Pogrebin, L. (2011, Winter). Hard-won tips for twenty-first century activists. *Tikkun*, 60, 25th Anniversary Issue. Of course we get discouraged sometimes; the point is, to let ourselves really feel that when it comes up, to cry or write or talk to a friend so that it doesn't keep building up inside us—and then refocus on reasons to be hopeful. Also, Dr. Bernice Johnson Reagon reminds us that as crucial as working in coalitions are, to band together and win victories, that working for a common goal with folks who we may also have significant differences with can be very hard, it's not a place where we get to feel comfortable.: "You can't stay there all the time," she reminds us. Check out her excellent legendary article "Coalition Politics: Turning the Century" in *Home Girls: A Black Feminist Anthology*.
22. Ibid. (Pogrebin)
23. Smith, B. (2011, Winter). How we treat each other makes a difference. *Tikkun*, 68, 25th Anniversary Issue. A telling anecdote: in his 2010 *New Yorker* article "Small Change," Malcolm Gladwell reports that college freshman Ezell Blair was at that Greensboro lunch counter, to change Jim Crow segregation laws, because he was with two good friends from high school, plus his college roommate.
24. Brown, R. (2011 September) Organizer reflection: July 19th in Philly. *JVP Organizing Newsletter*. Issue 3. Retrieved April 15, 2012, from <http://www.scribd.com/doc/64716497/Jewish-Voice-for-Peace-Organizing-Newsletter-Sept-2011>. Speaking of relationships, long-time organizer Elly Bulkin notes in her essay "Hard ground: Jewish identity, racism, and anti-Semitism," p. 192, in *Yours in struggle: Three feminist perspectives on anti-Semitism and racism*: "When my personal connections to *women of various identities* are extremely limited, these limitations are reflected in my thinking, my words, and my activism." (italics added)
25. Klein, N. (2011 October 6). Occupy Wall Street: The most important thing in the world now. *The Nation*. Retrieved April 15, 2012, from <http://www.thenation.com/article/163844/occupy-wall-street-most-important-thing-world-now>.
26. Ibid.
27. Levins Morales, A. (2012, March 11). Latinos, Israel and Palestine: Understanding Anti-Semitism. Retrieved March 17, 2012, from <http://www.laprensama.com/2012/03/latinos-israel-and-palestine-understanding-anti-semitism/>
28. Surasky, C. (2010, January 17). Jewish Voice for Peace listserve, used with permission.
29. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 64).
30. Bush, L. (2010, October 31). November 1: Women strike for peace. *JewishCurrents.org*. Retrieved February 13, 2011, from <http://jewishcurrents.org/november-1-women-strike-for-peace-3042>. A 1977 Gallup poll named Abzug one of the twenty most influential women in the world. Rabbi Arthur Waskow called her "perhaps the toughest, smartest, bravest Jewish progressive of our generation."
31. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 64).
32. Lubeck, S. (2010, July 15). Tisha B'Av reflection on the Oscar Grant killing. *JWeekly.com*. Retrieved February 13, 2011, from <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/58636/tisha-bav-reflection-on-racial-injustice-in-our-society/>. It's been true since I can remember: one out of every three black men will spend time in Juvenile Hall, jail, or prison in their lifetime.
33. Somerson, W. (2010, July/August). The intersection of anti-Occupation and queer Jewish organizing. *Tikkun*, 58.
34. Ibid.
35. Ibid., p. 73.
36. Ibid.
37. Horn, J. (2011, October 13.) Occupy Wall Street Jews to 'Occupy Judaism'. *Jpost.com*. Retrieved April 14, 2012 from <http://www.jpost.com/JewishWorld/JewishFeatures/Article.aspx?id=241629>.
38. Ibid. Jews held similar services at Occupy Boston, Philly and D.C.. Alex Sugerman-Brozan wrote in "Kol Nidre at Occupy Boston: We are the 99% and the 1%": "It is a core tenet of progressive social movements that we do not necessarily blame the individuals within institutions, but the institutions

themselves, and the structures that give those institutions so much unaccountable power...to me, the 1% is in all of us. It is that part of us that is susceptible to greed and cynicism...Social movements must proceed on the belief that everyone can change..."

39. Personal email, October 10, 2011, used with permission. David Wilensky of *New Voices*, the national Jewish student magazine, wrote "Afterward, I felt like I was walking on air."

The following Rosh Hoshana, Vilkomerson spoke more about this event, at a talk at her shul: "Suddenly I understood the ancient tradition of call and response as it must have been in the days of the temple. And by the act of repeating what the leader said, I had to actually own and feel the words, even when they made me uncomfortable," adding that when folks were invited to call out their own sins, "whether we agreed with them or not...we had to repeat them, and in so doing...we all became more human to one another." Personal communication, used with permission. Vilkomerson is Executive Director of Jewish Voice for Peace.

40. April 1: Occupy Interfaith Freedom Seder & Palm Sunday Processional. *Occupy Judaism*. Retrieved April 14, 2012, from <http://blog.occupyjudaism.org/post/19716936730/april-1-occupy-interfaith-freedom-seder-palm-sunday> Also see http://www.kolotchayeinu.org/ritual_processional. Participating were Occupy Faith NYC, Occupy Judaism, Occupy Catholics, Jews for Racial & Economic Justice, the Shalom Center, Congregation Kolot Chayeinu and Judson Memorial Church. Both holidays are explicitly connected to themes of Occupy Wall Street.

41. Eisner, J. (2011, October 13). Why 'Occupy Judaism' is turning point. *Forward.com*. Retrieved April 14, 2012 from <http://forward.com/articles/144298/why-occupy-judaism-is-turning-point/>.

42. Ibid.

43. Horn, J. (2011, October 13.) Occupy Wall Street Jews to 'Occupy Judaism'. *Jpost.com*.

44. Cooper, D. (2008, May). How do we manage spiritually during hard times? *Kol Kehilla newsletter*. *Kehillasynagogue.org*, Piedmont, CA.

45. Others to check out: Fair Trade Judaica, Jspot.org blog, Bet Tzedek Legal Services, Rabbis for Human Rights/North America, Mazon, many more—including Keshet, who works for full inclusion of queer Jews in Jewish life and offers a "Jewish Guide to the Marking of the Transgender Day of Remembrance. See later in the chapter for groups specifically focused on peace in Israel/Palestine.

An April 2012 survey of U.S. Jews about Jewish values by the Public Religion Research Institute found that: 84% said pursuing justice was "somewhat or very important," 72% said the same about *tikkun olam*, and 46% said a commitment to social equality was key to their Jewish identity.

See also Ezra Berkeley Nepon's wonderful 2012 book, *Justice, justice shall you pursue: A history of New Jewish Agenda*—a must-read. New Jewish Agenda was a multi-issue, national membership organization that practiced participatory grassroots democracy, with over 45 chapters and 5000 members, from 1980-92. It included task forces on Middle East peace, LGB rights, nuclear disarmament, Central American solidarity, economic justice, Jewish feminism, ending South African apartheid, more. Agenda was "an explicitly Jewish voice in local, national and international justice movements," founded in an effort "to apply Jewish values, traditions and insights" to the problems and needs of the 1980s. This history, these lessons, are crucial for present-day activists. Also included is a fascinating summary of the origins of "tikun olam" in an essay by Rachel Mattson.

46. This New York bill guarantees domestic workers overtime at time and a half, a day off every week, and a statement of hours, similar to other workers.

In his essay in Ezra Nepon's 2012 book *Justice, justice shall you pursue* (see above), Daniel Rozsa Lang/Levitsky notes that "JFREJ was founded in large part as a response to the 'mainstream' Jewish community's efforts to shun and discredit Nelson Mandela after his release from prison because of his support for Palestinian liberation."

47. Bend the Arc stated as one of its chief goals to bridge the gap "between the cautious voices of many [Jewish] institutions and the more diverse justice-oriented Jews on the street." May it be so.

48. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 122-123). Quote is from Linda Holtzman.

49. Petterson, S. (2011, September 22). A Rosh Hashanah sermon. *Kehillasynagogue.org*. Retrieved April 15, 2012, from <http://kehillasynagogue.org/2011/09/22/a-rosh-hashanah-sermon-2011-5772/>.

50. LGBTI rights. Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex.

51. Renewal Rabbi Arthur Waskow founded the Shalom Center in 1983. *JewishCurrents.org* explains that after Martin Luther King Jr.'s murder in 1968, "Waskow's experience of walking through the military-occupied District of Columbia led to his writing *The Freedom Seder*, weaving together Jewish, Black and other liberation struggles."

52. See Jews on First, <http://www.jewsonfirst.org/> (retrieved February 13, 2011).
53. Dreier, P. & May, D. (2007, October 1). Progressive Jews organize. *The Nation*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://www.thenation.com/article/progressive-jews-organize>. The four community networks are: Pacific Institute for Community Organizing, the Industrial Areas Foundation, the Gamaliel Foundation, and the Direct Action and Research and Training Center.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 125). The speaker is organizer Vic Rosenthal. JCA also runs non-congregational programs, including one for “Indie” Jews.
57. Ibid., p. 136.
58. Heschel, A. (1983). *I Asked for Wonder*, (p. 88). Samuel Dresner (Ed.). New York: Crossroad Publishing Company.
59. *Jewish Week*. (2008, June 14). 36 under 36. Also, *Jewish Philanthropy*, (2010, June 16), 36 under 36: Visionaries for a new era, retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://ejewishphilanthropy.com/36-under-36-visionaries-for-a-new-era/>.
60. Slutsky, C. (2009, May 15). 36 under 36: 2009. *Mochajuden.com*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://mochajuden.com/?p=562>.
61. Lipman, S. (2010, June 15). Making a space for Latin American Jews. *New York Jewish Week*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from http://www.thejewishweek.com/special_sections/36_under_36/rabbi_mendy_weitman_26.
62. Falk, M. (1996). “Vhavta” in *The book of blessings: New Jewish prayers for daily life, the Sabbath, and the New Moon festival*. New York: HarperCollins,(1999 paperback, Boston: Beacon Press).
63. Rosenblum, A. (2007). "the past didn't go anywhere: making resistance to anti-Semitism part of all of our movements" (pp. 19). Retrieved January 14, 2011, from <http://www.pintelevid.com/past>.
64. Herbert, B. (2010, January 29). A radical treasure. *New York Times*. Retrieved February 13, 2011, from http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/30/opinion/30herbert.html?_r=1. At the 2012 Democratic National Convention, senatorial candidate Elizabeth Warren said something similar: “People feel like the system is rigged against them. And here’s the painful part: They’re right...Oil companies guzzle down billions in profits. Billionaires pay lower tax rates than their secretaries. And Wall Street CEOs, the same ones who wrecked our economy and destroyed millions of jobs, still strut around Congress, no shame, demanding favors and acting like we should thank them.” See *Democracy Now.Org*, 9/6/12.
65. Healey, J. (2011, November 15.) When hope comes back (A poem for the 99%). Retrieved April 15, 2012, from <http://joshhealey.org/2011/11/16/when-hope-comes-back/>. Reminds me of how I felt several months later, “locking down” (chaining ourselves to) Wells Fargo headquarters in downtown San Francisco, beneath a banner “We are unstoppable! Another world is possible.” (With others, we succeeded in closing the bank offices for the day.)
66. Ibid.
67. Gottlieb, L. (2009, April 1). Peace through understanding. Jewish Voice for Peace listserve. Retrieved April 23, 2012, from <http://peacethroughunderstanding.blogspot.com/2009/04/jewish-voice-for-peace.html>. Gottlieb was among the first ten women rabbis in the U.S.
68. Ibid. See near the end of Chapter One.
69. An excellent animated/brief resource is *Israel & Palestine: A Very Short Introduction*, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y58njT2oXfE&feature=youtu.be>, or <https://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/share-this-video-today-is-our-day>.
- Also, Aurora Levins Morales explains, “Israel needs to be pressured...in exactly the same way that the Congo needs to be pressured, that tortured country where millions have died in wars over the precious metal that makes our cell phones work, and the legacy of Belgian colonial rule, known for its extreme brutality, is reenacted...between Congolese people.” See Levins Morales, A. (2012, March 11). Latinos, Israel and Palestine: Understanding Anti-Semitism. <http://www.auroralevinsmorales.com/1/post/2012/03/latins-israel-and-palestine-understanding-anti-semitism.html>.
70. Rosenblum, A. (2007). "the past didn't go anywhere" (pp. 21).
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid., p. 20.
73. “When a child’s first wish is for clean water, the conditions under Israeli occupation become stunningly clear.” Eda Gordon, in MECA News, Summer 2011, Middle East Children’s Alliance newsletter. As of 2012, 95% of Gaza’s water is still unsafe to drink.

74. Kamel, R. (2004). Jews, Israel, and the United States: Talking points for Jewish antiwar activism. *U.S. Campaign to end the Israeli occupation*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://www.endtheoccupation.org/article.php?id=12>.
75. Cattori, S. (2008, November 1). What is the lesson to be learned from the Holocaust? An interview with Hedy Epstein. *Information Clearinghouse*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article19044.htm>.
76. Rothchild, A. (2007). *Broken Promises, Broken Dreams* (pp. 19). Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press.
77. Butler, J. (2010, April 14). You will not be alone. *The Nation*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from http://www.thenation.com/article/you-will-not-be-alone?comment_sort=ASC.
78. Butler, J. (2012, August 27). Judith Butler responds to attack: 'I affirm a Judaism that is not associated with state violence.' *Mondoweiss*. Retrieved August 31, 2012, from <http://mondoweiss.net/author/judith-butler>.
79. Personal communication with Rabbi Margaret Holub, July 22, 2012, used with permission.
80. Horowitz, A. (2009, October 30). Palestinian equal rights joins the progressive agenda on 'The Daily Show.' *Mondoweiss*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://mondoweiss.net/2009/10/palestinian-equal-rights-joins-the-progressive-agenda-on-the-daily-show.html>.
81. Ibid.
82. *YoungJewishProud*. (2010). The young Jewish declaration. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://www.youngjewishproud.org/about/>.
83. Ibid.
84. *Ta'anit Tzedek / Jewish Fast for Gaza*. About fastforGaza.net. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://fastforgaza.net/about>. As we go to press, it looks like this website is for sale. In a 2012 interview, Rabbi Brant explained, "I see my Jewish liberation as inextricably bound up with Palestinian liberation." See Mitchell Plitnick's interview with Rosen, 12/6/12, "Wrestling in the Daylight: an interview with Rabbi Brant Rosen, www.mitchellplitnick.com.
85. Nobel prize-winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu specifically cited "the brave rabbis of Jewish Voice for Peace" (for their letter in support of divestment from companies profiting from the occupation) in his April 30, 2012 article, "Justice requires action to stop subjugation of Palestinians," *tampabay.com*.
86. Surasky, C. (2007, July 2). Jewish Voice for Peace listserv, used with permission. In his February 14, 2011, *JNews* article "Views of Egypt show new Jewish discourse in USA," Middle East analyst (and former JVP Policy Director) Mitchell Plitnick called JVP "the biggest and most effective grassroots Jewish political group in the country."
87. Surasky, C. (2010, November 12). Jewish Voice for Peace listserv, used with permission. However in a stunning illustration of white Jewish privilege, although these brave young Jews were booed and physically attacked, no charges were brought against them. Yet when ten Muslim students (nonviolently) interrupted Israeli Ambassador Michael Oren's speech at UC Irvine the previous February, they were convicted of two misdemeanors in criminal court. See <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/jewish-group-rabbis-condemn-charging-of-muslim-students-by-orange-county-da>.
88. Abileah, R. (2010, November 9). Jewish values vs. Israeli policies: Why five young Jews disrupted PM Netanyahu in New Orleans. *Mondoweiss*. Retrieved February 14, 2011, from <http://mondoweiss.net/2010/11/jewish-values-vs-israeli-policies-why-five-young-jews-disrupted-pm-netanyahu-in-new-orleans.html>.
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100. In a 2012 interview with Mitchell Plitnick, Rabbi Brant Rosen encourages “real dialogue, which occurs when you focus on the painful issues you don’t agree on instead of just celebrating the things you have in common;” see “Wrestling in the Daylight: an interview with Rabbi Brant Rosen, (12/6/12), www.mitchellplitnick.com.

Also check out “When Shmuley met Rae,” August 30, 2012, by Ron Kampeas, about a “surprisingly heartfelt talk between a leftist activist and a right-wing rabbi,” blog.JTA.org.

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103. Ibid.

104. Gottlieb, L. (2008, May/June). Refusing to be enemies. *Tikkun*, 23, 43.

105. This quote is often attributed to Lilla Watson, Indigenous Australian woman from the Gangulu tribe, a visual artist, activist and women’s studies/aboriginal epistemology scholar. According to wikipedia, Watson prefers the quote be attributed as I have done here, since it was born of a collective process.

106. From the February 2011 Jewish Voice for Peace statement on the uprising in Egypt: “Given the history of persecution and genocide Jews have survived, we understand the uneasiness that some Jews and Israelis feel at the prospect of unknown outcomes of revolutions among Israel’s neighbors. We think the uprisings are cause for hope.” See <http://jewishvoiceforpeace.org/blog/jewish-voice-for-peaces-statement-to-the-egyptian-people>.

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110. Excerpt from “Red Sea: April 2002” by Aurora Levins Morales, from the forthcoming collection *Poet On Assignment*. Used with permission. For more about her work and ideas, see <http://www.auroralevinsmorales.com/>.

111. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (2007). *The Colors of Jews* (pp. 123).

112. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1992c). While patriarchy explodes. In *The issue is power: Essays on women, Jews, violence and resistance*, (pp. 226). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

113. Used with permission. Dr. Reagon is also founder of the riveting African-American a capella group Sweet Honey in the Rock.

114. Kaye/Kantrowitz, M. (1992a). The issue is power: Some notes on Jewish women and therapy. In *The issue is power: Essays on women, Jews, violence and resistance* (pp. 197). San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

115. From the irrepressible extraordinary activist, and my late friend, Fran Peavey, in my interview with her "From the Heart," in Rosenwasser, P. (1992b). *Visionary voices, women on power: Conversations with shamans, activists, teachers, artists and healers*. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books.

116. Lorde, A. (1997). *The cancer journals* (pp. 13), Special Edition. San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books. Lorde was not Jewish.

117. Klepfisz, I. (1990d). *Yom Hashoah, Yom Yerushalayim: A meditation*. In *Dreams of an insomniac: Jewish feminist essays, speeches and diatribes* (pp. 128). Portland, OR: Eighth Mountain Press.

ACTION-ORIENTED READER'S GUIDE

In addition to my own experience and thinking, a few ideas for the questions and exercises in this Guide came from the following:

*Melanie Kaye/Kantrowitz, Irena Klepfisz, and Bernice Mennis in their wonderful 1989 handbook, *Ingerangl/in struggle: A handbook for recognizing and resisting anti-semitism and for building Jewish identity and pride*. In M. Kaye/ Kantrowitz & I. Klepfisz (Eds.), *The tribe of Dina: A Jewish women's anthology* (Rev. ed., pp. 334-346). Boston: Beacon Press;

* Irena Klepfisz' chapter "Anti-semitism in the Lesbian/Feminist Movement" in her 1990 book *Dreams of an insomniac: Jewish feminist essays, speeches and diatribes* (pp. 56-59). Portland, OR: Eighth Mountain Press;

* "Stereotypes of Jews," p. 294, by Maurianne Adams & Katja Hahn D'errico in "Antisemitism and anti-Jewish oppression curriculum design, 2007, in M. Adams, L. A. Bell, & P. Griffin (Eds.), *Teaching for diversity and social justice*, 2nd ed. New York: Routledge;

* Dinyah Rein and Sonika Tinker (when they worked together as *Loveworks*)

* also Wendy Somerson, Joan Lester, and Sandy Butler.

Huge thanks and appreciation to all of them.

1. For more information, also see Note 6 for Chapter Twelve: Cracking the Code of our Conditioning

2. The original version of this exercise, "Stand Up/Sit Down: Anti-Semitism," was developed by Michael Taller and printed in Hugh Vasquez and Isoke Femi's 1993 *A manual for unlearning oppression and building multicultural alliances* (pp. 164), Oakland, CA: TODOS Sherover-Simms Alliance Building Institute.

3. Thanks to Taj Johns and SASHA (Self Affirming Soul Healing Africans) for creating this idea in their work to heal from internalized racism, described in John's 2008 dissertation, *We are self affirming soul healing Africans* (pp. 286). See bibliography.

4. In this context oppressor is used to refer to one group that systemically dominates, victimizes, exploits others in a harsh inhumane way for its own benefit