Book Reviews for

Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict & the Movement to Boycott Israel Fall 2016

Aaron Leibel

Finding 'compelling element of truth' in Israeli, Palestinian narratives

Reprinted from **WASHINGTON JEWISH WEEK** (September 7, 2016)

A review of "Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict & the Movement to Boycott Israel" by Cary Nelson. Bloomington, Ind. and Chicago: Indiana University Press and MLA Members for Scholars Rights, 2016. 339 pages. \$12.

Are you reticent about standing up for Israel because you believe you don't know enough about the Mideast conflict? If so, "Dreams Deferred" may be a dream come true.

These short essays are intended to meet the "need for a concise, accessible guide to the key terms and issues" in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign against Israel.

The essays are grouped alphabetically, with 61 subjects ranging from academic boycotts and antiimperialism to Hamas and Hezbollah through security barrier and settlements to three chapters about Zionism.

Sometimes authors of these kinds of books tend to gloss over Israel's mistakes and shortcomings. Then, truth suffers. But not here. For example, Cary Nelson, the author of the "Nakba" (Disaster) chapter — as well as editor of the book and author of many other essays — presents a balanced view of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians during the Israeli War of Independence. Yes, Irgun and Stern Gang fighters killed some 100 people when they encountered resistance while trying to clear Arab gunmen from Deir Yassin, a village near Jerusalem. And some of those killed were civilians.

Yes, some Arab residents of some Israeli towns were forced out of their homes. But, the numbers were relatively small, and there was no "centralized, coordinated plan to achieve that end." Most Palestinians left because they were afraid.

There also were war crimes committed by the Arab side, the author notes, including the attack on an unarmed convoy of nurses, doctors, students and others on their way to Hadassah Hospital on Mt. Scopus in Jerusalem. After the vehicles were stopped, the attackers poured gasoline on them and many of the 78 victims were burned to death.

And when Gush Etzion, a cluster of Jewish farming communities south of Jerusalem, fell two days before the State of Israel was officially declared, the Arab fighters massacred 127 soldiers and civilians who had surrendered.

In the same essay, Nelson talks about the importance of recognizing what the Nakba — the term the Arabs use to refer to the creation of Israel — means to the Palestinians. "Recognition of [the Nakba's] centrality to Palestinian identity is a prerequisite for the sense of mutual empathy that must undergird the

peace process," he writes. "While there are many exaggerated or unfounded claims put forward by both Israelis and Palestinians, there is a compelling element of truth in each people's historical narrative. Those core truths must be mutually accepted if peace is to be realized."

In "BDS: A Brief History," we learn that many BDS supporters (for example, founder Omar Barghouti and literary critic and author Judith Butler, herself Jewish) advocate the destruction of the Jewish state. But there also are those who push "BDS lite," asserting that a change in Israel's policies, not its destruction, is the essence of the movement.

Supporting the Palestinian right of return, which would, in effect, end Israel's existence through democratic means or violence, negates such claims. But, more to the point, BDS has never supported a change of policy. "If you want policy changes, you advocate for them," writes Nelson. "You don't hope for indirect (and unspecified) policy change by boycotting Tel Aviv University or Ahava beauty products."

Insofar as the Holocaust is concerned, enemies of Israel can be divided into two categories: those who deny that the Holocaust took place (or state that the numbers of murdered Jews are vastly inflated) or those who accept the Shoah but try to use it to delegitimize the Jewish state.

In "Holocaust Inversion," Robert Wistrich notes that one "particularly obnoxious" version of using the Shoah to attack the Jewish state is to cast Israeli Jews as Nazis and Palestinians as Jews. "Instead of saying the Holocaust didn't happen, the modern sophisticated denier accepts the event in all its terrible enormity, only to accuse the Jews of trying to profit from it, either in the form of moral blackmail or downright territorial theft," writes Howard Jacobson.

But it's not only Arabs who wish the Jewish state ill. Jews' presence among anti-Zionists helps to insulate that movement from accusations of anti-Semitism, writes Kenneth L. Marcus in the essay "Jewish Anti-Zionists: Three Views."

Many Jewish leaders and supporters of the BDS movement accept the anti-Israel narrative to "prove their bona fides" as progressives and "their commitment to world redemption," writes Richard Landes.

But self-hatred also may be at play here. Anti-Semitism has "generated efforts to deny or escape from Jewish origins in environments that attach stigma or inferiority to Jewishness. In such cases, Jewish self-hatred reflects a persecuted group's identification with its aggressor," Marcus says.

Why "dreams deferred"? Nelson says this book's title refers to the two Middle Eastern dreams on hold: the Jews' dream of living in peace with their neighbors and the Palestinians' dream of a state.

With the ascendance of radical Islam in the Middle East — in the guise of ISIS, Hezbollah, Hamas and Iran — those dreams may not be capable of realization in the short run.

Readers of the book may come to understand what's at stake and the serious problems that need to be overcome to reach Mideast peace. And the knowledge they acquire may empower them to take part in the debate about Israel's future.

Aaron Leibel is a former editor at The Jerusalem Post and Washington Jewish Week. His novel, "Generations: The Story of a Jewish Family," which spans 1,500 years and three continents, is available at amazon.com and in Kindle format.

Michelle Yabes

Review of Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict & the Movement to Boycott Israel

reprinted from LDB—The Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law

August 31, 2016

Cary Nelson has published his latest book *Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict & the Movement to Boycott Israel.* Nelson is a professor of English at University of Illinois at Urban-Champaign and has published a wide array of works, Dreams Deferred marking his second book after *The Case Against Academic Boycotts of Israel* to strike back at the BDS Movement. His most recent publication provides an informative and succinct reference guide to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Comprising of 60 essays from experts and scholars, including LDB President Kenneth L. Marcus, *Dreams Deferred* offers a comprehensive look into various aspects of the conflict.

Each essay is illuminating, and highlights different issues on the topics of anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism, in addition to providing concise historical background. The expert contributors of this work delved into the connection between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism, anti-Jewish boycott movements including BDS, contemporary anti-Semitism, and how the term "apartheid" has been used, among many other subjects. LDB President Marcus contributed several fascinating pieces on the history of anti-Jewish boycotts, anti-Zionism as anti-Semitism, and Jewish anti-Zionists.

This book makes a great encyclopedic guide for casual readers unfamiliar with the subject matter, as well as for other experts. With its vast range of perspectives and in-depth analyses of common debates, Nelson's latest work provides a strong reference point for research into the various aspects of anti-Israelism and anti-Semitism compacted into one source. Easily accessible and highly enlightening, Dreams Deferred is a must-read for those interested in gaining a deeper understanding of the issues and history surrounding the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict & the Movement to Boycott Israel' is now available on Amazon.

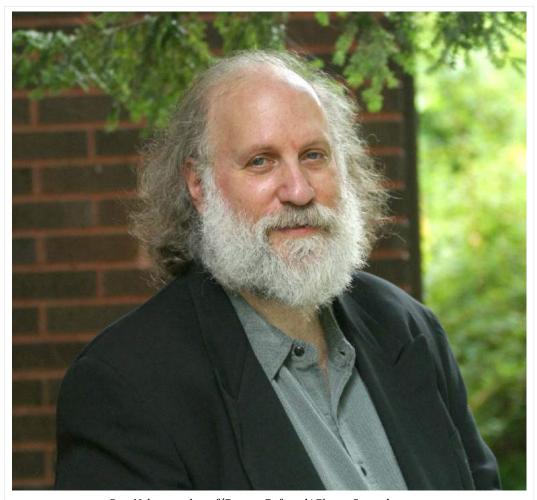
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'Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Movement to Boycott Israel' (REVIEW)



by Andrew Pessin



Cary Nelson, author of 'Dreams Deferred.' Photo: Carynelson.org.

Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Movement to Boycott Israel, by Cary Nelson, (MLA Members for Scholars' Rights and Indiana University Press, 2016). ISBN 978-0-253-02516-6. 396 pp.

Cary Nelson — whose impressive credentials include being a longtime professor at the University of Illinois, author or editor of over 30 books and president of the American Association of University Professors from 2006-2012 — firmly cemented his reputation as an authority on academic boycotts with his 2015 anthology (co-edited with Gabriel Brahm), *The Case Against Academic Boycotts of Israel*.

His new book, which draws on the earlier one and also adapts material written by several other scholars, now offers everything its subtitle promises — and, as we'll see, more. As such it is absolutely essential reading for anyone interested not merely in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but also in its increasingly heated proxy conflict on campuses across the world.

Dreams Deferred aims (its publisher tells us) to "empower readers to be informed participants in conversations and debates," providing "facts and arguments to assist all who seek justice for both Israelis and Palestinians and who believe the two-state solution can yet be realized."

This blurb tells you straight out that, despite its encyclopedic form, the volume does not offer the typical neutrality of an encyclopedia. Throughout its 60 concise but information-rich entries, the book in fact makes a two-part argument: (i) defending the legitimacy of the state of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, and (ii) offering support of eventual Palestinian statehood by challenging Israel's "occupation" of Judea and Samaria (a.k.a. the West Bank, scare quotes mine). Its emphasis on the burgeoning Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign against Israel is no accident, since that campaign, mounting increasingly powerful attacks (i), now constitutes perhaps the primary challenge to advocacy of the two-state solution — at least on Western campuses.

For an introduction to the BDS movement as it manifests itself across academia and elsewhere, you cannot do better than *Dreams Deferred*. Different entries provide a history of the BDS

organized labor; and provide useful modules about the two most important BDS votes to date in professional academic organizations: the American Studies Association (which endorsed BDS in 2013) and the American Anthropological Association (which narrowly defeated BDS in May 2016 after the book was in press). Combine these with entries presenting the history of anti-Jewish boycotts in general, as well as a close analysis of the "long-term goal" of campus BDS activism, and the picture becomes quite clear. Though BDS activists often cast themselves as social justice crusaders defending the human rights of Palestinians, most BDS activism appears continuous with traditional antisemitic attacks on the rights of Jews, including the right to self-determination in their ancestral homeland. While activists often describe themselves as "promoting peace," their leaders make no effort to hide their aim of destroying the Jewish state and replacing it with an Arab majority state — not exactly a formula for "peace."

movement; explore how BDS operates in Christian churches and in

These points are only reinforced when one examines the dishonest rhetoric and dishonorable tactics of anti-Israel activists on campus and beyond. An entry on "Apartheid" exposes the lie that is that charge against Israel, as well as its deliberate use (or abuse) to falsely associate the Jewish state with the illegitimate South African Apartheid regime. A brilliant entry on "Settler Colonialism" does the same against that lie and libel, in particular refuting the widely promoted notion that Israeli Jews are "white" and Palestinians are people "of color" — a notion that, other entries show, permits anti-Israel activists to make otherwise bizarre alliances with progressive campus groups, and thus greatly fuels Israel-hatred across Western campuses. "Holocaust Inversion" details activists' outrageous efforts to compare Israeli Jews to Nazis, while another on "Pinkwashing" — the charge that Israel only promotes its progressive values on LGBTQ matters to distract attention from its alleged human rights abuses against Palestinians - rightly exposes that smear for what it is: a license to condemn Israel continuously for everything, since nothing "good" about Israel may ever receive praise. The short but powerful entry on "Antinormalization" is in the same vein, decisively exposing that tactic for the anti-peace agent that it is.

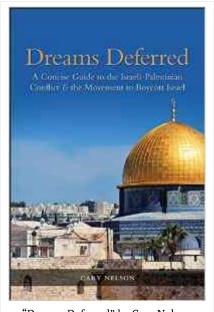
All the above are key components of the first prong of the book's argument, its defense of the legitimacy of Israel. This appears to be the weightier prong, suggesting that Nelson sees the more pressing concern to be that of defending Israel from its critics. Still, there is no mistaking the presence of the second prong throughout the book as well, the critique of Israel's "occupation." You find it quietly in the "Apartheid" entry, which, while primarily defending Israel from that smear, also affirms Israel's responsibility for the "ethnic separation on the West Bank." You find it in the "Settlements" entry, which offers arguments that consider settlement growth a significant threat to the two-state solution that, as such, "maximizes [Palestinian] despair and hostility and creates fertile ground for the promotion of violence."

In the "Nakba" entry — meaning "catastrophe" in Arabic, the word is used to refer to the establishment of Israel and the consequent production of Palestinian refugees — Nelson provides a generally sympathetic account of Palestinian suffering, recounts alleged Israeli atrocities during the 1948 War and urges that recognizing the centrality of the Nakba "to Palestinian identity is a prerequisite for the sense of mutual empathy that must undergird the peace process." In the "West Bank" entry, he defends the use of the word "occupation" to describe Israeli presence there. And so on.

To me, these were sections in which the concise format of the book was perhaps a disadvantage, where more argument (or perhaps more

nuance) was in order. In the "Nakba" entry, for example, Nelson presents the term primarily as referring to the flight of refugees (a feeling one can have sympathy for), but only acknowledges in passing that the term is also widely used to refer to Israel's very creation (a feeling that is objectionable); he affirms Ari Shavit's claim (in his bestselling 2013 book *My Promised Land*) of a 1948 "Israeli massacre and expulsion of Lydda's Arab population," but makes no mention of eminent historian Martin Kramer's powerful dissection of that claim.

In "Settlements," Nelson mentions "international" opinion that the settlement enterprise is illegal, but offers no mention of the many highly credentialed people who do not share that opinion. Further, he emphasizes Israelis' nefarious motivations in establishing settlements and the alleged threat settlements pose to the two-state solution, even while briefly offering reasons why settlements don't actually undermine that solution. But if they don't undermine the two-state solution, then why are



"Dreams Deferred" by Cary Nelson

they actually problematic? Might this be a place to examine how the settlements are used by anti-Israel activists as a political weapon to unjustly shift blame to Israel for the failure of the peace process?

Similar considerations apply to other places where Nelson is promoting the second prong of the book's argument. In the "Settlements" entry, again he states that "after the Six Day War the Israeli right began to call the West Bank Judea and Samaria, thereby invoking an aura of destiny to add to other reasons to reclaim the territory." But his very next sentence observes that the 1947 UN Resolution that affirmed the partition *itself* referred to the area for a future Palestinian state as "Judea and Samaria" — and, in fact, those terms were commonly used during the Mandate period. In "The West Bank" entry, Nelson defends the use of the word "occupation" for Israel's status in that territory, but that very defense is surrounded by several passages acknowledging that perhaps "occupation" isn't the most accurate word, after all.

Put very positively, one might say that when defending the prong against Israel's "occupation," Nelson is extraordinarily and admirably fair to those who disagree, by regularly presenting their opposing arguments. Put less positively, one might say that it feels sometimes that Nelson's heart is not really in this part of the book's

argument, for almost every time he supports it, he also supplies ample material for its rejection.

The same point might be made by noting a key omission of the book. In its otherwise fine entry on the "One-State Solution," it rightly criticizes those who seek a single binational state, intending thereby a future Arab majority state that is unlikely to be very hospitable to its Jewish minority. But Nelson does not discuss the other "one-state solution," the one that argues that Israel could successfully (and justifiably) annex Judea and Samaria, while preserving both its Jewish and democratic character. Evaluating this proposal necessarily requires close re-examination of conventional views about Jewish and Arab demographics, work that Yoram Ettinger, among others, is doing; and journalist Caroline Glick articulated and defended the proposal at length in her important 2014 book, The Israeli Solution. I'm not saying that she is right. I'm saying that a book that purports to support the two-state solution would benefit with an entry discussing the main competing proposals.

All this exposes a sort of fault-line, I believe, an instability that lies beneath the two-state solution as it is typically defended from the Jewish or Israeli perspective. That fault-line is the belief that a substantive and defensible distinction can be made between the territory of Israel proper (say) and Judea and Samaria. My worry is that many of the arguments that challenge Israeli "occupation" of Judea and Samaria are easily applicable to Israel proper. At the very least, many Israel-haters certainly feel that way, holding that the entire Jewish presence in the region amounts to an unjust occupation obtained by military force. Even what may be the most important argument from the Israeli perspective against the "occupation" — that it is inconsistent with Israel's remaining both Jewish and democratic — can be turned against Israel by the haters, who will hold that if this is all that keeps Jews from claiming the West Bank then their deep principled objection to Israel proper is correct: that it's a racist, ethnic state concerned to maintain its Jewish majority so that it can oppress Palestinians.

Nelson's book attempts to straddle this fault-line, I believe, challenging the Israeli presence in and control of Judea and Samaria, while defending the Israeli presence in and control of Israel proper. That it's weaker precisely where it attempts the former, that it regularly accompanies those attempts with material supporting the legitimacy of the Jewish presence in (and even sovereignty over) Judea and Samaria, helps illustrate how unstable that fault-line is.

As for criticism of the book, then, it's this: The encyclopedia format is perhaps best suited for purely factual works, and *Dreams Deferred*, in advancing an argument, offers a bit too much of an opinion to be so formatted. In the end, however, I stress that this is a small point that should not obscure the extremely high quality of the book overall and its enormous usefulness as a resource for those interested in its issues. And, in fact, despite my criticism, there may be a subtle advantage to the strategy Nelson has taken here, after all.

By expressing sympathy for at least one of the major concerns expressed by anti-Israelists — their antipathy to Israel's "occupation" of the "West Bank" — *Dreams Deferred* may appeal to at least some members of the anti-Israel crowd. Once they are reading the book, they will also read the very thorough defense of Israel's legitimacy that is the dominant thread in the book. And while it might be too much to hope to change anyone's mind, one might hope that maybe, just maybe, some genuine dialogue could get started.

And *that* would perhaps be the best thing to help make the twostate solution a little closer.

SPONSORED CONTENT

IRA ROBINSON

Review of Cary Nelson, Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict & the Movement to Boycott Israel.

MLA Members for Scholars Rights and Indiana University Press, 2016. 396 pp.

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Reprinted from the ISRA Blog, Canadian Institute for Jewish Research

September 1, 2016

It is not an exaggeration to say that the diverse community of supporters of Israel sees the movement for Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions [BDS] as one of the greatest challenges it currently faces. This is particularly so within the academy, for the BDS leadership has specifically targeted campuses in Europe and North America as well as numerous academic associations like the Modern Languages Association [MLA] with its demonstrations, proffered resolutions, and incessant propaganda.

Those desiring to oppose anti-Zionism and BDS in all its forms need to be armed with both the courage of their convictions and, importantly, with a base of knowledge concerning the often vexed, conflictual, and complex issues surrounding Israel and Zionism. Even many of those who have made their business to study the subject do not always possess the full range of information and opinion necessary to counter the arguments of BDS proponents and assert their own pro-Israel positions.

That is why Cary Nelson's newly published book, Dreams Deferred, is so timely. It stems from his experience as a pro-Israel activist within the MLA opposing the BDS resolution that came before that association. He is a leading figure in the group "MLA Members for Scholar's Rights" that in 2014 published a book of collected essays which he co-edited entitled The Case Against Academic Boycotts of Israel. Nelson has followed up the 2014 volume with the present book that, in effect, offers within less than 400 pages a concise encyclopedia of the ideas, places, events, movements, policies, distortions, and outright falsities that together make up current public discourse of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

He has done so by presenting well-chosen excerpts from authoritative sources so that, for instance, anyone wishing to get the main idea of the intellectual issues surrounding the accusation that Israel is an example of "Settler Colonialism" can find an admirably concise and jargon-free exposition of the people and issues involved (284-291). Those wishing to know more about that or any other subject covered in the book can go to the bibliography at the end of the book and find the reference to the article or book chapter that was excerpted. The same can be said about any of the more than 60 topics covered in the book.

This volume is far from a simple pro-Israel narrative. The authors Nelson utilizes are diverse in their viewpoints on Zionism and Israel but all of them tell the truth as they see it in all its complexity and do not avoid criticizing the mistakes they feel Israel has made. They nonetheless are united in their support for Zionism and Israel and their opposition to BDS in all its forms.

For Nelson, the ultimate goal of his anti-BDS activism and this publication is "to define the terms of...a progressive Zionism for our own time. This is a Zionism that honors the reality of the Naqba...looks for ways to promote a two-state solution...Its critique of Israeli government policy is unstinting, while it embraces the right of the Jews to a nation in their ancient homeland." (339)

Whether you agree with Nelson's Zionist philosophy or not, he has edited a book that gives pro-Zionist, pro-Israel, and anti-BDS activists, and particularly those within the academy, much food for thought and much valuable information that will be of material help in the major task of confronting contemporary anti-Zionism and BDS in all its forms.

Ira Robinson is a Professor of Judaic Studies at Concordia University and a CIJR Academic Fellow

Israel boycott row 'destroying relationships' in US universities:

Scholar argues that discussion could benefit from more light and less heat

Matthew Reisz—Reprinted from *Times Higher Education*

(August 1, 2016)

American universities are "trapped in a recurring cycle of attacks on Israel and defences of it".

That is the view of Cary Nelson, jubilee professor of liberal arts and sciences at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, who spoke to *Times Higher Education* from Jerusalem as he helped to lead a group of faculty on a peace tour.

Although he said that he supported the existence of Israel and, in 2014, co-edited with Gabriel Noah Brahm a book called *The Case against Academic Boycotts of Israel*, he got annoyed that "if you are a 'supporter of Israel', people assume they know what your position is. I commonly get people who are completely astonished that I've argued for unilateral withdrawal from the West Bank."

Although he accepted that the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement has supporters elsewhere, Professor Nelson suggested that it is "noisiest and most visible" in universities, where it has led to almost unprecedented – and worsening – levels of acrimony.

"I have not found another issue that destroys relationships," he recalled, "and produces a kind of intolerance I haven't seen since the Vietnam War. But even then I never encountered people who broke off relationships over political differences on Vietnam. I had a room-mate in college who was in favour of the war, but we got along. My wife's father was in favour of the war, and we decided not to talk about it, but I loved him dearly.

"This is very, very different. My department head is someone I actually hired when I was chair of the research committee 15 years ago. I brought three books into him one day, two on modern poetry and The Case against Academic Boycotts of Israel, and he wouldn't touch the last one, let alone open it up.

"There are about 60 faculty members in my department and only two of them left who talk to me on a regular basis. I never raise my voice. It's important to be civil and calm, but on this issue that doesn't necessarily get you anywhere."

His own position – a "mix of wanting to better the lives of Palestinians, which is absolutely critical, and to support the existence of Israel" – is now, Professor Nelson admitted, "uncommon", although "not unheard of", on campuses.

Yet he also believes that the debate would be far more productive if it were "better informed". It is this that has led him to produce what he describes as "a kind of vade mecum on the issues that seemed most pressing for the conflict", titled Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Movement to Boycott Israel.

This features short, sharp chapters exploring topics ranging from "anti-imperialism", bi-nationalism" and "cultural boycotts" to "the West Bank", "Yom Kippur War" and "Zionism".

It remains to be seen whether the book can help lower the temperature of campus screaming matches about Israel-Palestine.

Cary Nelson's **Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Movement to Boycott Israel** has just been published by the Modern Language Association Members for Scholars' Rights and Indiana University Press.

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A Region of Chaos

Amos Lassen—reprinted from Reviews by Amos Lassen

Nelson, Cary. "Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Movement to Boycott Israel," Indiana University Press, 2016.

"Dreams Deferred" has been published at just the right time but then again is there ever a right time to really try to understand what is really going on in the Middle East and with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. It has continued to intensify under the extraordinary pressure of "a region in chaos". Cary Nelson takes us into the conversations and debates about developments that increasingly touch and affect how the entire world lives today. all of our lives. The book contains sixty concise yet detailed essays that give facts and arguments to help us understand and try to find justice for both Israelis and Palestinians and especially for those who believe that the two-state solution is still possible. Most of us believe that a democratic Jewish state and Palestinian political self-determination are necessary. We get an overview of the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and its current status. We see the division and suspicion promoted by the Boycott, Sanctions, and Divestment (BDS) movement and how it undermines any peaceful solution.

I personally want peace but I most definitely oppose the BDS movement. It only hurts what is already happening and offers no solution and I have found that those who are in favor of it really do not understand the situation. I lived in Israel for many years and served in the Israel Defense Forces and I believe I have a good understanding of the situation that is tremendously complicated. I believe that only when you have experienced the kind of terrorism that exists against Israel, can you understand why so many Israelis feel as they do. This book will help you understand both sides. Both intellectually and through common sense. The essays are timely and clearly written and they provide both information and analysis. They are written in the language that is understandable and clear. While this is basically reference it is only fascinating reading at any time.

I found it especially helpful as a critical dictionary of anti-Israeli ideas as it deals with the dogma of the BDS movement. of anybody who wants to cut through the dogmas and the intimidations of the BDS movement. We are given facts and not just ideas and more than all else, it refutes lies and concentrates on facts. It restores the disputation to first principles and first facts. Below is the table of contents:

ACADEMIC BOYCOTTS //ANTI-IMPERIALISM // ANTI-JEWISH BOYCOTTS IN HISTORY // ANTI-NORMALIZATION // ANTI-ZIONISM AS ANTI-SEMITISM // APARTHEID // BDS (BOYCOTT, DIVESTMENT, AND SANCTIONS): A BRIEF HISTORY // BDS AND ACADEMIC DISCIPLINES // BDS AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES // BI-NATIONALISM // COORDINATED UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL // CULTURAL BOYCOTTS // DIVESTMENT CAMPAIGNS // ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS // FATAH // "FROM FERGUSON TO PALESTINE" // GAZA // HAMAS // HEZBOLLAH // HOLOCAUST INVERSION // THE INDIGENOUS PALESTINIAN // THE INTIFADAS // ISRAEL: DEMOCRATIC AND JEWISH // ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN UNIVERSITY COOPERATION // THE ISRAELI RIGHT AND RELIGIOUS SETTLER POLITICS // JEWISH ANTI-ZIONISM: THREE VIEWS // THE "JEWISH CONSPIRACY" // JEWISH HISTORY BEFORE ZIONISM // JIHAD // THE LEBANON WARS (1978, 1982, 2006) // THE 1948 WAR // THE ONE-STATE SOLUTION // ORIENTALISM & THE ATTACK ON ENLIGHTENMENT VALUES // THE OSLO ACCORDS // THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION (PLO) // THE PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY (PA) // THE PALESTINIAN RIGHT OF RETURN // PALESTINIANS IN ISRAELI HIGHER EDUCATION // THE PEACE PROCESS // PINKWASHING (LGBTO) // PROPORTIONALITY AND ASYMMETRIC WARFARE // THE SECURITY BARRIER // SETTLER COLONIALISM // THE SOCIAL JUSTICE MANDATE IN HIGHER EDUCATION // TEACHING FEMINISM IN ISRAEL // THE TWO-STATE SOLUTION // THE WEST BANK // WORLD WAR II AND THE FOUNDING OF ISRAEL // ZIONISM AS PHILOSOPHY AND PRACTICE// INDEX.

Luke Akehurst

Review of *Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Movement to Boycott Israel.*

Reprinted from FATHOM: For a Deeper Understanding of Israel and the Region Issue 15 (December 14, 2016)

I tried to read *Dreams Deferred* in the conventional style, cover to cover. Bad idea. The book isn't best read like that. Reading it cover-to-cover you can get a bit disorientated by changes of writing style and constant reiteration of similar points, and jumping from topic to topic as they are set out in alphabetical order.

That's because it is intended to be read more like an encyclopedia or manual, and when tackled like that it works. It's a series of short essays, each between four and ten pages or so in length, and each tackling a different aspect of the BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions) movement, and the ideology, rival narratives and analysis of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict that sit behind it and the arguments against it.

It actually owes its structure to the way a website is set out, with different essays cross-pointing to linked subject areas and further reading, and this is reflected in the simultaneous launch of a website called Israel and the Academy, which includes a wide range of additional supporting materials.

If you read the book by dipping into it and starting with the essay that most interests you, then following the recommended additional reading at the end of the essay, it works remarkably well. (1980s kids who grew up playing 'Fighting Fantasy' novels structured along the lines of 'to go into the dungeon turn to page 26, to fight the Orc, go to page 100' will be at home with the format.)

This also makes the book work from a practical, campaigning point of view. You could read the whole thing and gain a good grounding in every aspect of the extensive set of arguments. Or, if you are a student union activist hurriedly prepping for a debate on a motion condemning 'pinkwashing,' for instance, you can just dip in and read that specific four page essay.

Cary Nelson has managed to persuade a stellar cast of 25 academically credible writers to contribute essays. Most of the people who are seriously thinking about the intellectual case against BDS and anti-Zionism are in on this project. The quality of the prose is great and so is the level of historical and contemporary knowledge of Israel displayed therein.

The book manages to be both rigorous enough to stand up to academic scrutiny and punchy and polemical enough to be of practical use to campaigners. This is important given that it is clearly aimed at campus audiences, which is one of the key arenas in the battle over BDS in both the UK and the US. I sense that it would be equally useful as a primer for students and a thought-provoker for academics.

Particularly useful is the way the book interrogates and debunks key concepts that sit behind the anti-Zionist ideology, rather than shying away from them. It gets right into the anti-Zionist's side of the chess board and takes the debate deep into their territory. A good example is Nelson's own essay (including a chunk of material from Ilan Troen) on 'Settler Colonialism,' which takes a really effective swipe at the application of this concept to Israel.

All the key concepts that one might encounter in this debate are here, from the Nakba to the apartheid smear to proportionality in asymmetric warfare to Holocaust Inversion. It's quite an achievement to tackle such a wide range of topics, each of which could easily fill a short book.

The overall tone is a progressive Zionist one, with constant references to the need for the two-state solution and emphasis of the rights of the Palestinians. This is appropriate as the debate about BDS is primarily one waged between rival sets of progressives within progressive civil society institutions.

My one criticism would be that the book feels very much a product of its milieu – North American campus life. Even though there are contributions from a few British academics like David Hirsch and Fathom's Alan Johnson, the overall balance and style are very American and inevitably get bogged down in concepts like intersectionality, which are central to radical campus debate but lack traction in wider society. Similarly it feels like it is written from a perspective where campus is the crucial battleground over BDS, whereas I would see it as just one civil society battleground alongside others like trade unions, political parties, churches, local government and the arts and culture. So for instance, an obscure US academic network, the American Anthropological Association, gets an eight page essay, whilst the entire phenomenon of BDS in trade unions (or as the book calls them 'organised labour') gets five pages, with just half a page covering BDS in non-US unions, and with the UK National Union of Students (NUS) conflated into the couple of sentences about trade unions (NUS isn't one trade union, it's a confederation of campus student unions). Cultural boycotts get four pages. BDS in the churches and all the associated theological debate gets seven.

I suppose it is inevitable that academics will give disproportionate weight to what they encounter and can directly react to day-to-day among their colleagues and their students on campus, and I understand that campus is disproportionately important as it is the incubator for changes in ideas and ideology and the place where future political leaders develop their ideas. But it worries me that this creates an 'ivory tower' approach and means there is less being studied and written about BDS and delegitimisation in other spheres that are less easy for academics to study first hand. I fear that some of those arenas and bodies can have far more impact on Israel's reputation. For instance in the UK, it is distressing for Jewish students and their parents if NUS has a BDS policy, but its impact on wider public life is low as most British citizens expect students to take bizarrely radical stances on foreign policy (they have been since at least the 1930s), whereas if the Methodist Church, or the Unite trade union, or Leicester City Council,

pass BDS policies, then these are large, serious organisations with reach into wider UK society, who help propagate the concept of BDS and legitimise delegitimisation of Israel among sections of the UK public far beyond the radical left.

With this caveat – and maybe it's my problem and I need to write a book about BDS in these areas of British society – I recommend *Dreams Deferred*. It will make a fine addition to the bookshelf of any progressive opponent of BDS, and will become a well-thumbed one, as there are plenty of essays here that will be regularly referred to whilst this pernicious debate rumbles on.

Howard Freedman

excerpted from

"Authors offer differing perspectives on the history of Israel"

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February 3, 2017

"Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Movement to Boycott Israel" edited by Cary Nelson (400 pages, Indiana University Press)

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A finalist for the National Jewish Book Award in history, "Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Movement to Boycott Israel" is a volume assembled by the Modern Language Association Members for Scholars' Rights. This group has opposed academic boycotts — most pronouncedly, the efforts to boycott Israeli institutions and scholars that have taken hold within academia (one such proposal was defeated in last month's Modern Language Association convention in Philadelphia).

The book is an odd one, laid out as an encyclopedia of concepts and themes that figure prominently in the debate over Israel in today's academic environment. Most of the entries are the work of editor Cary Nelson, who teaches at the University of Illinois, but a wide variety of scholars also submitted text to this project.

The entries cover both standard topics and recent developments. For example, one entry addresses the unfortunate phenomenon of "Holocaust inversion," in which Israelis are cast as Nazis and Palestinians as oppressed Jews.

Another answers attempts to link Black Lives Matter to the plight of Palestinians.

With the book's strong anti-BDS perspective, one might expect it to be arguing exclusively on behalf of Israel, but the picture it paints is quite nuanced, with sympathy for both national narratives. For example, Nelson notes that recognition of the centrality of the Nakba to Palestinian identity "is a prerequisite for the sense of mutual empathy that must undergird the peace process." And he comes down quite hard on Israel's settlements in the West Bank.

Offering brief, but cogent points on each topic, it is a particularly appropriate book for people engaged in dialogue with people highly critical of Israel, whether on campus or in the workplace.

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BY RABBI SETH WINBERG 'Dreams Deferred' is a wakeup call regarding Israel

Reprinted from *JUF NEWS* December 6, 2016 JEWISH UNITED FUND OF METROPOLITAN CHICAGO

When I meet a Jew born in "Generation Z" (after 1995), I like to casually assess their knowledge of Judaism and Israel by asking them two questions: who was Abraham's wife, and what happened in 1967? About 75 percent of them get both wrong. Jewish day school graduates do better with Abraham's wife, and the renewal of the Jewish homeland in 1948, but many cannot say what happened in 1967.

Ignorance of the Six-Day War has far-reaching implications for effective Israel advocacy on college campuses and for basic Jewish identity. Most Jewish young adults support a two-state solution, but lack basic knowledge to respond to anti-Israel activists. At a Chicago student government meeting in 2014, no one corrected an activist who declared that Israel is currently occupying Gaza. (Israel left Gaza in 2005.)

Cary Nelson, professor of English at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and former president of the American Association of University Professors, has edited a collection of 60 scholarly essays to help explain the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Movement to Boycott Israel (Indiana University Press) contains 396 pages of essential information for anyone who cares about the delegitimization of Israel. Encyclopedia-style, short essays in alphabetical order cover topics such as "anti-normalization," "apartheid," "divestment campaigns," "the Intifadas," "Iron Dome," "the Nakba," and "the West Bank." Several are devoted to aspects of anti-Semitism and of the anti-Israel Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaign.

All the contributors support a two-state solution and some are critical of Israel's military occupation of the West Bank: "Israel cannot indefinitely contain a second-class group of Palestinian non-citizens and sustain its core values," writes Nelson, who promotes a progressive Zionism.

Nelson rejects attempts to isolate Israel. He admits that American college and university administrations have largely rejected BDS campaigns-in 2007 about 450 university presidents publicly opposed academic boycotts; in 2014 over 250 presidents reissued similar statements. On the other hand, student government campaigns use propaganda that demonizes Israel to impact how other students think and talk about the conflict in the long term. Nelson understands that repeated and constant exposure to negative buzzwords (apartheid, human rights violator) persuades some students that Israel should not exist. The main concern, then, is that BDS campaigns lead to prejudice against Israel, and by extension, Jews.

Nelson also gives a voice to the Palestinian viewpoint. The title Dreams Deferred (taken from Langston Hughes' black civil rights poem) here evokes both the Israeli dream of

living in peace and the Palestinian dream of self-determination. In his chapter on the Nakba, Nelson quotes Palestinian sociologist Samih Farsoun's claim that most Palestinians fled in 1948 because of "mortal fear created by systematic terror campaigns conducted by the Israeli state forces." As a counter to Farsoun, Nelson cites Israeli historian Benny Morris' research-that there were no official orders to expel Arabs from Israeli towns, but some Arabs were forced out and others fled. Then Nelson quotes journalist Ari Shavit's My Promised Land (2013) on the alleged massacre and expulsion of Arabs in the town of Lydda in July, 1948.

For a book so fiercely critical of anti-Israel activism to show compassion towards the plight of the Palestinians is positive. It makes the book more credible. But Nelson, a careful writer, surprisingly fails to note the widespread scholarly criticism of Shavit's version of history. Morris, for example, criticizes Shavit for not acknowledging that Arabs started the war and for creating the impression that the Lydda events were representative of Zionist behavior in 1948 altogether.

Not everyone will embrace Nelson's brand of Zionism but the book's thoroughness and ease of use will be an asset for anyone dedicated to Israel.

Of course no single book can motivate students to defend Israel. Only when we provide young Jewish adults with a place to celebrate Shabbat with peers, learn Torah with a mentor, and do service under a Jewish banner will they gain the confidence to bear the heavy load of defending Israel's image and reputation in a hostile world.

Seth Winberg, a rabbi, is executive director of Metro Chicago Hillel, one of the city's fastest growing communal organizations. The book is available on Amazon.com.

by Hana Shai Hobscheid

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ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT

Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Movement to Boycott Israel by Cary Nelson.

Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2016. 400 pages. \$12.

Dreams Deferred takes on the task of acting as a general analytical resource pertaining to the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement (BDS) and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict as a whole. Cary Nelson also seeks to examine the concept of Zionism, highlighting the merits of a progressive Zionism. Along with an array of contributors, Nelson tackles 60 major issues concerning the conflict, condensing them into clear and concise essays that as a collection create a logical and intricate link of events, concepts, phenomena, and ideologies that give the reader an inclusive picture of the conflict's dynamics today. Some of the topics covered include BDS on college campuses, the portrayal of Israelis as Nazis, Jewish anti-Zionist movements, Jewish settlements in the Occupied Territories, and "pinkwashing." Although the authors work according to a framework that is favorable to a two-state solution and critical of the fundamentals and attitudes behind the BDS movement. Dreams Deferred offers a variety of perspectives and opportunities for debate

ANDREW PESSIN

Review reprinted from THE ALGEMEINER (November 13, 2016) & HUFFINGTON POST (November 18, 2016)

Dreams Deferred: A Concise Guide to the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict and the Movement to Boycott Israel, by Cary Nelson, (MLA Members for Scholars' Rights and Indiana University Press, 2016). ISBN 978-0-253-02516-6. 396 pp.

Cary Nelson — whose impressive credentials include being a longtime professor at the University of Illinois, author or editor of over 30 books and president of the American Association of University Professors from 2006-2012 — firmly cemented his reputation as an authority on academic boycotts with his 2015 anthology (co-edited with Gabriel Brahm), *The Case Against Academic Boycotts of Israel*.

His new book, which draws on the earlier one and also adapts material written by several other scholars, now offers everything its subtitle promises — and, as we'll see, more. As such it is absolutely essential reading for anyone interested not merely in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, but also in its increasingly heated proxy conflict on campuses across the world.

Dreams Deferred aims (its publisher tells us) to "empower readers to be informed participants in conversations and debates," providing "facts and arguments to assist all who seek justice for both Israelis and Palestinians and who believe the two-state solution can yet be realized."

This blurb tells you straight out that, despite its encyclopedic form, the volume does not offer the typical neutrality of an encyclopedia. Throughout its 60 concise but information-rich entries, the book in fact makes a two-part argument: (i) defending the legitimacy of the state of Israel as a Jewish and democratic state, and (ii) offering support of eventual Palestinian statehood by challenging Israel's "occupation" of Judea and Samaria (a.k.a. the West Bank, scare quotes mine). Its emphasis on the burgeoning Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign against Israel is no accident, since that campaign, mounting increasingly powerful attacks (i), now constitutes perhaps the primary challenge to advocacy of the two-state solution — at least on Western campuses.

For an introduction to the BDS movement as it manifests itself across academia and elsewhere, you cannot do better than *Dreams Deferred*. Different entries provide a history of the BDS movement; explore how BDS operates in Christian churches and in organized labor; and provide useful modules about the two most important BDS votes to date in professional academic organizations: the American Studies Association (which endorsed BDS in 2013) and the American Anthropological Association (which narrowly defeated BDS in May 2016 after the book was in press). Combine these with entries presenting the history of anti-Jewish boycotts in general, as well as a close analysis of the "long-term goal" of campus BDS activism, and the picture becomes quite clear. Though BDS activists often cast themselves as social justice crusaders defending the human

rights of Palestinians, most BDS activism appears continuous with traditional antisemitic attacks on the rights of Jews, including the right to self-determination in their ancestral homeland. While activists often describe themselves as "promoting peace," their leaders make no effort to hide their aim of destroying the Jewish state and replacing it with an Arab majority state — not exactly a formula for "peace."

These points are only reinforced when one examines the dishonest rhetoric and dishonorable tactics of anti-Israel activists on campus and beyond. An entry on "Apartheid" exposes the lie that is that charge against Israel, as well as its deliberate use (or abuse) to falsely associate the Jewish state with the illegitimate South African Apartheid regime. A brilliant entry on "Settler Colonialism" does the same against that lie and libel, in particular refuting the widely promoted notion that Israeli Jews are "white" and Palestinians are people "of color" — a notion that, other entries show, permits anti-Israel activists to make otherwise bizarre alliances with progressive campus groups, and thus greatly fuels Israel-hatred across Western campuses. "Holocaust Inversion" details activists' outrageous efforts to compare Israeli Jews to Nazis, while another on "Pinkwashing" — the charge that Israel only promotes its progressive values on LGBTQ matters to distract attention from its alleged human rights abuses against Palestinians rightly exposes that smear for what it is: a license to condemn Israel continuously for everything, since nothing "good" about Israel may ever receive praise. The short but powerful entry on "Anti-normalization" is in the same vein, decisively exposing that tactic for the anti-peace agent that it is.

All the above are key components of the first prong of the book's argument, its defense of the legitimacy of Israel. This appears to be the weightier prong, suggesting that Nelson sees the more pressing concern to be that of defending Israel from its critics. Still, there is no mistaking the presence of the second prong throughout the book as well, the critique of Israel's "occupation." You find it quietly in the "Apartheid" entry, which, while primarily defending Israel from that smear, also affirms Israel's responsibility for the "ethnic separation on the West Bank." You find it in the "Settlements" entry, which offers arguments that consider settlement growth a significant threat to the two-state solution that, as such, "maximizes [Palestinian] despair and hostility and creates fertile ground for the promotion of violence."

In the "Nakba" entry — meaning "catastrophe" in Arabic, the word is used to refer to the establishment of Israel and the consequent production of Palestinian refugees — Nelson provides a generally sympathetic account of Palestinian suffering, recounts alleged Israeli atrocities during the 1948 War and urges that recognizing the centrality of the Nakba "to Palestinian identity is a prerequisite for the sense of mutual empathy that must undergird the peace process." In the "West Bank" entry, he defends the use of the word "occupation" to describe Israeli presence there. And so on.

To me, these were sections in which the concise format of the book was perhaps a disadvantage, where more argument (or perhaps more nuance) was in order. In the "Nakba" entry, for example, Nelson presents the term primarily as referring to the flight of refugees (a feeling one can have sympathy for), but only acknowledges in passing that

the term is also widely used to refer to Israel's very creation (a feeling that is objectionable); he affirms Ari Shavit's claim (in his bestselling 2013 book *My Promised Land*) of a 1948 "Israeli massacre and expulsion of Lydda's Arab population," but makes no mention of eminent historian Martin Kramer's powerful dissection of that claim.

In "Settlements," Nelson mentions "international" opinion that the settlement enterprise is illegal, but offers no mention of the many highly credentialed people who do not share that opinion. Further, he emphasizes Israelis' nefarious motivations in establishing settlements and the alleged threat settlements pose to the two-state solution, even while briefly offering reasons why settlements don't actually undermine that solution. But if they don't undermine the two-state solution, then why are they actually problematic? Might this be a place to examine how the settlements are used by anti-Israel activists as a political weapon to unjustly shift blame to Israel for the failure of the peace process?

Similar considerations apply to other places where Nelson is promoting the second prong of the book's argument. In the "Settlements" entry, again he states that "after the Six Day War the Israeli right began to call the West Bank Judea and Samaria, thereby invoking an aura of destiny to add to other reasons to reclaim the territory." But his very next sentence observes that the 1947 UN Resolution that affirmed the partition itself referred to the area for a future Palestinian state as "Judea and Samaria" — and, in fact, those terms were commonly used during the Mandate period. In "The West Bank" entry, Nelson defends the use of the word "occupation" for Israel's status in that territory, but that very defense is surrounded by several passages acknowledging that perhaps "occupation" isn't the most accurate word, after all.

Put very positively, one might say that when defending the prong against Israel's "occupation," Nelson is extraordinarily and admirably fair to those who disagree, by regularly presenting their opposing arguments. Put less positively, one might say that it feels sometimes that Nelson's heart is not really in this part of the book's argument, for almost every time he supports it, he also supplies ample material for its rejection.

The same point might be made by noting a key omission of the book. In its otherwise fine entry on the "One-State Solution," it rightly criticizes those who seek a single binational state, intending thereby a future Arab majority state that is unlikely to be very hospitable to its Jewish minority. But Nelson does not discuss the other "one-state solution," the one that argues that Israel could successfully (and justifiably) annex Judea and Samaria, while preserving both its Jewish and democratic character. Evaluating this proposal necessarily requires close re-examination of conventional views about Jewish and Arab demographics, work that Yoram Ettinger, among others, is doing; and journalist Caroline Glick articulated and defended the proposal at length in her important 2014 book, The Israeli Solution. I'm not saying that she is right. I'm saying that a book that purports to support the two-state solution would benefit with an entry discussing the main competing proposals.

All this exposes a sort of fault-line, I believe, an instability that lies beneath the two-state solution as it is typically defended from the Jewish or Israeli perspective. That fault-line

is the belief that a substantive and defensible distinction can be made between the territory of Israel proper (say) and Judea and Samaria. My worry is that many of the arguments that challenge Israeli "occupation" of Judea and Samaria are easily applicable to Israel proper. At the very least, many Israel-haters certainly feel that way, holding that the entire Jewish presence in the region amounts to an unjust occupation obtained by military force. Even what may be the most important argument from the Israeli perspective against the "occupation" — that it is inconsistent with Israel's remaining both Jewish and democratic — can be turned against Israel by the haters, who will hold that if this is all that keeps Jews from claiming the West Bank then their deep principled objection to Israel proper is correct: that it's a racist, ethnic state concerned to maintain its Jewish majority so that it can oppress Palestinians.

Nelson's book attempts to straddle this fault-line, I believe, challenging the Israeli presence in and control of Judea and Samaria, while defending the Israeli presence in and control of Israel proper. That it's weaker precisely where it attempts the former, that it regularly accompanies those attempts with material supporting the legitimacy of the Jewish presence in (and even sovereignty over) Judea and Samaria, helps illustrate how unstable that fault-line is.

As for criticism of the book, then, it's this: The encyclopedia format is perhaps best suited for purely factual works, and *Dreams Deferred*, in advancing an argument, offers a bit too much of an opinion to be so formatted. In the end, however, I stress that this is a small point that should not obscure the extremely high quality of the book overall and its enormous usefulness as a resource for those interested in its issues. And, in fact, despite my criticism, there may be a subtle advantage to the strategy Nelson has taken here, after all.

By expressing sympathy for at least one of the major concerns expressed by anti-Israelists — their antipathy to Israel's "occupation" of the "West Bank" — *Dreams Deferred* may appeal to at least some members of the anti-Israel crowd. Once they are reading the book, they will also read the very thorough defense of Israel's legitimacy that is the dominant thread in the book. And while it might be too much to hope to change anyone's mind, one might hope that maybe, just maybe, some genuine dialogue could get started.

And that would perhaps be the best thing to help make the two-state solution a little closer.