CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

STRATEGIES TO COUNTER THE RED-GREEN ALLIANCE IN THE US

The challenge from the emerging alliance between the Muslim Brotherhood movement & radical progressive groups

THE RED-GREEN ALLIANCE IS COMING TO AMERICA (VERSION B)
Introduction

This report explores the dangers of the sociopolitical phenomenon known as the red-green alliance, the nexus between radical progressive groups and Islamist organizations that began in Europe and migrated to the US.

As identity politics become more prevalent in the United States, the collaboration between these two groups has created a powerful social and political axis with increasing influence on American Middle East policy as well as on the perceptions of both Israel and the Jewish community in the US.

This report discusses the following growing concerns: the radical shift in US policy towards its traditional allies in the Middle East; the decrease in momentum of the normalization process and the Abraham Accords; the hesitant American approach towards Iran; and the support of many in the progressive movement for Hamas’ struggle for Palestinian hegemony at the expense of the seemingly more moderate Palestinian Authority.

*This report is a revised edition of Reut’s original report entitled, “The Red-Green Alliance is Coming to America” (December 2021).*
Strategies to Counter the Red Green Alliance in the US

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Executive Summary

The challenge

1. **The deepening sociopolitical alliance between progressive organizations and groups that are identified with political Islam is becoming increasingly influential in Washington, creating new sets of challenges to Jewish communities and Israel.**

2. **Propelled by the strengthening of identity politics in the US, the influence of progressive streams on mainstream discourses is growing. The progressive discourse classifies social groups as either privileged or oppressed, usually based on socioeconomic status and/or skin color. But it is also based on a universalistic paradigm that rejects communal exceptionalism and particularism; the progressive discourse applies a uniform universal moral code on disputes and struggles in the world and often disregards any unique cultural, political, security, social or economic nuances.**

3. **Progressive groups categorize Jews as white and privileged, defining Jews as part of the current social power structure that the progressive movement is battling. The progressive discourse disregards the exceptional challenges, history, and experience of Jewish life in the US.**

4. **Reut describes this dynamic as “Jewish-Israeli erasure.” The erasure undermines the right of American Jews to define their own identity, values, narrative, and relationship with Israel. Categorizing Jews as privileged lessens their ability to confront discrimination and cope with antisemitism and other forms of hate. The erasure also dismisses their right to define themselves as a people (‘peoplehood’).**

5. **In contrast to “classic” antisemitism, progressive erasure is not necessarily derived from hatred. It is instead a side-effect of the disconnect between the characteristics of the discourse and Jewish history and experience in the US.**

6. **However, since the Ferguson demonstrations (2014), several anti-Israel organizations have increasingly leveraged erasure to promote their agenda. Anti-Israel rhetoric has penetrated mainstream liberal organizations and even the Democratic Party. This trend has normalized certain aspects of antisemitism.**

7. **Jewish-Israeli erasure exacerbates the identity crisis among many American Jews, making it more difficult for them to create a cohesive and united front against the...**
challenge. This undermines Jewish identity in the US and challenges community cohesion and Jewish political advocacy efforts.

8. The broad Jewish internalization of the progressive framework of Jews as white and privileged is also the consequence of a long failure by the Jewish community in the US to provide inclusive educational Jewish frameworks. This is while the prevalent progressive discourse seems to encourage Jews to challenge Jewish communal framework.

9. It is common for American Jews to view Israel as a burden on their political and social status in America. Hence, Israel is often blamed for the erosion of Jewish communal cohesion.

10. However, it seems that there is a more pronounced connection between the prevalent Jewish self-view as white and privileged and the framing of the Jewish State as a European white colonial enterprise. International issues in the current progressive discourse are examined through an American lens. This dynamic generates misperceptions of the unique circumstances and challenges around the establishment and existence of the State of Israel.

11. Erasure is being leveraged by a coalition of radical progressive groups and Islamists. The Muslim Brotherhood, the most important Islamist organization, has a conservative agenda driven by a vision of establishing an Islamic Caliphate. Despite its radical vision, the movement displays considerable tactical pragmatism, which allows them to engage with seemingly counterintuitive groups like progressive movements.

12. Since they began to consolidate in the early 1960s, US organizations affiliated ideologically with the global Muslim Brotherhood have become the most organized Islamic power in the country. Many have gained informal status as the representatives of the Muslim community in the eyes of political and law enforcement authorities. Nevertheless, most Muslims in America do not identify with the movement's agenda.

13. Muslim Brotherhood organizations in the US are at the peak of their power. The September 11, 2001 attacks had serious consequences for Muslims in America, including a spike in anti-Muslim hate crimes and strict domestic policy. Some of these organizations have even contended with unsuccessful legislative attempts to classify them as terrorist organizations. Many of them consider the term of President Trump a low point and see the election of a Democratic administration in 2020 as a historic opportunity.

14. The high-level organizational and strategic skills employed by groups identified with the Muslim Brotherhood allow them to increasingly influence US foreign policy and promote an anti-Israel agenda. Members of the progressive wing of the Democratic Party,
for example, participate frequently in anti-Israel events organized by Muslim Brotherhood organizations. These organizations benefit from diplomatic platforms financed by Qatar, as well as media platforms and social networks.

15. **Despite the differences and conflicting values between these movements, the cooperation between "reds" (progressive organizations) and "greens" (Islamist organizations) is anchored in deep intellectual and philosophical roots** that underlie the effort to legitimize their shared values. The red-green alliance’s agenda in Europe includes clear anti-Western, anti-American, and anti-Zionist elements. In the US, this cooperation has accelerated with the increasing acceptance of intersectionality as a framework.

16. **The red-green alliance’s agenda has expanded as Muslim Brotherhood organizations in the US adopt elements of the progressive platform.** These organizations increasingly employ the rhetoric and goals of the progressive movement's agenda, including demanding prison reform and raising the minimum wage.

17. **The Islamophobia trap enables the existence of crude antisemitism.** Blunt antisemitism by leaders of organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood has not always been strongly condemned, because they are protected by what critics of the progressive discourse term ‘racism of low expectations’ — that is, holding racial groups to different standards of behavior, usually grounded in cultural relativism. Accusations of Islamophobia are used as a sword to attack opponents and as a shield to protect Islamist organizations from scrutiny.

18. **Red-green organizations are increasingly promoting their ideological framework for American foreign policy with respect to the Middle East.** This framework rests on the traditional American commitment to liberal democratic values and human rights and takes power from growing domestic support for limiting American military involvement around the world.

19. **This foreign policy framework is a product of the intersection of the progressives’ interpretation of the Middle East through the lens of identity politics, and the Muslim Brotherhood’s agenda in the Middle East.** The red-green alliance in the US focuses its criticism almost exclusively on the pro-Western axis of countries, which are the ideological enemies of the Muslim Brotherhood axis of countries led by Qatar and Turkey. It sees in Israel a white European country that fights against native brown people.

20. **The red-green foreign policy approach is not the dominant approach of the current administration.** Moreover, it is unable to exert substantial influence on the special relationship between the US and Israel.
21. However, its impact is starting to influence decision-making in Washington in a way the compromise Israel’s national security:

   a. This influence manifests in the cold shoulder the current administration is giving to America’s traditional pro-Western allies and in the slowing normalization momentum of the Abraham Accords;

   b. The current American drawdown in the region, in conjunction with its changing relationships with moderate Arab states, weakens the joint struggle of Israel and the pro-Western axis of countries against Iran.

22. Hostility towards Israel is only a partial explanation of the progressives’ non-activism against Iran. The red-green alliance shows no affinity for Iran, but its agenda strengthens Iran. The strengthening of Iran is accepted with indifference among red-green alliance organizations because Iran is not perceived by progressives as a threat to US national security. In the view of the Muslim Brotherhood, the struggle against pro-Western Sunni Muslim states supersedes the struggle against Iran. The threat to Israel from the spread of Iranian proxy forces in the region and the creation of a kinetic “ring of fire” against Israel is deliberately denied or ignored.

23. Due to lack of communal cohesion and consensus, there is no broad systematic Jewish attempt to challenge either Jewish-Israeli erasure in the progressive discourse or the red-green alliance.

**Principles of Response**

24. Mobilize a ‘critical mass’ (see glossary) of organizations against erasure and the red-green alliance - Reut’s ultimate goal in the current effort against the Jewish-Israeli erasure is the emergence of loose cooperation and coordination between a few dozen Jewish and pro-Israel organizations, which would engage non-Jewish groups and publicly challenge Jewish-Israeli erasure in a way that would meet the necessary threshold to change it. **We believe that a successful mobilization to effectively challenge erasure and the red-green alliance should be based on the following principles.**

   Community Relations: Coalition of the Erased, counter intersectionality and the opportunity to leverage the Abraham Accords

25. **Forming a “Coalition of the Erased”** consisting of diverse partnerships with other groups and minorities is Reut’s suggested strategy to counter the practice of both Jewish-Israel
erasure in the current progressive discourse and white supremacism. The Coalition is based on the conceptual framework of counter-intersectionality.

26. **Counter-intersectionality** emphasizes the many similarities between different kinds of prejudice against certain groups and minorities, the fact of which has been neglected by the current progressive discourse which fails to capture their lived experience. The progressive discourse binarily categorizes social groups as oppressors and oppressed based on criteria of skin color and socioeconomic status, and rejects communal exceptionalism and particularism in favor of a universalistic paradigm.

27. The binary progressive categorization guides how societal groups are viewed, and often fails to capture their lived experience and narratives. Importantly, moderate Muslims feel threatened by the universalistic outlook of the progressive discourse.

28. **In this regard, the Abraham Accords present an opportunity to generate a new form of grassroots activism and alliances led by moderate Muslims and pro-Israel groups against the red-green alliance.** Initial cooperation among pro-Israel activists, organizations affiliated with the parties to the Abraham Accords, and more moderate streams of Islam is already apparent.

29. This effort could be pursued by coordinating with local Muslim organizations and the existing lobbying activity of Abraham Accords countries to re-motivate the normalization drive in the Middle East. This can “recharge” the Israeli-Jewish “legitimacy battery” through joint *tikun olam* projects with Abraham Accords nations.

**Communal Cohesion and identity: Rebuild the center**

30. **The bitter truth is the difficulty to address the challenge of erasure is largely the result of internal Jewish polarization**, which evidences a complex Jewish identity challenge driven in part by an increasingly complex relationship with Israel.

31. **Against this backdrop, The Jewish struggle against erasure requires rebooting Jewish politics and focusing on building a political and social center. This can generate a Jewish renewal and strengthen internal community cohesion based on a vision of peoplehood.** The current war in Ukraine may strengthen this opportunity in that that it has been regenerating a sense Jewish solidarity (Arvut Hadadit).

32. **It is necessary to integrate emerging communities in the effort.** This includes the Israeli community, which in recent years has been increasing its political capital. There is also the emergence of a Russian-speaking Jewish community in the US. This community has a new class of young philanthropists, activists, and intellectuals who usually have a strong pro-Israel
agenda. They see parallels between Jewish-Israeli erasure and attempts to erase Jewish identity in the Soviet Union.

The Battle of Ideas: Focusing on the Jewish erasure & reexamining Jewish separatism against antisemitism

33. **It is recommended to focus on Jewish-Israeli erasure and not launch a war against the entire progressive movement** – targeted activity against Jewish-Israeli erasure speaks the language of identity politics, and may be a good basis to establish broad coalitions that will include both liberal non-establishment organizations and the Jewish establishment.

34. **New thinking must be given to the attitude of Jewish separatism** – a prevalent Jewish approach that rejects looking at antisemitism as a mere piece of the wider phenomenon of xenophobia – which makes it difficult for Jews to find allies to help fight antisemitism. A new approach is needed, the core of which is cooperation with diverse groups, empathy, sharing the experience and historic lessons of the struggle against antisemitism, and a foundation in the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance’s (IHRA) definition of antisemitism.
Background 1: Israel & Jewish erasure in the progressive discourse

35. The past decade has been characterized by a sharp rise in identity politics in the US. Although the beginning of identity politics goes back to the 1970s, it has become an accepted discourse framework over the past decade. It is utilized as a strategic and political approach to emphasize the uniqueness of disadvantaged groups and minorities that are seeking to advance their interests against the oppression of the dominant groups in society. These positive trends have side effects that create challenges for Jewish communities and Israel.

Intersectionality & the erasive progressive discourse

36. The rise of critical race theory\(^1\) has contributed to the creation of a diverse and influential social movement that focuses on equal opportunities and correcting economic and social discrimination. The concept of ‘Intersectionality’ was coined in 1989 by the theorician Kimberlé Crenshaw in connection with the feminist struggle for gender

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\(^1\) A critical theory that examines the legal relation to issues of race in the United States. Its basis is an approach that assumes that American liberalism has throughout history been characterized by a racist approach and institutional racism. See Gordon, Lewis R. "A Short History of the ‘Critical’ in Critical Race Theory". *American Philosophy Association Newsletter* (Spring 1999).
equality. It emphasizes the great similarity and overlap between different kinds of oppression against disadvantaged groups and minorities. What started as an academic theory has turned into an organizing logic and translated into cooperation, mutual support and solidarity between disadvantaged groups and minorities in the US for the sake of social justice, and against the white establishment which is perceived as the root of oppression.

37. **The rise of intersectionality occurred against the backdrop of radicalization in the social discourse in the US and turned the progressive discourse dichotomous - a discourse that catalogues social groups as either privileged or oppressed.** Ranking the status of groups in this context mostly focuses on a differentiation based on class and skin color. It divides between supporters of the status quo and those seeking to radically change it. The progressive discourse applies a universal moral code to disputes and struggles in the world and overlooks unique cultural, political, security, social or economic nuances.

38. **Since the Ferguson unrest, which occurred at the same time as the fighting between Israel and Hamas during Operation Protective Edge (2014), organizations with an anti-Israel agenda became an integral part of the coalition of minorities.** Support in the coalition for the boycott campaign against Israel has grown, especially among African American and Latino communities.

39. **In recent years, the progressive movement has experienced a revival and greater influence on the mainstream liberal discourse and growing influence in the Democratic Party.** Progressives have become dominant in many important centers of power in the US including politics, the defense forces, legal systems, universities, the education system, media, Silicon Valley and trade unions.² The election to Congress of a growing number of individuals identified with the uncompromising progressive agenda is indicative of the fundamental change that the Democratic Party in undergoing. It also demonstrates the centralizing process of highly critical rhetoric against Israel in the Democratic Party.

40. **There is an obvious mismatch between characteristics of the contemporary progressive discourse and the Jewish experience in the US.** The terminology, symbols and values of progressive discourse is mainly fed from the experience of African Americans. The incongruence between the characteristics of this discourse and the Jewish experience results in Jews frequently being perceived as a party that bears responsibility for the mechanism of white social oppression. In progressive discourse, Jews are perceived as privileged whites; consequently, it fails to capture the unique collective Jewish vulnerability.

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² Yossi Hollander, Loss of American support – an existential strategic threat to Israel, September 2021 (limited distribution)
As a result, Israel and American Jewry are practically ‘erased’ in the progressive discourse. Characteristics of the contemporary progressive discourse deny, usually unconsciously, the right of Jews to define for themselves the basic elements of their identity, either individually or collectively. This includes their relations to Israel and the challenges they face. Progressive discourse does not recognize the current discrimination against Jews or their vulnerabilities, and it rejects the notion of Jewish peoplehood.

The erasive progressive discourse poses a national security challenge for the State of Israel because it ultimately undermines the relationship between Israel and the US. The discourse belongs solely to the Democratic Party and further erodes the bipartisan support for Israel and the relations of the Jewish State with American Jews (see here).

In contrast to ‘classic’ antisemitism, or crude anti-Zionist campaigns, the progressive erasure is usually not driven by hate. Instead, it results from distinct elements found within the American left’s current discourse. Its initial disseminators are not antisemites, even though their possible involvement in discriminatory actions may be perceived as such. In contrast to the common forms of discrimination against Jews, this strain of discrimination does not rely on classifying Jews as belonging to a distinct ethnic category.

One of the side effects of this trend is that some antisemitic ideas are normalized. Political and social polarization couples with the radicalization of rhetoric. This allows the growing acceptance and normalization of expressions of anti-Zionism and antisemitism in the progressive discourse which further erodes the cultural and social norms that once protected the Jewish community.

There are radical elements seeking to exploit characteristics of the progressive discourse to accumulate influence on the left and to use that influence to advance their antisemitic and anti-Israel agendas. Members of these groups use the present discourse to prevent the inclusion of Jews or Jewish and pro-Israel agendas into the progressive left. One of the prominent elements in this context are the American organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood ideology of political Islam.
The distancing of Jewish mainstream from Israel & the threat of the collapse of the peoplehood concept

46. **In recent years, mainstream** American Jewish support for and identification with Israel has eroded. Due to demographic changes, the affiliations between the young generation of Jews to Judaism and community institutions have weakened. One of the most prominent changes is that Israel has become a wedge issue in Jewish communities. Israel's image as a peace seeking, pluralistic and democratic country has tarnished.

47. Many Jews see Israel's conduct as a threat to their identity and standing as American citizens. They increasingly see Israel turning from an asset to a liability. In this reality many organizations are reducing their allocation of resources to Israel and their activities related to Israel. Several organizations even encourage complete disassociation from dealing with Israel.

48. The Jewish-Israeli erasure in the progressive discourse is accelerating an identity crisis among many American Jews. This is making it more difficult for Jewish communities to create a cohesive and united front against the challenge. The identity politics discourse in the US puts the American Jewish community in a trap. Many Jews feel they are forced to choose between their loyalty to Israel and their liberal values. **Internalizing the framework of the progressive discourse by a growing number of Jews who see themselves as white and privileged undermines the Jewish American identity, therefore challenging community cohesion and the collective Jewish political vitality.**

49. **Jewish solidarity and consensus are being eroded over the struggle against progressive antisemitism and anti-Zionist campaigns.** While many American Jews do not feel comfortable with the boycott campaign against Israel, some choose not to oppose it publicly because of their ambivalence towards Israel. There are also many Jews who are leading the boycott campaign against Israel and even sharply criticize the Jewish establishment for its support of Israel. They argue that it contributes to the current oppressive power structure in the US against which the progressive movement is fighting.

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3 For the purpose of this paper, “mainstream” refers to the population that is the traditional target audience of the Jewish establishment. This is an audience for which there is more accessible information and is usually the subject of surveys. The trends mentioned above mostly characterize this stream. It is difficult to assess the extent to which these trends are also present among populations that traditionally are not affiliated with the Jewish establishment, and whose relations with Israel should be different, such as Israeli-Americans, ultra-orthodox or Jews from the former Soviet Union.

4 Many Jews in the world fear that Israel is an obstacle to building their identity and community on several levels. For example, in the rabbinate, which denies their Judaism or how they express their Judaism. See Loveday Morris and Ruth Eglash, The Washington Post, 16.08.2017
The relationship with the US rests to a large degree on the connection between **American Jews and Israel**. One of the key drivers of the special relationship between the US and Israel is the political influence, power and prosperity of American Jews. **Beyond the consideration of core values, relations with American Jews have important security, diplomatic and financial dimensions to Israel.**

There is no question that the growing distance between Israel and mainstream American Judaism is feeding the Jewish-Israeli erasure in the progressive discourse. This distance is also fed by the erasure. The destructive consequence of the distancing of many Jews is liable to lead to the collapse of the ideal of Jewish peoplehood, i.e. the collective self-perception of the Jews as a people. The gap between Israel and mainstream American Jews undermines the legitimacy of Israel as the nation state of the Jewish people. The progressive discourse also undermines the right of Jews to national self-determination.

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The circumstances and motives of the special relationship are diverse and rest on the combination of values, interests and organizational powers of the Jewish community. This relationship is supported by the pro-Israel lobby, the presence of Jews in the US administration and the actions of Jewish Representatives and Senators. It is also impacted by the American Jewish influences on the American media, society and economy, which create broad public support for US support for Israel. See the Reut Institute document, **יחסי ישראל והעולם: לקראת הפתעת יום כיפור**, June 2019.
Background 2: The growing strength of organizations in the US identified with the Muslim Brotherhood

52. The Muslim Brotherhood was founded by Hassan al-Banna in Egypt in 1928 as a conservative and fundamentalist organization. It has always had a clear antisemitic agenda. Its vision is to establish an Islamic Caliphate based on the movement's slogan in Egypt, "Islam is the solution". Nonetheless the movement and organizations identified with it show pragmatism in implementing the vision.

From an Egyptian organization to a global movement

53. The popularity of the Muslim Brotherhood outside Egypt is largely the result of its effective congruence between the way it is organized as a social movement and its objectives. In almost every Western country where bodies identified with the Muslim Brotherhood are active, considerable thought is given to adapting the structure, organization and strategy.

54. The effective *modus-operandi* of the Muslim Brotherhood has turned them into informal representatives of the Muslim community in the eyes of the authorities in Europe, Australia and the US. The establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe and the concurrent persecution that the movement has undergone in Middle Eastern countries has turned several European cities (especially in the United Kingdom, France, Belgium and Germany) into the most important Muslim Brotherhood global hubs.

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6 One of the Muslim Brotherhood's prominent leaders, Sayid Qutb even published a book called "Our War with the Jews." Bassam Tibi, *From Sayid Qutb to Hamas: The Middle East Conflict and the Islamization of Antisemitism*, The Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Antisemitism, Working Papers Series, 2010


8 Lorenzo Vidino, *Muslim Brotherhood Organizations in America*, E-Notes, Foreign Policy Research Institute, December 2011.
Moderate Islamic streams in the Middle East are frustrated by the status of Muslim Brotherhood organizations in the West. These organizations are often seen as the informal representatives of the Muslim communities in Western countries vis-à-vis the authorities and civil society organizations. The collaboration between Muslim Brotherhood organizations and the radical left organizations against the Abraham Accords frustrates many in the Arab countries that signed the Accords with Israel – the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and Morocco. These nations are more open to the West and embody a more tolerant Islam.

None of the organizations outside of Egypt that are identified with the Muslim Brotherhood, including those in the US to which this report refers, have any direct formal connection with the organization. However, there are deep ideological ties and a common conceptual platform that creates affiliation and belonging to a social movement. Organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood loosely and collectively cooperate to promote social changes and a range of common causes, while their agenda has many similar, albeit not always identical features.

These organizations operate in a more decentralized way than in the past. This makes it more difficult to understand the movement’s center of gravity with respect to some issues. Hamas, which was founded as the Muslim Brotherhood in Gaza, considers Ra'am, a member of the Israeli government coalition with roots in the Muslim Brotherhood, as its ideological enemy. Another example from the US is the clear generation gap between young Muslims (a large proportion of whom were born in the US) and the immigrant generation of their parents on various issues, such as on the LBGTQ issue.

The Muslim Brotherhood in the US

The establishment of organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood in the US began in the 1960s. Gradually, these organizations became the strongest organized Islamic force in the US. They founded mosques, businesses, social initiatives, influence groups and lobbies, increased their media presence and built their centers of influence near

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9 Steven Brooke, *The Muslim Brotherhood Between Party and Movement*, The University of Louisville
10 For example, on 19 September 2021, Hamas spokesman condemned the remarks of Ra'am party leader Walid Taha that the war in Gaza would not jeopardize the Israeli government coalition of which his party was a part, as nothing less than disengagement from Palestinian and Arab identity. See the telegram channel شبكة قدس الإعلامية (https://t.me/QudsN) from the same day.
11 For example, a survey published in Newsweek found that Muslim millennials in the US support LBGTQ acceptance in society at substantially high rates. See the video attached to article, Steve Friess, Since 9/11, *US Muslims Have Gained Unprecedented Political, Cultural Influence*, Newsweek Magazine, 1/9/2021
Washington DC. Organizations such as the Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR) and the Islamic Society of North America (ISNA), are well led, financed and connected with the American elite.  

59. **The September 11, 2001 attacks were a severe blow to the Muslim community in the US, including organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood.** The anti-Muslim sentiment, harsh domestic policy and a rise in hatred of Muslims precipitated a dramatic fall in the standing of the Muslim community in the US. At the same time, because of the sense of persecution, this period created a new generation of young Muslim leaders determined to integrate and promote the interests of the community.

60. **There are multiple legislative failures in the US over the years to declare the Muslim Brotherhood and some of its associated organizations in the US as terrorist organizations.** These efforts peaked following the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development trial in 2007-08. The founders of the foundation, which was identified with the Muslim Brotherhood, were convicted and imprisoned for fundraising for Hamas and encouraging suicide attacks.

61. **During the term of President Donald Trump, many Muslims again felt that they were on the defensive.** President Trump issued a sweeping ban against entry to the US of citizens of several Muslim countries in the Middle East. He also made comments that were perceived as anti-Muslim, which intensified fear among Muslims in the US.

62. **These organizations consider the election of Joe Biden as president as a historic opportunity.** Many in the American Muslim community perceive the current era as a record time for social integration of Muslims in the US.

63. It should be noted that **the organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood focus on the promotion of domestic American objectives, which is broader than this narrow paper covers.** These organizations are trying to advance protection from federal authorities (especially the FBI), which they claim persecute Muslims, opposition to US immigration

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17 See for example, the CAIR executive summary: *The first 100 days: Biden Harris Administration*
policy, fighting institutional racism in police departments and the struggle for equal Muslim representation in the federal government.  

64. **Even though a few organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood are perceived as the informal representatives of the Muslim community by the American authorities**, most Muslims in America do not identify with the Muslim Brotherhood agenda. Most Muslims in the US live in rural areas and not in large cities where the organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood are located.

65. **The decision to focus on building organizations that establish relations with the American political elite is a compensation for the lack of general support in Muslim communities.** Muslim Brotherhood organizations try to obtain internal legitimacy to represent Muslim communities, through their relations with the government, the platforms that they establish and the increasing cooperation with progressive organizations.

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19 [The first 100 days: Biden Harris Administration](#), CAIR
The red-green alliance: partnership between the progressive movement & Islamists

66. The alliance between the radical left and political Islam emerged in Europe. It was labeled as “the red-green alliance”. The collaboration of these two streams has accelerated in the past two decades. A broad bipartisan effort is aimed at bridging their intellectual and theoretical differences. In the past decade, this process has migrated from Europe to the US. The collaboration in the US is part of the coalition of minorities phenomenon and intersectionality. The agenda of the radical red-green alliance in Europe includes clear anti-Western, anti-American and anti-Zionist elements.

The "migration" of the red-green alliance to the US

67. Following the Holy Land Foundation trial (see above), a rapid Americanization process began among organizations in the US identified with the Muslim Brotherhood ideology. This process enabled the strengthening of the collaboration between the progressive movement and political Islam, as well as Muslim integration in the US. Americanization is the internalization of the rules of the game in the US. It is also the development of activism and plans that focus on activity within structures permitted by law enforcement authorities. The process enabled organizations ideologically identified with the Muslim Brotherhood to establish political Islam as a stream that can offer a response to the radicalism of Salafi movement. Both al-Qaeda and ISIS emerged from the Salafi movement.

While Islam is a global religion and civilization, political Islam, or Islamism, is a modern political ideology. The concept of political Islam refers to Islamic parties or movements that were established in reaction to secularization in Middle Eastern countries. They seek to influence the political process in different countries through the existing political system, not undermining its legitimacy. In Western countries, various Islamic parties and Islamic organizations participate in the democratic process. The Muslim Brotherhood is considered one of political Islam's most organized forces and with the greatest influence. Jocelyne Cesari, Political Islam: More than Islamism, Religions 2021, 12(5), 299.

For a comprehensive survey of the links between the radical left and political Islam, going beyond the Muslim Brotherhood, see Sir John Jenkins, Islamism and the left, Policy Exchange, 2021.

See, for example, الإسلاميون والماركسيون، فقدهم 05/05/2018دي دور الماركسي في عصر الشعوبية والإسلام السياسي، العرب

Fraternal Islamists: Getting to Know the Muslim Brotherhood, FDD Foreign Policy, with Clifford May, Jonathan Schanzer and Samuel Tadros, 1/7/2019.
(the Lambertism doctrine\textsuperscript{26}). The Americanization process succeeded in increasing the legitimization\textsuperscript{27} of organizations in the US identified with the Muslim Brotherhood. Although collaboration between political Islam and the progressive movement is not new in the US, a qualitative jump in collaboration between these two streams took place between 2015-2016.

68. **The progressivization of the Muslim Brotherhood.** Organizations and leaders in the US identified with the Muslim Brotherhood are increasingly seen as an integral part of the progressive movement. While collaboration between the progressives and political Islam ought to create friction (for example over the role of religion or the LGBTQ issues), intersectionality enables both these streams to find numerous shared interests. A key part of the Americanization of Muslim Brotherhood organizations includes adopting the rhetoric and aspects of the progressive agenda. Organizations such as CAIR, which ten years ago was accused in federal court of being part of a network that supported the financing of terrorism, are at the forefront of the struggle for social justice as part of the Black Lives Matter campaign and promote prison reform and the minimum wage.\textsuperscript{28} Even though the emergence of the red-green alliance in the US is more recent than in Europe, it appears that the ties between these two streams are deeper in the US than in Europe.

69. **There is no doubt that organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood are undergoing far-reaching changes. However, the movement has not fundamentally changed the long-term objectives and goals of political Islam. It is not changing its approach towards Israel, and it still acts as a global movement.** There is lively debate among scholars of political Islam about the change political Islam is undergoing in the US. There are many Islamist organizations and leaders that consider cooperation with the left as merely opportunistic and have reservations about it. Others believe that the change reflects real transformation in the young Muslim generation.\textsuperscript{29} Nonetheless, there are no signs of a deep transformation that redefines the movement’s vision, long-term objectives, or strategic goals.

\textsuperscript{26} The Lambertism doctrine is a security concept first developed in the UK. The British authorities engaged with bodies identified with political Islam, including the Muslim Brotherhood, with the understanding that they might moderate the extremism of al-Qaeda. The plan is named after a British police officer, Robert Lambert, who headed the unit engaged with the Muslim community. A result of Lambertism, even Hamas underwent public legitimation in London. See, The Reut Institute, *The Assault on Israel’s Legitimacy: London as a case study*, November 2010.

\textsuperscript{27} *The Global Muslim Brotherhood Daily Watch*, (hereinafter, GMBWatch), 24/9/20.

\textsuperscript{28} Sam Westrop, *Creeping Theo-Progressivism*, City Journal 2019/03/12.

The red-green alliance promotes an anti-Israel and antisemitic agenda

70. **The red-green alliance is a key factor in the spread of Israel's delegitimization in Europe.** In the early 2010s, the Reut Institute discussed the consequences of the red-green alliance's activities against Israel in London (see here). The document stated that although the bodies comprising the red-green alliance were considered marginal political forces, almost everywhere that they operated in Europe, they have disproportionate power with respect to Israel due to their success in ‘framing’ the Israeli-Palestinian conflict using appropriated liberal terminology. Ideas that were considered radical a few years earlier have penetrated the Western mainstream dialogue. The Reut Institute warned that the red-green alliance was liable to spread to the US.

71. **As in Europe, the red-green alliance carries a clear anti-Israeli agenda:**

- Political Islam's broadening spectrum in the US is not wide enough to include diverse opinions about Israel or the Jewish establishment. Even American political leaders identified with the Muslim Brotherhood promote an anti-Israel agenda, and most consider Israel to be a colonial entity born in sin and justify suicide bombings against Israelis.\(^{30}\)

- The progressive movement in the West, initially in Europe and subsequently in the US, has undergone a complete reversal with respect to Israel. The Reut Institute previously called this reversal ”from kibbutz to kibbush (occupation)“. The progressive movement switched from a perspective of Israel as a model of ideal socialist society in the 1960s to a country that represents all the evils of the contemporary West.\(^{31}\)

72. **Within the red-green alliance there is a "racism of low expectations" and an "Islamophobia trap" which enable the existence of crude antisemitism.** Muslim Brotherhood organizations and activists are integrating into liberal and progressive groups and bring with them a hostile attitude against Israel and even crude antisemitism. This is accepted with understanding because of what is called by critics of the progressive discourse the "racism of low expectations." Even scandalous remarks by Muslim leaders against Jews or Israel are not strongly condemned. Because of the polarized progressive discourse that divides the world into the oppressed and oppressors, any criticism of the remarks made by leaders or organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood are viewed in the context of

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\(^{30}\) FDD Foreign Policy, with May, Schanzer and Tadros, *Ibid.*

\(^{31}\) Colin Shindler, *Israel and the European Left: Between Solidarity and Delegitimization*, Continuum, 2011
the oppressor attacking the oppressed, thus resulting in accusations of Islamophobia and shielding these groups from scrutiny.

The organization and platform that enables the red-green alliance to influence foreign policy

73. **Muslim Brotherhood organizations are in a unique position to influence US foreign policy in the Middle East because of the highly organized structural supports they have created in the US, the strategies they have implemented, and the relationships they have fostered with the progressive movement.**

74. **First and foremost, the rising progressive wing in the Democratic Party is a unique platform that has succeeded in influencing the American foreign policy agenda.** An example is the delay in Congress of the Israel aid package arrangements following Operation Guardian of the Walls. Another example is the US Administration's decision to freeze 10% of the annual defense aid to Egypt over criticism of its human rights with a focus on its treatment of activists identified with the Muslim Brotherhood. 32

75. **In 2018, the first two Muslim Members of Congress identified with the radical progressive wing were elected.** Representatives Rashida Tlaib and Ilhan Omar won with the support from Muslim and progressive communities alike. Both Congresswomen were able to influence the critical dialogue against Israel in the mainstream Democratic Party, especially during Operation Guardian of the Walls in May 2021. 33 Both Congresswomen frequently participate in anti-Israel events sponsored by organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood and even with Hamas. 34

76. **More American organizations are identifying with the Muslim Brotherhood and even with Hamas.** For example, American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), which is identified with the Muslim Brotherhood ideology, has a clear pro-Hamas outlook. They established a new lobby in Washington DC, Americans for Justice in Palestine Action (AJP). 35 It works with the progressive wing of the Democratic Party and beyond. 36

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32 See Politico, 13/9/2021 and Amos Harel in Haaretz, 15/9/2021. At the time this paper was written, it seems that US Secretary of State Antony Blinken has not exercised his veto to bypass the decision, evidence of the growing power of the progressive wing.
33 Friess, Ibid.
34 See the example in Global Influence Operations Report (hereinafter GIOR), 3/12/2020
36 See the example here from the AJP Action virtual conference between 27 September and 1 October 2021.
77. **Using Qatari and Turkish diplomatic platforms.** In recent years, Qatar, which supports the global Muslim Brotherhood movement (see below), has expanded its lobbying and public relations operations in the US. They promote a foreign policy agenda that largely overlaps the agenda of organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood in the US. Turkey, which also supports the global Muslim Brotherhood movement, has expanded its efforts to influence Washington, and Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan holds periodic meetings with leaders in the US identified with the Muslim Brotherhood. American organizations that are promoting Turkish interests cooperate with organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood to advance an anti-Israel agenda.

78. **The global coalition of Muslim Brotherhood organizations.** Organizations outside the US that are affiliated with the global Muslim Brotherhood movement collaborate with American organizations to advance the global movement’s vision and strategic objectives.

79. **The Al Jazeera empire is harnessed to the “revolution”.** Al Jazeera English, a global media platform owned and in the service of Qatar, has been a main channel of the progressive movement worldwide and is used to advance a prominent anti-Israel agenda and the boycott campaign against Israel. The Al Jazeera social media channel, AJ+, has become especially popular. Alongside promoting issues that are important to the progressive movement, it also promotes a clear anti-Israel agenda.

80. **Powerful media and social media platforms.** Members of the progressive movement, including organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood, bypass traditional media outlets and deftly exploit social media platforms to advance their narratives. The decentralization of the media enables radical bodies to create powerful media platforms that directly reach new audiences on unfiltered social media, especially Twitter, Instagram, Facebook and TikTok.

81. **A network of anti-Zionist organizations in the US and pro-Palestinian leftist organizations.** Over the past twenty years, Israel has been dealing with a systematic global assault by a network of organizations that rejects Israel's right to exist for a range of political, philosophical and ideological reasons. The red-green alliance, assisted by what Reut calls ‘the delegitimization network,’ is shaping a hawkish agenda against Israel that seeks to turn Israel into a pariah state. For example, their agenda deliberately promotes the association of Israel with...
with the former Apartheid regime in South Africa. This network has grown in recent years in the US and includes progressive anti-Zionist organizations, leftist pro-Palestinian organizations, anti-Zionist ultra-orthodox organizations, radical African American organizations, progressive churches and even Iranian exile organizations.
The red-green foreign policy in the Middle East

82. The US has dramatically changed its foreign policy in recent months, especially concerning the Middle East. The need to change US foreign policy and key components with respect to the nature of the change, is a rare convergence between Democrats and Republicans. This chapter will try to point to the fundamental change in this policy that is a consequence of the spirit of the time and unique circumstances. It will also try to assess the important role played by progressive and Islamist bodies on the US Administration's positions on some issues.

Restraint Foreign Policy

83. US policy in the Middle East in recent decades has focused on aggressive anti-terrorism activity, the promotion of democracy, nation-building and humanitarian aid. Although the two parties have had different perspectives on foreign policy, there was consensus on the central role of the US as the global policeman. The post-September 11 attacks era was characterized by increased US military involvement in the world, especially in the Middle East.

84. But in the past few years, a consensus has been emerging in Washington in both parties for a need to adopt a restraint foreign policy. This includes a dramatic reduction of the US military presence in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world. The US adopted an approach that is more passive and emphasizes economic and diplomatic measures over military ones.42

85. The ideological and political justifications for a restraint foreign policy are diverse and are raised by both realist conservatives and by pacifist progressive groups. It is possible to find in both the conservative and progressive dialogues similar lessons on the limitations of military force. There is a recognition of the rise of new regional and global powers, which are putting an end to America's international dominance. There is also a perception that the US is safe within its borders. Because of its nuclear power and its military strength, there is no significant military threat to the US. Both political parties agree that the Middle East has

42 Emma Ashford, Remaking America’s Broken Foreign Policy, Foreign Affairs, September October 2021
become less important to the US as a result of US energy independence. Therefore its military presence in the region should therefore be reduced or ended.

**Principles of the progressive ‘inclusive’ foreign policy in the Middle East**

86. Despite the current rare relative consensus in the US on the need for foreign policy restraint, there are unique principles in the way that the red-green alliance perceives the ideal foreign policy. The red-green foreign policy is a restraint foreign policy seasoned with the interpretation of global struggles. It is viewed through the prism of US identity politics, human rights and ideological principles of political Islam.

87. **The ‘inclusive’ approach to foreign policy.** Progressive groups often use the concept of ‘inclusive foreign policy’. This policy calls for the US to end its tolerance of its allies that allegedly violate human rights and to apply uniform universal standards on human rights violations on friends and foes alike. **The elements and principles of the inclusive foreign policy are:**

   - **Understanding the Middle East through American identity politics.** Progressives tend to interpret conflicts in the Middle East based on discourse categories of social struggles in the US. They see it as a dispute in which the privileged always oppress weaker groups, whether minorities or labor migrants.

   - **A universal utopian vision.** Inclusive foreign policy is based on the perception that despite difference in cultural, national and social values; universal truths and justice are the foundations of human interaction.

88. **Breaking the barriers between domestic and foreign policy.** The progressive outlook emphasizes examination of US foreign policy based on domestic policy and how foreign policy affects the American economy.

89. **Human rights and social justice are more important than security interests.** The progressive approach redefines national security considerations and tries to advance a policy

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43 The most prominent spokeswoman for a “universal foreign policy” is Congresswoman Ilhan Omar. Ilhan Omar, *We must apply our universal values to all nations. Only then will we achieve peace*, Washington Post, 17/3/2019


45 Omar, *Ibid*

46 Ganesh Sitraman, *The Emergence of Progressive Foreign Policy*, War on the Rocks, 15/4/2021
that will focus on human development rather than developing and fostering interstate relations based on security interests.

90. **Equity of outcomes approach towards international conflicts.** US support for various entities in conflict in the Middle East should prefer weaker parties over stronger ones. They believe that if one group is privileged or enjoys an advantage on another group, the logical conclusion is that the privileged group should bear the blame for the dispute and war crimes. In the last round of fighting between Israel and Gaza, the balance of victims to the detriment of the Palestinians is a clear indication for the progressive movement to blame Israel.

91. **Anti-Trumpism.** Although this element is ostensibly not ideological, the tendency to oppose every American position or measure during President Trump's term was given almost ideological standing. Examples include the widespread opposition of the progressive movement to the Trump led Abraham Accords between Israel and several Arab States, and Trump’s recognition of Jerusalem as Israel's capital.
The red-green foreign policy and the Middle Eastern game of thrones

92. With the accelerating US withdrawal from the Middle East, which began under President Barack Obama, there is an intensive competition for regional hegemony by three key parties with different ideological agendas. These parties are: 1) the Muslim Brotherhood axis, which is mainly led by Turkey\(^{47}\) and Qatar\(^{48}\); 2) the Shia axis led by Iran, which includes Hezbollah and loyal militias scattered throughout the Middle East, especially in Iraq, Yemen and Syria, and 3) the moderate Sunni Arab and pro-Western states, dominated by Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Egypt.

93. The red-green alliance’s impact on US policy in the region influences the balance of power between these axes. This has a strong effect on Israel's national security. It is not always possible to directly link the influence of progressive groups on the foreign policy of the Biden Administration. Nevertheless, it is unlikely to be a coincidence that several issues on the progressive movement's agenda have become part of US policy in the region. There is a strong congruence between the progressive foreign policy ideal for the region and the contemporary US policy in the region.

Moderate axis is perceived as comprising of rogue states

94. Among international human rights organizations there is sharp criticism of Middle Eastern countries that tend to brutally oppress popular protests, apply surveillance and suppress opponents of the government. Most of the criticism by these international organizations focuses on Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iran and Syria. Ahead of the upcoming World Cup in 2022, Qatar is drawing heavy fire because of its treatment of minorities and foreign workers in the country. The international criticism ignores the competition for regional hegemony at a time when all the countries in the region are the subject of sharp criticism.

95. The progressive movement in the US focuses its criticism almost exclusively on the moderate pro-Western states. The reason is the influence of American organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood, which have a hostile ideology towards the

\(^{47}\) For an excellent review of Turkey’s aims and considerations, see: Efraim Inbar, Eran Lerman, Hay Eytan Cohen Yanarocak: Turkey as a Major Challenge for Israel (and its Neighbors) in the 21st Century, Jerusalem Institute for Strategy and Security, 16/9/2020.

**moderate axis.** Activity and publications of organizations in the US identified with the Muslim Brotherhood⁴⁹ are free of any criticism of the policies of Turkey, Qatar, the government in western Libya and Muslim Brotherhood organizations in the Middle East. However, they have an intense agenda against Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Bahrain the United Arab Emirates, and of course Israel.⁵⁰

While there is no full overlap between the Administration’s position and the foreign policy ideal of the red-green alliance (for example, the Administration’s hard line against Turkey, which is not central to the red-green alliance’s agenda), it seems that US policy in the region is deeply influenced by the latter’s foreign policy outlook.

- **Saudi Arabia receives a cold shoulder.**⁵¹ The red-green alliance organizations and their leaders have marked Saudi Arabia as a target over its involvement in Yemen and the murder of journalist and government critic Jamal Khashoggi. They have done so in the name of a universal foreign policy (see above), and what looks like an orchestrated campaign with vigorous activity in Congress.⁵² Since President Biden assumed office, Saudi Crown Prince Mohammad Bin Salman has received a cold shoulder by the Administration.

- **The American decision to retract its definition of the Yemeni Houthis** – the Saudi's enemy and allies of Iran – **as a terrorist organization indicates a sharp change in the American approach towards its traditional ally. It allows the Iranian ring of fire around Israel to expand.** Recently, the Administration suspended the sale of precision arms to Saudi Arabia and removed an air defense battery that was positioned in the country following an Iranian attack on Aramco facilities in 2019. In light of the changing American attitude, Saudi Arabia has struggled to operate against the pro-Iranian Houthi rebels in Yemen. Iran has almost a free hand to complete the building of the Houthis’ kinetic capabilities, which are part of Iran's circle of fire against Israel.⁵³

- **The sale of American F-35s to the United Arab Emirates, which is perceived as part of the deal surrounding the Abraham Accords with Israel, is under long review.** In the eyes of the progressives the deal is fundamentally unacceptable. It

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⁴⁹ The first 100 days: Biden Harris Administration, CAIR.
⁵⁰ See, for example, the CAIR press release from 20/9/2021 which objects to arms sales to Saudi Arabia, Egypt, and the United Emirates, and condemns Egypt. See here
⁵¹ See, for example, an interview with Senator Chris Murphy, chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Near East, South Asia, Central Asia and Counterterrorism, who is considered on the leaders of the progressive foreign policy line, in a lethal criticism of Saudi Arabia, CSIS podcast, 10/8/2021.
⁵² Interview with Senator Chris Murphy, CSIS podcast, 10/8/2021
⁵³ Democratic Senators Bernie Sanders and Chris Murphy led measures in Congress to end American support for the Saudi war in Yemen, and were joined by Republican Senators Rand Paul and Mike Lee. Ashford, Ibid.
completely contravenes the trend to significantly reduce reliance on military power in the international arena, which only undermines regional stability.

- **Tough approach against Egypt.** The Administration decided to freeze 10% of the annual military aid to Egypt (approximately $130 million) as a criticism of human rights in the country and especially of its treatment of activists identified with the Muslim Brotherhood. The decision was the result of an ongoing campaign by progressive groups.54 The reduction was a compromise between the progressive wing, which initially sought to cut $300 million and the more centrist wing of the Democratic Party.55

- **The de-facto freezing of the Abraham Accords.** Progressive groups and Muslim Brotherhood organizations have criticized the peace agreements and normalization between Israel and Arab states. In the progressive discourse the Abraham Accords are described as sacrificing the Palestinian issue.56 The Accords are seen as agreements between totalitarian regimes. There have been calls by prominent Members of Congress for the Biden Administration to void the agreements.57 While the Abraham Accords have won formal support of both parties,58 the Administration has not advanced the normalization momentum between Israel and other Arab states, led by Saudi Arabia.

97. **In conclusion, the change in attitudes towards moderate pro-Western Arab states combined with the reduced American presence in the region effectively weakens the axis of pro-Western Arab states.** America is damaging the Gulf States’ sense of security against Iran. Gulf States are concerned about the American attempts to renew the nuclear agreement with Iran while it draws down its forces in the UAE, Bahrain and Qatar. The withdrawal from Iraq and Syria and the disorderly American retreat from Afghanistan continues to reverberate.

**Iran is not a real threat to the US**

98. **Iran’s human rights record should have made it a key target for progressive movements.** Iran denies women many rights, and homosexuals and government opponents are hanged. Iran supports and finances terrorist organizations throughout the Middle East and is involved

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55 See *Politico*, 13/9/2021, and Amos Harel in Haaretz, 15/9/2021. During the writing of this paper, US Secretary of State Antony Blinken has not exercised his veto to bypass the resolution, evidence of the growing power of the progressive wing.
57 Ilhan Omar calls on Biden to reverse Trump’s deals with the Middle East, Pressenza, 24/11/2020.
in international terrorism. Iran should be at the heart of the progressive campaign, which is based on protecting human rights and democratic values. Studies show that there is no enthusiasm for Iran among progressive groups, and embarrassingly, it is perceived in the same way as Israel.  

99. **The progressive movement and Islamist organizations are silent about Iran.** This silence is especially noticeable in comparison with their criticism of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates.

100. **A main reason is the US withdrawal from the nuclear deal with Iran.** The withdrawal conflicts with the liberal worldview which is based on faith in the international order and international law. US attempts to renew the nuclear deal certainly encourage restraint among those who might criticize human rights in Iran. Yet the silence towards recalcitrant countries like Iran could be depicted as unreasonable if the ideological and political positions of the red-green alliance are not considered.

101. **Notwithstanding the historic and ideological hostility between Shia and Sunni Islam, there is an ideological affiliation between the Muslim Brotherhood and Iran.** Relations between Shia groups in Iran and the Muslim Brotherhood began in 1940. It was Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei who first contributed to the distribution of the book of Muslim Brotherhood founder Sayid Qutb. Iran issued a commemoration stamp for him in 1984. In recent years, Sunni political Islam groups and Shia groups have held dialogues and cooperated on overlapping interests, one of which is their support for Hamas. The détente between Sunni political Islam and Iran's Shias is also seen in the agenda of groups identified with the Muslim Brotherhood in the West. Iran is not on this agenda.

102. **Positions expressed by progressive leaders and even Members of Congress indicate that they do not perceive Iran as a threat to US national security.**

103. **Ignoring Iran's ring of fire around Israel.** Iran and its proxies continue to be the greatest regional threat to Israel. Iran is investing heavily to encircle Israel with a ring of tens of thousands of missiles. This ring is in a geographical space that spreads from Iran and Yemen to the Gaza Strip, and through Iraq, Lebanon and Syria. Nonetheless, Senator Chris Murphy, chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Near East, South Asia, Central Asia

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59 Laura Royden and Eitan Hersh, The Young American Left and Attitudes about Israel, 9/6/2021.
61 See, for example, an interview with Senator Chris Murphy, chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Near East, South Asia, Central Asia and Counterterrorism, who is considered on the leaders of the progressive foreign policy line, in a lethal criticism of Saudi Arabia, CSIS podcast, 10/8/2021.
62 Eran Shayshon, Adi Levy, Alex Grinberg, Middle Eastern Game of Thrones, Reut Institute, 14/10/2020.
and Counterterrorism, who is considered one of the prominent leaders of the progressive foreign policy line, declared that Iranian missiles are not targeting Israel. He ignores the 150,000 missiles of Hezbollah, which already target Israel, while describing Hezbollah as a legitimate Lebanese actor. 63

104. While Iran is not on the red-green alliance’s agenda, the progressive movement and Islamists accept the strengthening of Iran and its regional proxies as an acceptable biproduct from the weakening of moderate Arab states.

The red-green foreign policy and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

105. The US and Israel have a ‘special relationship’ supported by both the Democrats and Republicans. Diplomatic, defense, and economic cooperation is derived from this relationship. The special relationship with the US has become one of the pillars of Israel's national security. There are diverse reasons and motives for it, including shared values, interests and the work of the US Jewish community. The Jewish-Israeli erasure in the progressive discourse is challenging these special relations. While it has not had real success at the state level, it does dramatically change the dialogue around Israel.

Only a marginal effect on US approach towards Israel

106. Israel has become a wedge issue between the progressive and centrist wings of the Democratic Party and a source of power struggles in the Biden Administration. Many in the progressive movement criticize American foreign policy for not treating Israel as a ‘rogue state’ in the way that the progressive discourse depicts it.

107. While the Biden Administration is committed to the special relationship with Israel and to the latter’s security, the influence of the progressives on the Administration’s policy remains marginal. The Biden Administration is providing Israel with extensive support, even though the position of Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett on the Palestinian question is more hardline than that of former Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Israel earned broad credit from the Administration during Operation Guardian of the Walls in Gaza. This is in spite of the critical discourse against Israel that entered the centrist stream of the Democratic

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63 Senator Chris Murphy, chairman of Senate Foreign Relations Subcommittee on Near East, South Asia, Central Asia and Counterterrorism, declared that he does not see Iran as a direct threat to the US. He claims that Iranian missiles are not targeting Israel, describes Hezbollah as a legitimate Lebanese actor and believes that support for Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates only perpetuates the conflict. See the CSIS podcast, 10/8/2021.
Party during the campaign. It seems that the Biden Administration was determined to open a new page between the countries following the acrimonious relations between Netanyahu and two Democratic presidents. 64

108. The pressure of the progressive wing of the Democratic Party has only been able to tactically undermine Israel's relations with the US. Even though the $1 billion in US financing to renew the inventory of Iron Dome missile interceptors was delayed for only 24 hours, the incident is likely to be remembered as a critical turning point in US-Israeli relations. Representatives Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez, Ilhan Omar and Rashida Tlaib are particularly identified with the measure. That incident could provide an opening to future challenges to Israel's national security.

109. The perception that the road to Washington passes through Jerusalem still holds sway in the Middle East. Stereotypes of the power, money and influence of the American Jewish community have turned Israel into an object of diplomatic courtship and contributed to the creation of the image of Israeli power. Foreign leaders court Jerusalem. 65 The image of Israeli power among its friends and foes in the Middle East is derived from the special relationship with the US, which is still of great importance in the Middle East. 66

The Jewish-Israeli erasure is changing the public discourse about Israel

110. The progressive discourse frames the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a conflict between the white privileged oppressor and the brown oppressed Palestinians. Israel is depicted in the progressive discourse as an ethnonationalist project and inherently racist. The country was born in sin and intersectional social groups should oppose it. 67 The progressive discourse effectively undermines the legitimacy of Jews to identify with Israel or define themselves as Zionists. Many progressive movements and organizations accept Jews on the condition that they reject Israel and Zionism.

111. The progressive discourse neutralizes pro-Israel voices in the US. One of the factors that made the special relationship between the US and Israel possible was the political capital of American Jewish communal organizations. But such organizations can only claim that they

64 Amos Harel, Haaretz, 28/8/21.
66 At a meeting between Israeli Prime Minister Naftali Bennett and Egyptian President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, Egypt went out its way to welcome Bennett. The general explanation was that Egypt expects Israel to act in Washington against the cut in the annual US aid to Egypt. See Calcalist, 14/9/2021.
represent the Jewish community on issues for which there is a community consensus. The progressive discourse undermines the unity of the Jewish community. It harms the community’s ability to achieve such a consensus especially on disputed subjects. The progressive discourse therefore undermines pro-Israel voices.

112. **In the name of inclusive foreign policy, the progressive movement calls for the cancellation of the special relationship.**\(^{68}\) This includes returning the American Embassy to Tel Aviv; putting IDF officers and Israeli leaders on trial at the International Court of Justice in the Hague;\(^{69}\) stopping arms sales to Israel;\(^{70}\) and ending the annual US aid to Israel.\(^{71}\) Many progressives consider Israeli settlements in Judea and Samaria as violations of international law. It is also possible to find opinions in the progressive movement supporting the two-state solution as well as a one-state solution.

113. The dichotomies of the progressive discourse do not allow an understanding of the exclusive geopolitical circumstances or the complexities and uniqueness of Israel in the region. The erasure in the progressive discourse expropriates the Jewish narrative from Jews. It rejects their legitimacy to express their vulnerabilities and undermines their ability to ensure their security.

114. **The fighting in Gaza during Operation Guardian of the Walls brought these processes to a peak.** The progressive discourse during the escalation prominently framed Israel as a white oppressive state. It compared the structural discrimination from which African Americans suffer to the struggle of the Palestinians. This framework intensifies the impact

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\(^{68}\) Omar, *Ibid*


\(^{70}\) This trend peaked during the last round of fighting in the form of an explicit challenge against American support for Israel and of the “special relationship between Israel and the US”. This relationship has become one of the pillars of Israel's national defense concept. The foreign policy of President Biden was attacked, because it ostensibly exempts Israel and does not impose on it the same values and human rights that it applies in other conflicts. See the declaration published by 140 progressive groups calling on the Biden Administration to condemn the Israeli government on the grounds that “the Biden Administration said that it will respect human rights around the world and that Israel is not exception”. On the subject of US aid to Israel, see *Representative Betty McCollum*: “By treating Israel differently than any other country receiving U.S. assistance, the U.S. is effectively giving a green light to Israel to demolish Palestinian homes and annex Palestinian land for Jewish settlements.”. See also an op-ed by Senator Bernie Sanders in *The New York Times*, which calls for an immediate cease-fire in the Middle East and adopting an “impartial approach”. Conversely, see the arguments of Secretary of State Antony Blinken against the idea of comparison between terrorist organizations that fire rockets and Israel's defense measures against those rockets, *here*.

\(^{71}\) For example, *here*, and Senator Bernie Sanders calling for a cease-fire, and in the same *tweet*, “We must also take a hard look at nearly $4 billion a year in military aid to Israel. It is illegal for U.S. aid to support human rights violations”. It should be noted that commentaries frequently frame US aid to Israel as appropriating investment that should be in the American people. For example, see the claim that US aid to Israel comes at the expense of aid for Africa Americans *here*, and Nicholas Kristof in his op-ed *column* in *The New York Times*, entitled, “What your taxes are paying for in Israel.”
among progressive groups of the comparison by anti-Zionist groups of Israel to the former regime of apartheid in South Africa.

**Hamas is the big winner of the red-green foreign policy**

115. **Hamas should also be a target of progressive criticism.** Both the US and the EU classify Hamas a terrorist organization. Hamas was established as the Gaza branch of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and it has a vision to establish a religious Islamic state throughout ‘historic Palestine.’ Hamas presents a radical-religious agenda for the Palestinian national struggle. It rejects the right of the Jewish people to self-determination, and it does not recognize Israel. Hamas uses terror to achieve its objectives, persecutes homosexuals and discriminates against women. The progressive movement actively supports Hamas even at the expense of more liberal Palestinian factions.

116. **As part of the establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe, organizations identified with Hamas are at the forefront, alongside progressive organizations, in anti-Israel campaigns.** The establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe and the roles played there by organizations identified with Hamas have resulted in the Hamas narrative being adopted by radical left groups. Hamas has effectively become a loyal representative of the Palestinian people in these groups’ eyes.

117. **Sympathy for Hamas plays an important role in the progressive movement’s hostility towards the Palestinian Authority.** Hamas’ narrative against the Palestinian Authority has been adopted by broad progressive audiences. Many progressives consider the Palestinian Authority to be the creation of the Oslo process between the PLO and Israel. They, therefore, describe the PA as a subcontractor of the Israeli occupation. While violent responses of the Palestinian Authority against human rights activists result in a wave of condemnation by the left, progressives are indifferent towards similar offenses by Hamas.

118. **The paradox of Operation Guardian of the Walls: Progressive support radical Hamas in its domestic struggle against ‘moderate’ Fatah.** Following the cancellation of the Palestinian Authority elections by President Mahmoud Abbas, Hamas turned Jerusalem into the key cause for opening a campaign against Israel. Hamas did this to position itself as an...

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72 The EU classifies Hamas as a terrorist organization. It operates unofficially in Europe through the extensive use of the infrastructures of organizations and movements in Europe unofficially identified with the Muslim Brotherhood. See: The Reut Institute, The Gaza Flotilla: A Collapse of Israeli’s Firewall, 15/8/2010.

73 Building a Political Firewall against the Assault on Israel’s Legitimacy: London as a case Study, The Reut Institute, November 2019.

74 Somdeep Sen, Al Jazeera, 6/8/2021, and also Yara Hawari, Al Jazeera, 14/7/2021

75 For example, see the tweet in this spirit by Representative Cori Bush; [https://twitter.com/CoriBush/status/1429849291061874689](https://twitter.com/CoriBush/status/1429849291061874689)
alternative to the PLO and Palestinian Authority that are controlled by Fatah. Operation Guardian of the Walls was an attempt by Hamas to domestically challenge: 1) the dominance of Fatah in the Palestinian movement; 2) and the two-state solution that Fatah, justifiably or not, is identified with.

However, during Operation Guardian of the Walls, the red-green alliance was drafted by Hamas to help change the discourse. It was also used to help Hamas’ position both domestically and internationally as the legitimate representative of the Palestinians. During the campaign, the criticism of Israel reached a peak and penetrated the mainstream Democratic Party. This occurred even though Hamas was the party that clearly initiated the confrontation by firing missiles at Israeli population centers.
PRINCIPLES to COUNTER THE
ISRAELI-JEWISH ERASURE AND
THE RED-GREEN ALLIANCE
The Goal: A critical mass to challenge the discourse

119. **One should not foster vain expectations about the Jewish community's openness to challenging Jewish-Israeli erasure in the progressive discourse.** The contemporary Jewish community is politically, socially, and organizationally polarized. There is a proliferation of non-establishment organizations. The degree to which the Jewish establishment represents the community has diminished. The Jewish community does not speak in one voice and therefore cannot effectively mobilize and recruit in favor of common objectives – to the extent they exist. The Jewish community cannot muster widespread support as it has in the past, such as the mobilization for the release of Prisoners of Zion in the Soviet Union in the 1970s.

120. **The key to effectively challenging Jewish erasure in the current progressive discourse lies in recruiting a critical mass of organizations and leaders to implement a common understanding of the challenges and put forth a unifying vision to drive change in Jewish communities.** Critical mass does not mean total recruitment; it is possible to motivate various organizations of different kinds to reach the threshold needed to create the necessary momentum.

121. **The Reut Institute proposes that this critical mass should comprise 1) the Jewish establishment; 2) community relations organizations; 3) non-establishment center and left organizations; 4) emerging communities (beginning with the Israeli, Russian, and Jews of Color communities); and 5) Jewish philanthropy.** The following recommendations are directed to these bodies.

Create a ‘Coalition of the Erased’ based on Counter-Intersectionality

122. **Coalition of the Erased** is Reut’s suggested strategy to counter the practice of both Jewish-Israeli erasure in the current progressive discourse and white supremacist practices, based on diverse partnerships with other groups and minorities. The coalition of the erased is based on the conceptual framework of counter-intersectionality.

123. **Counter-intersectionality** emphasizes the large similarity and overlap among different kinds of bias and prejudice, which is the result of the current progressive discourse’s failure to capture the lived experience of vulnerable minority groups.
The binary nature of progressive discourse categorizes social groups exclusively based on skin color and socioeconomic status while rejecting communal exceptionalism and particularism in favor of a universalistic paradigm.

The progressive categorization guides how societal groups are viewed, and often fails to capture the lived experience and narratives of, e.g., Asian-Pacific Islanders and moderate Muslims. Exploiting the opportunities created by the Abraham Accords and engaging with moderate Muslim is particularly important.

Leverage the Abraham Accords vs. the Red-Green Alliance

124. Israel's peace agreements with the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, and Morocco could potentially impact the ability of the Jewish community to deal with the growing impact of organizations identified with the Muslim Brotherhood. Even though Israel's normalization momentum in the region has slowed since the Biden Administration took office, Israel's standing in the Middle East has been irreversibly upgraded to the point of being a member of the bloc of moderate Arab states. These agreements, coupled with the deep relations Israel has with moderate Muslim countries including Azerbaijan and Kosovo, undermine the branding of Israel in the progressive discourse as a foreign seed or colonial enterprise in the Middle East.

125. Parties to the Abraham Accords and pro-Israel organizations share a common interest in containing the influence of the red-green alliance in Washington. Preventing the alliance from promoting its Middle East agenda is particularly important.

126. Thus, the Abraham Accords present an opportunity to generate a new form of grassroots activism and alliances led by moderate Muslims and pro-Israel groups against the red-green alliance – initial cooperation between pro-Israel activists and organizations affiliated with the Abraham Accords states and more moderate streams of Islam are already apparent and are working to turn diplomatic achievement into people-to-people connections. 76

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76 The diplomatic relations yield strong economic ties, while think tanks and research institutes from the Gulf, such as Derasat from the Kingdom of Bahrain and Trends from the UAE, are creating powerful connections with Israeli institutions. Grassroots organizations such as Sharaka, (A peace-startup founded by young leaders from Israel and the Arab States that are side to the Abraham Accords, that works to translate the accords on a people-to-people level. Sharaka organizes joint initiatives, projects, delegations and dialogues. See in: https://sharakango.com/about-us/ (Accessed 2 February 2022), Israel-is (A Non-profit that connects young Israeli with “the world” including in Bahrain, UAE and Morocco. See in: https://www.israel-is.org/en/ (Accessed 2 February 2022),) and Association Mimouna (A Moroccan association that strives to preserve and promote the history of Morocco's ancient Jewish community. See in https://mimouna.org/ (Accessed 2 February 2022).)
127. **Whether it is possible to coordinate with the Abraham Accords states’ lobbying and public relations efforts is important to ascertain.** This can reignite the normalization momentum in the Middle East and strengthen moderate Arab states against extremist groups in the region. The United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Egypt, and Saudi Arabia all openly employ lobbying and public relations firms in Washington. However, there is no joint activity with Jewish communities on renewing Israel's normalization momentum in the region.

128. **There is currently no attempt to challenge the Turkish and Qatari diplomatic platforms that leverage organizations in the US identified with the Muslim Brotherhood.** Building such a political center (see above) may bypass the Muslim Brotherhood and allow direct communication to the Muslim silent majority. Muslim Brotherhood organizations represent Muslims in the eyes of many authorities, even though most American Muslims do not identify with the movement. This population tends to be more conservative and has reservations about the red-green alliance’s agenda, and could be part of the new center.

129. **Charging the legitimacy battery and creating common Tikkun Olam projects.** The Abraham Accords have created an opportunity to generate joint projects on college campuses, social platforms of the Arab Abraham Accords states and Israel, or within local Jewish communities. Tikkun Olam projects help create responses to global challenges, including those at the top of the agenda of current progressive movements.

### The Battle of Ideas

130. The key to addressing the erasure and the red-green alliance is anchored in the ability of Jewish leadership to create a shared comprehension of the challenge.

### Focus on the Jewish erasure in the progressive discourse, not on the progressive movement

131. **The entire Jewish establishment and Jewish community organizations must vigorously and broadly organize against Jewish-Israeli erasure in the progressive discourse.** Many Jewish communal organizations are confused by the threat’s nebulous definition. They sometimes consciously choose to ignore it and focus exclusively only on challenges around which there is broad consensus, such as the struggle against traditional antisemitism.

132. **It is necessary to reassess the practice that requires building consensus as a condition for acting on core community issues.** Support for Israel and Jewish-Israeli erasure in the progressive discourse are two subjects for which no broad consensus can exist as it has in the
past, but reality demands the Jewish establishment act on these issues. This includes lobby groups, communal organizations, and community relations organizations which can act only on issues for which there is a very broad consensus.

133. **The Jewish establishment can and must focus its struggle against Jewish-Israeli erasure in the progressive discourse and not against the entire progressive movement.** There is a link between patterns of activity and the progressive discourse as a whole and the Jewish-Israeli erasure. But the differences in defining the challenge have significant consequences on the chances of success and of harnessing the Jewish community as a whole.

134. **Going against the progressive movement is politically fraught and bitterly divisive in the Jewish community.** Conversely, going against Jewish-Israeli erasure only speaks the political language of identity politics and can be an issue around which broad coalitions can be built, including progressive Jewish bodies.

**Reexamine Jewish separatism against antisemitism**

135. **The separatist approach against antisemitism.** The traditional approach of the US Jewish establishment and of Israel held that:

   a. Antisemitism is a unique kind of hate and racism
   b. Antisemitism has an unprecedented historic price as reflected in the Holocaust
   c. The Holocaust requires separate treatment as if it were a unique phenomenon that is unrelated to other atrocities in human history
   d. Any comparisons of the Holocaust to other acts of horror cheapens the Holocaust and turns the Holocaust into one event among many, thus rendering its unique atrocity far less unusual.

When Israeli Foreign Minister Yair Lapid described antisemitism as a kind of racism during the Global Forum for Combatting Antisemitism and US Secretary of State Anthony Blinken linked the Holocaust with other expressions of hatred (racism, sexism, homophobia, and xenophobia), they were sharply criticized for daring to undermine the isolationist approach to antisemitism.

136. **The separatist approach makes it difficult for Jews to find the allies they need to combat antisemitism.** While other disadvantaged populations have managed to make common cause

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77 The remarks appear in a message sent by US Secretary of State Antony Blinken to Department of State employees on 27/7/2021.

78 See these arguments in an article in response to a speech by Israeli Foreign Minister Yair Lapid, Yehuda Bauer, Haaretz, 16/9/2021.
around their struggles, the isolationist approach excludes the Jewish community from the coalition of minorities. Jewish separatism provides at least a partial explanation of why Jewish communities have “lost the American street” and their place in the American left. This exclusion explains why Jews have almost lost the “right” to talk about antisemitism in the American left. Moreover, Jewish separatism limits the discourse on antisemitism and the Holocaust to the Jewish community, thereby greatly limiting its exposure to other discriminated populations. What’s more, Jewish separatism is sometimes perceived as privileged arrogance by progressive groups.

137. **Traditional Jewish separatism has turned antisemitism into a sacred cow worthy of slaughter in the eyes of radical progressive groups.** In recent years, there has been deliberate generalization of antisemitism as a kind of xenophobia by progressive groups. This defies and diminishes the discourse on the unique characteristics of antisemitism. Such attempts to redefine antisemitism expropriate the concept of antisemitism from the Jewish community. One of the great absurdities in this context is the attempt to legitimize school curricula that focus on “counter perspectives” of the Holocaust.79

138. **A new proactive approach is needed, one that places at its center a partnership with other groups in society that are dealing with xenophobia, discrimination, hate, and racism.** Such engagement would help promote Jewish identity, empathy, and the experiences and historic lessons of the struggle against antisemitism as the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) defines it. Paradoxically, this approach may better convey the uniqueness of the Holocaust and racism against Jews, which in turn may facilitate recognition by liberal and progressive groups. It is possible that such an approach will also establish a basis for cooperation with moderate Muslim communities in the US, which may be a counterweight to Muslim Brotherhood organizations in the US.

### Communal Cohesion & Identity

**Rebuild a cohesive center based on peoplehood**

139. **The Jewish struggle against the Jewish-Israeli erasure requires rebooting Jewish politics and focusing on building a political and social center.**80 The distress in which Jews feel between the hammer of right-wing antisemitism and the anvil of left-wing antisemitism

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79 Independent, October 15th, 2021
80 David Bernstein, A Strategic Reset for Jewish Community Relation and Avocacy, eJP, 18/10/2021; and Steven Windmueller interviewed by David Bernstein, Episode 30, of Speechcast.
gives them an opportunity to lead the rebuilding of the discourse in the center of the political and cultural map.

140. **The framework of Peoplehood should be leveraged as part of a broader effort to turn the crisis into an opportunity for Jewish renewal.** The identity challenge that the Jewish-Israeli erasure in the progressive discourse creates is also an opportunity to promote a reexamination of the collective Jewish identity. It can strengthen the perception that Jews in Israel and the US are a people.

141. **Even though the “peoplehood paradigm” is not intuitive for many Israeli and American Jews, it has real potential for effectively building the political-social center and strengthening Jewish identity.** It may be that the war in Ukraine has been regenerating a sense Jewish solidarity (Arvut Hadadit) as millions of dollars are raised for humanitarian aid.

142. **Targeted activity against Jewish-Israeli erasure speaks the language of identity politics and undermines the framing of Jews as whites and privileged.**

143. **Rebuilding the center could serve as a platform to reach many young Jews who are alienated from Israel.** A platform of this kind could help create coalitions that constructively debate disputed issues. In the current reality, there is almost a complete disconnect between the Jewish right and left, and between many young Jews and the Jewish establishment. Such platforms are critical for Jewish political and cultural activity.

**Integrating reserves: Engage emerging communities**

144. **There are several distinct communities whose structures are not connected to the Jewish establishment. Their attitudes towards Israel are based on and influenced by unique experiences.** Among others, these groups include:

- **Israeli Americans**, who in recent years have undergone social, political and organizational processes that increased their involvement and political capital.

- **Russian-speaking Jews** have seen a rise of a new and young echelon of activists, intellectuals, and philanthropists. This community usually has a strong pro-Israel agenda. This rise in the Russian-speaking Jewish community is likely a result of a common perception within this constituency that the Jewish-Israeli erasure stemming

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82 The Israeli American Council (IAC), which was established just a few years ago as a local organization in Los Angeles, has rapidly become a national organization. In addition to this organization, the Israeli diaspora has undergone an unprecedented process of establishment and organization both in the US and around the world. On the Israeli ex-pat community see The Reut Institute, *Engaging the Israeli Diaspora: Toronto as a Case Study*, May 2013.

from the progressive discourse is similar to attempts to eliminate Jewish identity by the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union.

- **Jews of color** - This emerging category of identification could play an important role in an era where the Jewish experience is also shaped by the racial paradigm in America. The Jewish community needs to acknowledge its diversity and reflect it in its institutions and leadership. This could help the Jewish community to build coalitions with non-Jewish communities and facilitate robust and nuanced conversation, internally and externally.

145. **These communities exhibit growth potential for becoming political, economic, social and cultural assets.** Jewish communities acknowledge that these communities could strengthen Jewish “peoplehood” and contribute to strengthening Jewish identity in the Diaspora.

Eradicate Ignorance: Every Kid Deserves a Jewish Education

146. **The broad Jewish internalization of the progressive framework of Jews as whites and privileged is the result of ignorance and stemming from the long failure of the American Jewish community to provide inclusive Jewish frameworks** - Jewish educational frameworks have become the central vehicle towards building Jewish identity amongst world Jewry. However, the reality is that many young Jews do not receive Jewish education they find it too expensive or unattractive. Moreover, because there is no standardization within Jewish education it is no panacea.

147. **The Jewish community must find ways to bolster knowledge about who the Jewish people are**, by encouraging debate and teaching about the diversity of the Jewish people. Jewish education should not center progressive lenses that define diversity almost exclusively by skin color and socioeconomic status.

Harnessing liberal progressive groups in the struggle against the Jewish erasure

148. **Many progressive organizations perceive criticism of Jewish-Israeli erasure as an attack on the progressive movement as a whole – a movement to which they proudly belong.** Therefore, willingness of progressive Jewish organizations to go against Jewish-Israeli erasure within the progressive discourse has been negligible and usually local.

149. **At the same time, liberal and progressive voices in the Jewish community are in the best position to challenge Jewish-Israeli erasure in the progressive discourse.** There is a need to embrace the paradox that the credibility of liberal and progressive voices against erasure
often stems from criticism of Israel’s policies or of mainstream Jewish organizations. Despite the challenges of doing so, the potential return on investment makes the effort to engage liberal and progressive circles against the erasure an effort worthwhile. **There is a golden opportunity to leverage Jewish social and political involvement as many Jews have directly experienced left-wing antisemitism for the first time recently.**

Harnessing progressive Jewish organizations to confront Jewish erasure is challenging because of their perception that by speaking up they become complicit in helping Israel evade discussion about its policies toward the Palestinians. For too many, criticism of Israel is largely the reason for their professional-organizational existence.

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84 For example, David Bernstein, founder, The Jewish Institute for Liberal Values, argues that the attempt to harness progressives has failed and that the Jewish community should focus on building the center. Bernstein, Ibid.
Appendix: Lexicon

(Terms in blue are terms that the Reut Institute coined)

**Coalition of the erased & Counter Intersectionality**

**Coalition of the Erased** is Reut’s suggested strategy to counter the practice of both Jewish-Israel erasure in the current progressive discourse and white supremacist practices, based on diverse partnerships with other groups and minorities who are threatened by these threats. The coalition of the erased is based on the conceptual framework of counter intersectionality.

**Counter intersectionality** emphasizes the large similarity and overlap between different kinds of bias and prejudice against certain groups and minorities, which are the result of the failure of the current progressive discourse to capture their lived experience.

The progressive categorization guides how societal groups are viewed, and often fails to capture the lived experience and narratives of, e.g., Asian-Pacific Islanders and moderate Muslims who are threatened by the universalistic outlook of the progressive discourse.

**Critical mass to challenge the Jewish-Israeli erasure**

This is how the Reut Institute defines the goal of the current effort against the Jewish-Israeli erasure in the progressive discourse:

The emergence of a loose cooperation and coordination between a few dozen Jewish and pro-Israel organizations that would publicly challenge the Jewish-Israeli erasure in a way that would meet the necessary threshold to change it.

A ‘critical mass’ does not mean total mobilization but may only include dozens of organizations that have a common understanding of the challenge and a galvanizing vision that unites the drive to change. This includes: the Jewish establishment, community relations organizations, liberal progressive organizations, philanthropy and emerging communities (beginning with Israeli and Russian speaking Jews).

**Inclusive foreign policy**

An approach that calls to apply equal standards for friends and foes in the US foreign policy. At the heart of this call is a criticism of the traditional conduct of the US that accepts the violation of human rights of some of its allies. In the name of this approach, the red-green alliance calls for the US
to sever ties with some of its Middle Eastern allies, including Egypt, UAE, Saudi Arabia and Israel.

**Intersectionality**
Intersectionality is a concept coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw with respect to the feminist struggle for gender equality. It emphasizes the large similarity and overlap between different kinds of oppression of disadvantaged groups and minorities, which are discriminated against based on race, religion, gender, culture and society. This academic theory turned into an organizing logic that is translated into cooperation, support and solidarity between disadvantaged groups and minorities in the US against the perceived systemic oppression.

**The Jewish-Israeli erasure in the progressive discourse**
The way the current progressive discourse *de-facto* undermines the right of Jews to self-determine their identity, values, narrative, vulnerability and discrimination, as well as their relations with Israel. The phenomenon of erasure is not necessarily based on hate but is a result of the binary structure of the progressive discourse. This discourse categorizes Jews as white, privileged, and oppressors and Israel as a white European colonial state.

**The Jewish separatist approach to antisemitism**
The US Jewish establishment and Israel's traditional approach held that antisemitism is a unique kind of hate and racism that is dissimilar to any other kind of hate, especially considering its terrible consequences as expressed in the Holocaust. Therefore, antisemitism should not be compared or bundled with any other kind of hate. Criticism of this approach focuses on the difficulties it imposes for Jews to find allies who may suffer from different forms of xenophobia to combat antisemitism.

**Lambertism**
Lambertism is a security concept that emphasizes the importance of ties of law enforcement authorities with bodies identified with political Islam. It is a means to restrain the influence of radical Salafi Muslim streams, such as al Qaeda and ISIS. This concept was developed in the UK and influences the approach of various countries. The doctrine is named after British police officer Robert Lambert, who headed the unit that managed contacts with the Muslim community.

**Political Islam/Islamism**
A modern political ideology that emerged as a reaction to the secularization of Middle East states by fundamentalist Islamic parties or movements. They attribute to Islam a political role. Their guiding vision is to reshape the state in accordance with Sharia (Islamic religious law). Political Islam
demonstrates pragmatism in advancing its goals through a willingness to participate in the rules of the political systems in different countries (as oppose to undermining them or proposing an alternative). The Muslim Brotherhood movement is considered one of the most organized and influential forces of political Islam.

| **Progressivization of the Muslim Brotherhood** | A phenomenon in which organizations and leaders in the US identified with the fundamentalist Muslim Brotherhood movement are perceived and are becoming an integral part of the array identified with the progressive movement. The process has accelerated with the rising framework of intersectionality. |
| **Red-green foreign policy** | An ensemble of ideas that are beginning to be formulated into a coherent perception with respect to an ideal US foreign policy. This approach rests on the American tradition of commitment to liberal democratic values and human rights. It also includes rigid ideological elements that are based on the political struggles of progressive movements in the US and those of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East. While this approach is not the dominant approach of the current Administration, its influence on in Washington is growing. It is mostly identified with the rising progressive wing in the Democratic Party. This approach challenges US foreign policy patterns in the Middle East and US relations with its traditional allies in the region, including with Israel. |
| **‘Restraint’ foreign policy** | A concept that is becoming a consensus in Washington on the need to dramatically reduce US military presence in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world. This approach is less keen to actively intervene in world affairs, instead emphasizing the importance of diplomatic and economic measures over military ones. |