

## CONTEMPORARY CRITICAL JEWISH STUDIES

# **BDS, Credibility, and the Challenge to the Academy**

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### ABSTRACT

In this article Rachel S. Harris and Martin B. Shichtman consider the ways in which the presentation of BDS has undermined traditional expectations of scholarly research—including factual accuracy, knowledge of the regional languages, the reliability of sources, or situating the work within a wider analytical discourse outside of activist writings. In this way it is destroying the credibility of the Humanities. In addition, we consider the ways in which BDS has fostered public displays of antisemitism and evaluate the long-term harm the movement is causing to the academy.

*Keywords:* BDS, academia, anti-Zionism, antisemitism, Israel, academic freedom, campus climate, Modern Language Association (MLA)

In January 2017, at its annual conference, the Modern Language Association (MLA) hosted a town hall-style debate on the merits of the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement and whether to pass a resolution in support of it. With more than 24,000 members, MLA is the largest professional organization of humanities scholars, and, because of its importance, was determined a critical battleground for BDS activists.<sup>1</sup> Members not present at the Philadelphia convention could listen to a live podcast of comments made by audience members, who lined up at microphones to express their opinions. A large screen displayed the short, real-time comments of MLA members not in the room. These projected comments exposed many of the ethical issues that faculty face in engaging in the boycott movement.

Supporters of the boycott resolution argued that the academy in Israel reinforces the military-industrial complex; one commentator's criticism accused the Hebrew University of aiding and abetting the occupation because: "The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel's premier university, runs a School of Military Medicine for the Israeli military. The military's only active deployment is enforcing the illegal occupation of Palestinian land."<sup>2</sup> Defenders of the boycott resolution also stressed that it is necessary to privilege Palestinian rights over Israeli rights; one insisted, "I fully endorse the boycott of Israeli academic institutions in support of academic freedom and the right to education in Palestine." But a number of other scholars argued that the discussion of BDS was part of a larger threat to the humanities: "The relentless politicization of our field is a national poison killing the humanities as a serious discipline for young scholars and students at the expense of the follies, like this Israeli boycott, of an out-of-touch privileged elite." Several in direct opposition to the BDS movement stressed that an academic boycott not only undermined critical voices within Israeli society, but that American academics would certainly fail a comparable litmus test: a boycott "would stifle academic freedom and harm those very centers of free speech and critique that remain in Israel. ... Who in this room would like their own home institution to be held responsible for the actions of the incoming American government?!" For many there was an overriding sense that a boycott undermined the very values of the profession: "scholars and teachers should promote scholarly dialogue and cooperation between Palestinians, Israelis, Americans, and colleagues around the world."

The Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (PACBI), a branch of the larger BDS movement, has become a flash point on university campuses, among student groups, and in professional associations in recent years. The history of the movement in Europe, and particularly the United Kingdom, is much longer and even predates the official formation of the BDS movement in the early 2000s.<sup>3</sup> The nature and function of BDS, and particularly PACBI, raises critical questions for scholars who address such fundamental academic

values as free speech, academic freedom, discrimination, and the role of activism within the academy. At academic conferences, panels masquerading as intellectual inquiry have brought together papers supporting BDS positions that use activist language and eschew the traditional expectations of scholarly research, including factual accuracy, knowledge of the regional languages, the reliability of sources, or situating the work within a wider analytical discourse outside of activist writings. BDS has created a very slippery slope between criticism of the Israeli government's actions and policies, questions about whether Israel has a right to exist, and, ultimately, public displays of antisemitism. Through its methods on campus, the materials it disseminates, and its behavior within academic organizations, PACBI is undermining the values and structures of academia, thereby causing long-term damage to the credibility of the humanities and institutional infrastructures more broadly.

Those who defend BDS, especially in the academic context, claim that the movement represents the only peaceful and nonviolent response for opposing the Israeli/Palestinian conflict.<sup>4</sup> Such assertions imply that the alternative is violent response; they erase other peaceful acts of protest, such as the establishment of collaborative projects between Jewish and Arab parties including research and intellectual exchange (which BDS views as normalization of relations between Israelis and Palestinians; the movement not only rejects these activities but actively works to disrupt them). BDS judges those in opposition to its methods as supportive of Palestinian oppression.

Among scholars who identify as leftist or progressive and connect advocacy of Palestinian rights with boycotting Israeli universities, a new cry has emerged that identifies liberal-minded Jews as “PEP—Progressive Except for Palestine.”<sup>5</sup> With this strategy, BDS discourages any favorable expression toward Israel, and European and American Jews who fail to identify with the boycott movement are judged hypocrites in whatever other liberal positions they may hold. Thus Zionist leftists who care about LGBTQ issues and highlight Israel's positive record in the region toward gay inclusivity are accused of “pinkwashing”; acts to protect the environment, conserve water, and desalinate land

by environmentally concerned leftist Zionists are “greenwashing.” As this discourse has spread, it has led to attacks on Jews, thereby blurring the line between Israel, Israelis, or Israeli policies, and Jews more generally.<sup>6</sup>

Patterns of abuse that have emerged as a result of PACBI and BDS have done damage to the left and to academia. By sheltering avowed antisemites, by allowing discrimination based on national origin, by demanding political litmus tests, and by bringing the profession into disrepute through suspect claims based on spurious evidence, activists have painted themselves as radical leftists who disregard social and academic norms, and they have thereby undermined their efforts at pressuring the Israeli government since they are viewed as an extremist and uncompromising fringe. Moreover, they have damaged the academic establishment by opening up the profession to ridicule and showing the fungibility of academic standards of research, integrity, and scholarly enquiry.

Examples from the United Kingdom have set the tone for many of the more recent actions that have taken place in the United States, and examining them outlines the ethical and professional issues that arise for academics in championing BDS. In 2002, after signing a letter in support of boycotting Israeli universities, Mona Baker removed two Israeli academics—Gideon Toury, a professor at Tel Aviv University, who was on the advisory board of *The Translator*, and Miriam Shlesinger, a lecturer in translation studies at Bar-Ilan University, who served on the editorial board of *Translation Studies*—from the boards of her journals for being Israeli.<sup>7</sup> In 2003, a professor of pathology at Oxford University refused to supervise an Israeli graduate student for a PhD because he had completed mandatory military service.<sup>8</sup> These examples of discrimination raise questions about intellectual credibility and the responsibility scholars have toward student education. Other examples of discrimination that have taken place since then include turning down service as tenure reviewers, rejecting journal articles by Israelis or those employed at Israeli universities, and denying admission to Israeli PhD students, behaviors that undermine an academic system based on peer

review and the free exchange of knowledge. Often these gestures take place as part of a gray boycott: the declining of offers or the refusal to extend offers and invitations to Israeli scholars and students. This more subtle form of discrimination is less confrontational and harder to prove legally and institutionally, and it is a methodology that has been adopted perhaps because, in the Oxford case, faculty were suspended as a result of overt discrimination.

While BDS offers a system of guidelines for singling out Israeli academics and culture producers, these are not enforceable and serve instead as a menu of suggestions.<sup>9</sup> Thus BDS has provided an opportunity for its supporters to engage in hostile and aggressive behavior far outside the intents listed on the PACBI website, thereby facilitating a climate in which random acts of malice become an acceptable form of academic conduct. Despite the claim that PACBI “rejects on principle boycotts of individuals based on their identity (such as citizenship, race, gender, or religion) or opinion,”<sup>10</sup> in 2015, a retired Cambridge University professor refused to answer a thirteen-year-old Israeli girl’s questions about the history of horse domestication “until there is peace in Palestine.” Her arguments for doing so were framed in the letter through her association with the BDS movement: “*I am a member of Jews for Justice for Palestinians. I support Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions.*”<sup>11</sup> The case received widespread coverage—and mockery—in the press for the ludicrousness of the scholars’ expectations that a child or her parents were to blame for the intractability of a century-old conflict.<sup>12</sup>

BDS has also created a path from anti-Israeli to antisemitic behavior among university students. In the United Kingdom, student experiences of discrimination and anti-Israel sentiment have appeared in BDS resolutions offered to student senates since the early 2000s.<sup>13</sup> While the School of Oriental and African Studies is considered one of the most political campuses in the United Kingdom and was often at the center of anti-Zionist activity, motions were brought at Manchester University, University College London (UCL), Edinburgh University, and Warwick University, among other elite institutions.<sup>14</sup> But these events were often associated with a small, but vocal group of activist students. Faculty,

particularly in Middle Eastern studies, were identified in the press for making egregious anti-Zionist and antisemitic statements, but these cases were few in number. The exposure of anti-Israel sentiment—often bleeding into antisemitism—became news headlines in February 2016, when Alex Chalmers, the chair of the Oxford Student Labour Party, resigned in disgust at the pervasive antisemitism he witnessed, accusing the party of having “some kind of problem with Jews.”<sup>15</sup> His actions triggered a crisis in the larger political organization, which brought to light numerous incidences of antisemitism. In turn this led to the Chakrabti Inquiry, which found an “occasionally toxic atmosphere” within the Labour Party. Since that time prominent British intellectuals and politicians have repeatedly accused Jeremy Corbyn, the Labour Party leader, of willingly tolerating—or, at the very least, turning a blind eye toward—a culture of antisemitism within the party.<sup>16</sup> Labor stalwarts such as the MP Naz Shah and Ken Livingstone, the former mayor of London, were suspended for bringing the party into disrepute; as many as fifty others may have been suspended for “noncompliance.” What has been most astonishing is the ongoing denial by almost all the suspended party members, and their supporters within the party, that their comments could be considered antisemitic.<sup>17</sup>

The left in the United States is suffering from a dose of the same blindness toward antisemitic bigotry—particularly within the academy. Former Oberlin professor Joy Karega-Mason insists that she is not antisemitic in her arguments that Israel was behind 9/11, ISIS, the Malaysian Airlines flight shot down over Ukraine, and the Charlie Hebdo attack. Her conspiracy theories, claiming that Israel and “Rothschild-led bankers” are at the root of the world’s evil, are reminiscent of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, a fanciful nineteenth-century tract suggesting a Jewish cabal capable of world domination. As Abraham Socher, the director of Jewish studies at Oberlin, opined in the *Oberlin Review*, “anyone who is tempted to think that what she has said was not anti-Semitic or can be creatively contextualized away, ought to think about what would constitute anti-Semitic speech, and whether they would apply such alibis or restrictive, ahistorical definitions to any other form of hate speech.

Perhaps a simpler way to put it is this: the Rothschild meme seems to have originated on neo-Nazi websites. Did it somehow become less repellant [*sic*] when Professor Karega-Mason posted it on her Facebook page? And, if so, why?"<sup>18</sup> Karega-Mason's dissemination of conspiracy theories on social media were at first upheld by the university on the grounds of academic freedom, though she was placed on administrative leave until an investigation could be completed into accusations of anti-semitism. As *Inside Higher Ed* reported, she was dismissed in November 2016. The reporter Colleen Flaherty observed that "Karega's case has raised questions about whether academic freedom covers statements that have no basis in fact."<sup>19</sup> The university trustees had appealed to the AAUP's Statement on Professional Ethics to evaluate the "propriety of conduct" whose first principle is the expectation that faculty's "primary responsibility to their subject is to seek and to state the truth as they see it. To this end professors devote their energies to developing and improving their scholarly competence. They accept the obligation to exercise critical self-discipline and judgment in using, extending, and transmitting knowledge. They practice intellectual honesty. Although professors may follow subsidiary interests, these interests must never seriously hamper or compromise their freedom of inquiry."<sup>20</sup> Yet the trustees ultimately fired Karega-Mason on the basis of her lack of collegiality and for attacking colleagues rather than for her antisemitic statements. In turn she protested that she had been scapegoated by the institution, particularly as she had the support of students.

The pattern of employing antisemitic tropes, such as conspiracy theories about Jewish cabals, is also evident in the claims a Stanford student made when he asserted that Jews control the media and denied that this claim is antisemitic. He not only reiterated an abiding antisemitic myth, he opened a debate about whether the ADL—which criticized his pronouncement—even has the right to define antisemitism.<sup>21</sup> While other minority groups are granted the ability to determine what language they find offensive, Jews, in leftist contemporary discourse, because they are viewed as sitting at the intersection of white power and colonialist history, are denied historical or political context to desires

for self-determination; millennia of Jewish suffering are simply disregarded. This normalization of antisemitism, and therefore its denial as a form of bigotry, can be seen in the response to accusations leveled at Vassar for making the campus hostile to Jewish students; so far as Vassar is concerned, there is “no more anti-Semitism than one might find in all parts of American society.”<sup>22</sup>

The normalization of antisemitic discourse is present in the echoes we hear of nineteenth-century racial theories that cast Jews as the bearers of disease, unclean, and unfit for modern society in a Harvard student’s assertion that a member of the Israeli government is “smelly.”<sup>23</sup> This increasing acceptability of antisemitism has moved from words to actions. At Northeastern University, Berkeley, Northwestern University, and NYU students in residence halls were served fake eviction notices by campus chapters of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), acts of harassment and intimidation designed to terrorize.<sup>24</sup> Such gestures move well beyond the scope of a critique of the Israeli government, as in the case of Northwestern, where the notices were served exclusively to Jews. The normalization of such behavior as political protest referencing the Israel/Palestine conflict erases millennia of Jewish persecution, when Jews were evicted from homes, barred from living in cities, settled in ghettos, and at different times expelled from most countries in the world, while being subjected to innumerable acts of violence.

Institutionally, acts of discrimination in which students have been denied positions on student governance committees because of their religion evoke a history of nineteenth-century rules forbidding Jews from holding office and nineteenth- and twentieth-century quotas limiting Jewish access to education.<sup>25</sup> When students and faculty find swastikas carved into their doors or taped on their ceilings, they are meant to feel harassed and experience fear.<sup>26</sup> The recent debate in the press about whether anti-Zionism is antisemitism misrepresents the debate taking place on campuses across the country. Anti-Zionism could have been a form of political critique, but instead, for many it has become a cloak that shields antisemitism. As the former leader of the Oxford University Labour Party noted, “Zio” is now the slur that replaces “Yid.” Russell



Berman argues that those who protest against Israel (and not just Israeli government policies) in front of synagogues rather than Evangelical churches are marking out Jews.<sup>27</sup>

How is it that the rhetorical devices of antisemitism have been recycled into acceptable speech on the academic left? While the left proclaims disgust at any form of racism and bigotry, under the cloak of the BDS movement it has found numerous ways to repeat many of the most insidious and despicable antisemitic tropes. Jasbir K. Puar, associate professor of Gender and Women Studies at Rutgers, at a talk given at Vassar College, claimed that Israel “mined for organs for scientific research” from dead Palestinians and also said that Israelis give Palestinians the “bare minimum for survival” as part of a medical “experiment.” The Anti-Defamation League called the accusation “a return to [the] medieval doctrine of ‘blood libel’ aimed at Jews.”<sup>28</sup> Such conspiracy theories undermine the expectations of evidence and critical analysis that are at the foundation of good scholarship and are defined in the ethical expectations of the profession. While petitions were circulating on the campus of the University of Michigan attempting to discourage a lecture by Richard Spencer, a white supremacist, alt-right radical, Puar was welcomed with arguments demanding her right to a public platform on the grounds of free speech and scholarly exchange—Puar’s appearance was paid for by the University of Michigan, funded through units in ethnic studies, gender studies, disability studies, Arab and Muslim American studies, as well as the Department of English.<sup>29</sup>

In 2002, Stephen Greenblatt, then president of the MLA in the United States, recognized the broader significance of Mona Baker’s actions in the United Kingdom. He issued a statement decrying her removal of scholars from the boards of journals, calling her actions an “attack on cultural cooperation” that “violates the essential spirit of scholarly freedom and the pursuit of truth.”<sup>30</sup> Scientists led by University of Chicago mathematician Leonid Ryzik published an open letter in the *Guardian* calling the boycott “immoral, dangerous and misguided.”<sup>31</sup> His counter-petition garnered more than a thousand signatures and was supported by an article in the journal *Nature* that criticized a boycott

and laid out what have become many of the central arguments made by anti-BDS scholars: (1) “[I]t is naive to think [the Israeli government] is going to lose a moment’s sleep over [its] country’s researchers being turned into pariahs.” (2) “[T]he majority of Israeli scientists are on the political left and support the peace process. Why should they be punished for the excesses of their political leaders?” (3) “The boycott is also partisan. Scientists have as much right to express their diverse views on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as other citizens.” (4) “[T]he ‘logic’ of politically motivated boycotts is too readily extensible to the point of absurdity—should we also boycott Palestinian researchers because the Palestinian Authority has not done enough to prevent suicide bombers?”<sup>32</sup> The editorial in *Nature* argued that creating three-way collaborative projects between international universities, Israelis, and Palestinians would do far more for peace and stability in the region than supporting a boycott.<sup>33</sup> Though BDS would later claim that its actions were a response to a call from Palestinian civil society issued in July 2005, this public debate originated by activist-scholars within the United Kingdom exposes the fallacy of the claim that the boycott movement originated with Omar Barghouti’s later call.

Though scientists were early to stand against the boycott movement and have generally rejected BDS resolutions within their organizations,<sup>34</sup> the humanities, and particularly gender and ethnic studies scholars, have become vocal advocates of it. In the past five years BDS has gained some momentum in the United States with the passing of BDS resolutions at the American Studies Association (ASA), the Association for Asian American Studies, the Critical Ethnic Studies Association, the Native American and Indigenous Studies Association, and the National Women’s Studies Association. After the first resolution was passed at the ASA “more than two hundred American colleges and universities, typically through the office of their presidents, have denounced the boycott as inimical to the mission of higher education. Because it introduces a political constraint on academic activity—prohibiting certain forms of cooperation with the Israeli academic world on the basis of a set of political judgments—the boycott is viewed as interrupting the free flow

of ideas within the international scholarly community, and this interruption of ideas is understood to be at odds with the expectation of an unencumbered pursuit of knowledge.”<sup>35</sup> Despite the efforts of activists at other larger organizations including the American Anthropological Association and the American Historical Association, the memberships ultimately rejected boycott resolutions.

Though Greenblatt had attempted to distance the MLA from calls for a boycott of Israeli academics and institutions, by 2014 the organization was at the forefront of BDS activism, and the campaign by PACBI not only challenged its intellectual mission but revealed deeply entrenched antisemitic positions. When a group of academics (MLA Members for Scholars’ Rights) banded together to oppose an anti-Israel General Assembly resolution at the Chicago MLA convention, they were subjected to *ad hominem* attacks on the MLA Commons Web page and branded, among other things, as “Zionist attack dogs.”<sup>36</sup> Such failures of collegiality have become part of an ongoing pattern in which scholars who criticize antisemitic activities, or the BDS movement, are accused of being funded by Jewish cabals with secret Jewish monies—thereby evoking further antisemitic tropes.

At the 2016 MLA convention in Austin, Texas, where public debates on the topic were scheduled at the request of the MLA executive, stakes were raised considerably by the pro-BDS contingent; in a remarkable display of rhetorical doublespeak, those who objected to a boycott resolution were associated with Nazis and compared to concentration camp kapos. Within the MLA, PACBI tactics have been insidious, proposing never-ending resolutions condemning Israel that strictly depend on activist websites, material that is patently erroneous, whose claims are often dispelled by simply producing a map of the region. BDS resolution proponents are rarely experts in the area and do not have the languages to engage in critical scholarship. Frequently activists proffer papers at academic conventions confusing research and public proclamations, actions that fundamentally undermine the values of scholarship, and that ultimately undermine the profession by implying the insouciance of humanities scholars toward evidence. In the

many public forums that discussed whether the MLA should support a BDS position, including online forums commenting on resolutions, many of the movement's supporters argued that the need to boycott reflected an emotional truth, and that feelings in this case were more important than facts.<sup>37</sup>

BDS activists, though a vocal minority, have inserted their supporters into every level of professional organizations such as the MLA in order to appear to have greater representation and to use these venues as megaphones for their political positions. As Jeff Robbins wrote, "There is considerable concern on the part of scholars that the MLA is in danger of being hijacked by a relatively small cadre whose hatred of Israel has become so unhinged that they care less about the MLA than they do about having their agenda serviced."<sup>38</sup> When the MLA pushed back, in an attempt to protect its reputation and turn the discussion toward the scholarly, by arranging balanced debate panels or requesting a moratorium on resolutions as part of a multiyear plan to hear about the issues without rushing to judgement—in 2014, MLA delayed any further BDS resolutions until the national convention in January 2017—boycott supporters took every opportunity to ignore, circumvent, or simply trample whatever agreements had been made. In MLA Commons several of the groups and forums announced their public support for BDS and were rebuked by Rosemary Feal, then director of the MLA, for presuming to make statements on behalf of the organization and using its name to do so—actions only permitted by the MLA Executive. MLA Members for Justice in Palestine attempted to produce unbalanced panels, rigged audience questions so that the answers were public statements repeated identically by audience plants in order to derail any meaningful discussion about the impact of an academic boycott, and inserted BDS clauses into resolutions in a year when no such activity was permitted.

After the four-year process of public discussion and engagement, the MLA allowed for the submission of resolutions on the question of BDS. At the annual convention, hosted in 2017 in Philadelphia, both pro- and anti-BDS groups proposed resolutions to the Delegate Assembly, the representative body that adjudicates the association's business meeting.

The Delegate Assembly heard discussions of both resolutions and votes were then cast together. Not only was the pro-BDS resolution rejected outright, an anti-BDS resolution was passed. After a period of open voting by the organization's full membership, the resolution was ratified with a 2 to 1 vote.<sup>39</sup> Despite BDS activists' best strategic efforts, the membership rejected the association's politicization.

Fundamental tenets of the academy are the exchange of information between colleagues, peer review of colleagues' work, an interest in truth and an emphasis on factual research, the dissemination of knowledge to future generations, the training of future scholars, nondiscriminatory inclusiveness, and the importance of collaboration. As professors and scholars, we are in the business of engaging in the painstaking pursuit of knowledge; work that takes many months, if not years. We explore issues from diverse perspectives, striving for precision and depending on a peer review process that stresses accuracy. By contrast, BDS relies on tweet-length finger-pointing, pronouncements that neglect nuance, the regional complexity of the issue, or the diversity of voices that hold multiple positions and attitudes, both within the Middle East and beyond. The nature of institutional resolutions further promotes this format for discourse, and thus the debate around BDS is damaging to the academy and particularly the humanities, where it has found most support.

The misuse of data, the engagement in a politics of emotion that depends on anecdotes rather than critical analysis based on facts, has served to undermine the academy and has fueled conservatives. In response, there has been a wave of legislation in state and regional governments throughout the United States that aims to punish BDS supporters; legislation that has, in fact, further damaged the reputation of the academy and, worryingly, established the acceptability of creating political criteria for the support of scholarship, thereby threatening academic freedom. Furthermore, the removal of funds to the academy increases threats to the finances of higher education institutions. If the academy is to be able to resist powerful tyrannical forces in the future, we must be able to uphold the values of informed research and scholarship now. Abdication of our function as seekers of something akin

to the truth and submission to ideology rather than reason will bring about our undoing. In a climate in which education and the mission of universities is under threat, BDS has undermined the credibility of the humanities and provided fodder for those who disparage its intellectual value. BDS will not occasion, as so many of its advocates hope, the erasure of the state of Israel, but rather facilitate the demise of humanistic inquiry and permanently damage the academy that protects it.

## NOTES

1. Rachel S. Harris has been a member of the MLA for more than a decade. Martin B. Shichtman has been a member of the MLA for more than three decades. They both serve as part of the executive committee for MLA Members for Scholars' Rights.  
On membership numbers for the Modern Language Association, see: <https://www.mla.org/Membership/Our-Members/Membership-Statistics>.
2. Unless quotations were signed, they were anonymous. We present all the comments as anonymous because of the closed nature of the meeting, and our assumption that they were made privately in the space in which the debate took place.
3. Information about the establishment of BDS and PACBI can be found on the BDS website: <https://bdsmovement.net/academic-boycott>.
4. Marton, "BDS Is Our Only Lever."
5. See Segall, "Progressive Except for Palestine (PEP)."
6. See, for example, the reaction to the Dyke March in Chicago in 2017 when Jewish women marching with a Star of David on their pride flags were asked to leave. Shire, "We Were Kicked Off Chicago's Dyke March."
7. Goldenberg and Woodward, "Israeli Boycott Divides Academics."
8. Ward, "Oxford Suspends Don."
9. PACBI Guidelines, <http://www.pacbi.org/etemplate.php?id=1108>.
10. Ibid.
11. Zionist Federation of Australia, "From Illegality to Immorality."
12. See Turner and Sanchez, "Retired Cambridge Academic Refuses to Help Israeli Girl."

13. Rachel S. Harris first began covering these incidences as a journalist for the *Jewish Chronicle*, 2001–2005.
14. For some examples from the press, see Polly Curtis, “Anti Israel Motion Upsets Jewish Groups”; Jewish Telegraphic Agency, “Anti-Zionism at London School”; Urwin, “SOAS Students ‘Scared’”; Dysch, “Anti-Zionist Warwick Professor Faces Investigation”; Lipman, “Manchester Students Block Anti-Israel Amendment.”
15. Ali, “Oxford University Labour Club.”
16. Low, “Top Writers Accuse Jeremy Corbyn’s Labor Party.”
17. On George Galloway, see Staufenberg, “George Galloway Says Ken Livingstone Should Not Be Suspended.” On Labour suspensions, see Stewart and Quinn, “Labour Suspends Three Councillors.” For Livingstone’s self-defense, see Telegraph Reports and Jamieson, “How can I regret stating the truth?”
18. Socher, “Karega-Mason’s Facebook Posts Anti-Semitic.”
19. Flaherty, “Oberlin Ousts Professor.”
20. AAUP Statement on Professional Ethics.
21. See Clark, “ASSU Senate Erupts.”
22. Jaschik, “Vassar Accused of Tolerating Anti-Semitism.”
23. Anderson, “Harvard Law Student’s Remarks.”
24. On Northeastern University, see Blumenthal, “Northeastern University SJP Chapter Suspended”; for Berkeley, see Nguyen, “Students for Justice in Palestine Serves Fake Eviction Notices”; for Northwestern and NYU, CBS New York, “NYU Investigating after Pro-Palestine ‘Eviction’ Fliers Distributed.”
25. New, “Jews Need Not Apply?”
26. “UW Officials Say Swastikas Taped to Dorm Room Door Was Prank”; Tribune News Service, “More Swastikas Found on University of Illinois Buildings”; JTA, “Swastikas Drawn on Dorm Room Doors in New York City”; “Police Investigating Appearance of Swastika on Campus Building”
27. Berman, “Representing the Trial: Judith Butler Reads Hannah Arendt.”
28. Richards, “Jasbir Puar to Speak Tomorrow.”
29. Puar, “The Right to Maim: Debility, Capacity, Disability.” Information about lecture scheduled for November 8, 2017.

30. Goldenberg and Woodward, "Israeli Boycott Divides Academics."
31. Letter, "Don't Boycott Israel"; Goldenberg and Woodward, "Israeli Boycott Divides Academics."
32. This position has been seen recently in the boycott of the Lebanese filmmaker Ziad Doueiri, whose film screening was cancelled at the Ramallah Palestinian Film Festival after protestors threatened violence as he had shot parts of a previous film in Israel. Hussein, "Ziad Doueiri Film Dropped." Accused of normalizing relations with Israel and hence subject to the boycott, the BDS movement supported the publication of flyers and threatened violence if their demands were not met. Doueiri in return vowed to boycott the boycotters. Following his lead, one of the most famous Palestinian actors, Kamel El Basha, who had won an award at the Venice Film Festival for his performance, also vowed to boycott the movement and no longer respect its decisions, having declared at the press conference for the cancellation of the film that "BDS does not represent me." Hass, "BDS vs BDS: West Bank Boycott."
33. *Nature*, 417, no. 6884 (May 2002).
34. The Faculty of Environmental Sciences (FES) at York University in Toronto instituted a boycott of the Arava Institute in Israel's Negev region as this article was going to press. Canada Newswire, "York University Faculty Boycotts Israeli Academic Institution."
35. Berman, "Scholars Against Scholarship," 49.
36. Marks, "'Zionist Attack Dogs?'"
37. Too often BDS motions brought to professional academic organizations, or before student governments, depend on spurious evidence gleaned from antisemitic and anti-Israel websites. When David Palumbo-Liu, a leader of BDS within the MLA, was accused of directing his readers to an antisemitic website, he disavowed its editor—he didn't question the materials or reject the website. Rosenberg, "Stanford Professor Recommends Anti-Semitic Website." Palumbo-Liu's defense, that he isn't an antisemite and that he rejects all forms of racism and bigotry, echoes the British Labour Party's response to accusations of antisemitism.
38. Robbins, "MLA Vote: Will Bias Beat Scholarship?" 462.
39. Jasick, "MLA Votes Large Margin 'Refrain' Backing Israel Boycott."



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