Profile: Jewish Voice for Peace

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INTRODUCTION

Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) is the largest and most influential Jewish anti-Zionist group in the United States. Despite the neutral tone of its name, JVP works to demonstrate Jewish opposition to the State of Israel and to steer public support away from the Jewish State.

JVP has assumed a particularly visible role in the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign, which has become the most oft-used tactic by the domestic anti-Israel movement in recent years. JVP activists have worked to support a variety of divestment resolutions considered by university student governments and mainline churches, including the U.S. Presbyterian Church. The group also has an ongoing BDS initiative, "We Divest," which targets TIAA-CREF, a major financial services organization.

JVP uses its Jewish identity to shield the anti-Israel movement from allegations of anti-Semitism and to provide the movement with a veneer of legitimacy. On its website, JVP recognizes its role as such, noting that the group’s Jewish nature gives it a “particular legitimacy in voicing an alternative view of American and Israeli actions and policies” and the ability to distinguish “between real anti-Semitism and the cynical manipulation of that issue.”

The group has also started to invoke its Jewish identity more frequently in an attempt to directly confront the American Jewish community about its positions on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. JVP has issued statements addressed to the leaders of Jewish organizations, and most recently, different JVP chapters protested inside and outside of office buildings belonging to U.S. Jewish institutions and organizations.

JVP’s positions on BDS, its willingness to partner with anti-Israel organizations that deny Israel’s right to exist, and its refusal to support a two-state solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, demonstrate its hardline stance. In fact, JVP has consistently co-sponsored demonstrations to oppose Israeli military policy that have been marked by signs comparing Israel to Nazi Germany and slogans that voice support for groups like Hamas and Hezbollah. JVP has not condemned or sought to distance itself from these messages.

JVP also intentionally exploits Jewish culture and rituals to reassure its supporters that opposition to Israel does not contradict Jewish values, but that it is actually consistent with them. Their “Rabbinical Council” even published a Passover Haggadah in Spring of 2012 that dedicated one of the traditional cups of wine to BDS and added an olive to the Seder plate in honor of the Palestinian struggle.

In the past five years, JVP has significantly expanded, and now has 35 chapters across the country, including a handful on college campuses. JVP’s success in this area is aided by its embrace of online marketing tools and its strong presence on social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter.

The group has nearly 200,000 “likes” on Facebook and over 35,000 followers on Twitter. Not surprisingly, this increased support has translated into additional dollars for JVP. Until 2012, JVP had reportedly averaged approximately $300,000 in annual contributions, but in 2013, the group listed over $1 Million in annual contributions.
BOYCOTT, DIVESTMENT AND SANCTIONS (BDS) EFFORTS

JVP has become one of the primary organizers of BDS campaigns in the United States and helps local anti-Israel groups organize BDS initiatives on and off American college campuses. The group advocates for boycott campaigns targeting SodaStream, an Israeli company that produces beverage carbonating devices, and calls on mainline Christian churches and American financial investment institutions, especially TIAA-CREF, to divest from multinational companies that work with Israel.

While explicitly supporting BDS initiatives that target the Israeli occupation and settlement products – a strategy known as “targeted BDS” – JVP’s position on BDS campaigns that target Israel more broadly is less clear.

JVP’s Executive Director, Rebecca Vilkomerson, has expressed uncertainty with JVP’s decision to adopt a narrower effort than that of the global BDS Movement’s call for a complete boycott of Israel. “We [JVP] do feel connected to the global BDS movement,” she said in an April 2011 interview. “We consider ourselves a part of it. We would defend the right of people to do a full boycott. This is what Palestinians are asking for, and we respect their call.”

She added that JVP will likely soon endorse a full boycott, stating: “sooner or later we are going to stop the fancy footwork and say we fully endorse the Palestinian call. At our last members’ meeting in Philadelphia, that was the central question. We talk about it all the time.”

Indeed, JVP has publicly defended broader BDS initiatives on numerous occasions, stating on its website that it “reject[s] the claim that these are inherently anti-Semitic. We see them as a non-violent response to the daily violence of the Israeli occupation.” To date, however, the organization has not changed its current position of only advocating for limited BDS initiatives.

Below is a sampling of JVP’s involvement in BDS activities:

The Presbyterian Church:

At the June 2014 Presbyterian General Assembly (GA) in Detroit, Michigan, JVP [lobbied for a resolution calling on the Presbyterian Church to divest from three companies that allegedly profit from the Israeli occupation (Caterpillar, Motorola, and Hewlett-Packard). Leading up to the GA, JVP also issued several statements in support of the resolution.

JVP sent a delegation of activists to the GA so that they could testify on the floor in favor of divestment, live-tweet the debates, and circulate a petition that called on the church to support divestment. The Church ended up voting 310-303 in favor of divestment, and shortly after, JVP issued a press release applauding the Church for its decision. One of JVP’s New York members stated in the press release that, “Voting for divestment is a powerful statement of conscience.”

UC Berkeley Divestment:

At the University of California, Berkeley, JVP activists helped lobby in favor of a campus divestment resolution in 2010 and again in 2013, organizing an online petition to gain signatures from UC alumni faculty, students, and staff. After the resolution was passed, the group placed an ad in the campus...
newspaper that urged Berkeley’s Senate President to not veto the resolution. The ad compared Israeli policy to Jim Crow laws in the South in the late 19th and first half of the 20th centuries.

A JVP flier circulated at the Presbyterian Church General Assembly in 2012

SodaStream Campaign:

JVP chapters across the country have urged their supporters to boycott SodaStream because one of the company’s four manufacturing plants is in the West Bank (although the plant employs hundreds of Palestinian workers). This effort has since been taken over by an interfaith coalition of anti-Israel groups. JVP sponsors rallies throughout the year outside of department stores that carry SodaStream products and for several years now, certain JVP chapters have initiated “anti-occupation holiday caroling” rallies.

TIAA-CREF and the “We Divest” Campaign:

In 2010, JVP initiated a national campaign to pressure the financial services giant TIAA-CREF to divest from companies that are allegedly profiting from the Israeli occupation (Caterpillar, Northrop Grumann, Motorola Solutions, Elbit Systems, and Veolia). The petition that JVP started at that time has now received more than 21,000 signatures and the “We Divest” campaign has been endorsed by more than 70 organizations. In January 2012, JVP announced that the “We Divest” campaign was being transformed into a coalition comprised of JVP, the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation, Adalah-NY, the US Palestinian Community Network, Grassroots International, and the American Friends Service Committee. The coalition regularly organizes “Day of Action” events to protest outside TIAA-CREF offices during their shareholder meetings.
TESC Divest!:

In 2010, JVP's Olympia, Washington, chapter helped create TESC Divest!, a student-led group on The Evergreen State College (TESC) campus that focused on pursuing campus divestment from Israel. Following the creation of TESC Divest!, which was co-organized with the campus chapter of Students for Justice in Palestine, the student body passed two referenda urging the university to divest from companies that allegedly profit from the occupation and prohibited the use of equipment made by Caterpillar on campus. Caterpillar was targeted because a pro-Palestinian activist was killed by a Caterpillar-made bulldozer while protesting Israeli policy in Gaza in 2003.

ANTI-ISRAEL RALLIES AND DEMONSTRATIONS

JVP is one of the primary sponsors of anti-Israel demonstrations organized in response to Israeli military actions and/or to commemorate significant moments in the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, like Israel's Declaration of Independence and the ensuing 1948 Arab-Israeli War. Many of these events feature extreme anti-Israel sentiment, including expressions of support for terrorist groups that target Israeli civilians and anti-Semitic characterizations about Israel's supporters.

During summer 2014, JVP organized rallies and demonstrations throughout the U.S. to protest Operation Protective Edge, Israel's military operation targeting Hamas facilities, tunnels, and leadership in Gaza. Some of these demonstrations were held at locations such as Times Square in New York City and the White House in Washington, D.C., while others were organized near Jewish institutions because of their support of Israel's military operation.

During Operation Protective Edge, JVP chapters entered the buildings of Jewish institutions to protest and directly confront the leaders of major American Jewish organizations. Actions like these took place on at least four separate occasions in cities such as New York and Denver. When JVP protesters entered the New York City offices of Friends of the Israeli Defense Forces (FIDF), they protested and conducted a "die-in" inside of the building, purporting to represent Palestinians who were killed by Israeli actions. Nine protesters were arrested after they refused to leave the premises.

JVP also co-sponsored or endorsed many demonstrations organized by a variety of other anti-Israel groups during Operation Protective Edge. At a rally in Boston co-sponsored by the local JVP chapter, several hundred protesters held signs, some of which compared the situation to the Holocaust, including “From Auschwitz to Palestine, My Ancestors are crying... SHAME!” and “Not even the Holocaust gives you the right to do this!” Some other signs read, “The blood is on your hands (written on the image of an Israeli flag with blood-stained handprints), and “Jewish terrorist state” (accompanied by an image of American and Israeli hands being shaken with blood pouring out).

As part of its mission to demonstrate that the Jewish community does not uniformly support Israel, JVP regularly engages in protests of pro-Israel events. These protests often target major gatherings organized by groups like AIPAC and Friends of the Israeli Defense Forces (FIDF), a non-profit organization that helps care for Israeli soldiers.
In August 2014, JVP members interrupted speeches being delivered at two different pro-Israel gatherings, which took place in Chicago, Illinois and Durham, North Carolina. One of those events, held at the Chicago Hilton Hotel, featured several interruptions of the keynote speech delivered by Former Israeli Ambassador to the U.S., Michael Oren. Those who interrupted Oren screamed, “Stop killing, shame on you” repeatedly until they were removed from the venue.

A month earlier, activists from JVP and another local anti-Israel Jewish group took over the offices of FIDF in New York City. At the FIDF offices, the demonstrators began to protest and conducted a “die-in” inside of the office building. A group of nine protesters refused to leave, which led to their arrest.
In 2013, JVP co-sponsored 100 ads that were placed in Metro stations throughout Washington, D.C. that read, “AIPAC does not speak for me. Most Jewish Americans are pro-peace. AIPAC is not.” The ads were displayed for two weeks leading up to AIPAC’s annual policy conference. Members of JVP also joined with CODEPINK for a program called “Expose AIPAC,” which featured protests outside the AIPAC conference and a one-day conference organized by CODEPINK that featured presentations by leaders from the anti-Israel movement, including Rebecca Vilkomerson.

At a similar counter-event in 2012, Liza Behrendt, a member of JVP’s Young Jewish and Proud group, disrupted a breakout session at the AIPAC conference about Israel advocacy on campus. Behrendt began chanting pro-BDS slogans and eventually climbed on the stage, shouting, “Young Jews are being silenced on campus!” until she was removed from the room. A protest was then organized outside the event and Behrendt led fellow protesters in chants of “When Palestinians are oppressed, boycott, sanction, and divest!”

These tactics tend to garner the most media attention when they are directed at prominent Israeli diplomats and leaders. In May 2011, Rae Abileah, a national organizer for CODEPINK and founding member of “Young, Jewish and Proud,” disrupted an address by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu to a joint session of Congress. Abileah, who was seated in the audience, unfurled a banner that read, “Occupying Land is Indefensible” and shouted, “No more occupation, stop Israel war crimes, equal rights of Palestinians.” She was arrested and charged with disorderly conduct. Many media outlets reported on her disruption and subsequent arrest, a meaningful victory for JVP.

JVP’s campus chapters have also protested pro-Israel events on their campuses. In November 2012, members of the JVP chapter at American University disrupted a presentation by an Israeli Defense Forces (IDF) reservist. As the presentation was taking place, approximately 50 students stood up in the room and held signs with various slogans, including “AU condemns war crimes.” After their walkout, the students held a protest outside of the event venue.
YOUTH AND CAMPUS EFFORTS

JVP is dedicated to reaching out to the next generation of activists and building support for their initiatives among youth and college-aged students. Their youth outreach places a lot of attention on college campuses where they work to form their own chapters or assist already existing anti-Israel student groups with their activities and initiatives.

JVP has supported BDS events and anti-Israel conferences taking place on college campuses across the country on several occasions. In March 2014, JVP issued a public statement in support of a divestment resolution sponsored by a campus anti-Israel group at the University of Michigan. JVP asserted in its statement that Israel’s alleged actions against the Palestinian people are not being carried out “in our names” and that divestment is not targeting the Jewish people, but only the actions of the State of Israel.

When the BDS Conference took place at the University of Pennsylvania in February 2012, JVP issued a public statement in support of it. JVP’s Executive Director Rebecca Vilkomerson also gave a talk at the conference about “BDS, Hillel, anti-Semitism, and the Jewish Community.” JVP's Director of Advocacy, Sydney Levy, has led pro-BDS teach-ins at national anti-Israel conferences like the US Campaign’s 12th Annual Organizers conference at George Mason University, and on college campuses in Chicago, including events in October 2012 at the University of Chicago and at the University of Illinois at Chicago.

Also in October 2012, a then newly-formed JVP chapter at American University and Students for Justice in Palestine co-sponsored a planned Skype presentation by Khader Adnan, a resident of the West Bank. Adnan has been widely described in the media and by Palestinian NGOs as a “spokesperson,” “leader” or “member” of Palestinian Islamic Jihad, a U.S. designated Foreign Terrorist Organization. The event was ultimately canceled because of Hurricane Sandy.

JVP has established seven campus chapters – at American University, Tufts University, Brandeis University, University of Arizona, UCLA, University of Michigan and Columbia University/Barnard College – that have gone on to become leaders in anti-Israel activity both on and off their college campuses.

During Operation Protective Edge, for example, when classes were not in session, the president of the Tufts University JVP chapter led protesters inside of the JEWISHColorado building in Denver, “to demand that leaders of the Colorado branch of the Jewish Federations of North America stop supporting the state of Israel’s war crimes.”

JVP has also co-sponsored the “Summer BDS Institute” with the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) for at least the past two years. The program, which has been promoted as “fun in a summer camp-
like environment!” has taken place while classes are not in session. At the program, members of JVP and AFSC have trained students already involved in pro-BDS work on their campuses. The program offers students assistance and tips for implementing BDS campaigns, dealing with media requests, “direct action” planning and more.

JVP’s Brandeis University chapter, along with Students for Justice in Palestine, sponsored an “Israeli Occupation Awareness Week” in 2010. The event featured presentations by Noam Chomsky, a linguistics professor at MIT who accused Israel of “ethnic cleansing” and described Israeli policy as “apartheid;” Dianna Buttu, a former lawyer for the PLO who rejected the possibility of peace between Israelis and Palestinians and called for BDS against Israel; and a performance by the Palestinian rap group DAM whose lyrics employ imagery that glorifies violence against Israel.

JVP also engages youth beyond the campus arena. In 2010, the group started a campaign called “Young, Jewish, and Proud” that is designed to attract “young Jews committed to justice in Israel and Palestine” who reflect on their Jewish traditions and history with a commitment to “stand in the way of colonization and displacement.” Activists associated with Young, Jewish, and Proud, known by its acronym “YJP,” have participated in a range of JVP-supported activities, including disruption of pro-Israel events. YJP also started an initiative called “Go & Learn” which helps Jewish communities learn more about the BDS movement.

EXPLOITATION OF JEWISH TRADITION

In its written materials, events and presentations, JVP takes care to reinforce that its anti-Israel efforts are driven by Jewish values. In this vein, JVP often circulates anti-Israel materials that have specific Jewish themes and recall Jewish holidays or traditions.

By injecting Jewish values into their anti-Israel agenda, JVP seeks to accomplish two main objectives:

- To defend the activities of the anti-Israel movement from allegations of anti-Semitism because JVP’s mere existence demonstrates that there are Jews who oppose Israel.
- To make other Jews feel more comfortable about exploring and embracing anti-Israel positions by couching them as supported by Jewish values.

JVP even created a “Rabbinical Council” that promotes various anti-Israel initiatives under the guise of “Jewish thought.” The Council was set up to “create alternative Jewish liturgies for JVP, and speak out on behalf of justice for all peoples in the Middle East.” The Council also runs a blog called “The Palestinian Talmud” that features anti-Israel articles from rabbis who are members of the group. This gives JVP an added perception of legitimacy and establishes it as not just a culturally Jewish organization but a religiously Jewish one as well.

Articles on the Council’s blog describe Palestinian victims of the “Nakba” as now living “in the world’s largest open air prison [Gaza],” call for “US citizens to urge their representatives to end unconditional military aid to Israel” and voice support for Christian denominations, specifically the Presbyterian Church, to pass divestment resolutions targeting Israel.
In July 2013, a JVP Rabbinical Council member wrote a blog post in advance of Tisha B’Av, a Jewish fast day that marks the anniversary of the destruction of both Temples in Jerusalem and the Jewish people’s exile from the land of Israel. The author of the post called into question the necessity of a Jewish state and acknowledged that she would instead observe the fast by reading stories and poems about “Palestinians who’ve been dispossessed and expelled from their land.” At the same time, JVP activists across the country participated in anti-Israel protests on Tisha B’Av calling on TIAA-CREF (which had a shareholders meeting that day) to divest from companies that work with Israel.

The Council also reaches out to other faith institutions in attempt to frame their anti-Israel agenda as a spiritual or religious issue. The Council, for example, recently wrote a letter to participants of the National Religious Broadcasters Convention urging the attendees of the conference to learn about the situation for Palestinian Christians living in Israel and the West Bank by visiting Israel and “witnessing the work of Christians at the forefront of unarmed struggle to obtain human rights.”

 Shortly before the Passover holiday in 2012, JVP’s Rabbinical Council released a Haggadah, the Jewish text that is used at the Passover Seder, which incorporated anti-Israel themes into the traditional holiday celebration. The Haggadah dedicated the third cup of wine to BDS, included a rendition of the song “Dayenu” that featured lyrics about the Deir Yassin massacre and featured a section on “The Ten Plagues of the Israeli Occupation.”

**The Seder Plate**

At your table, discuss the significance that each of the items on the seder plate has for you. Below is a list of what appears on the seder plate and an example of meaning that can be assigned to each.

- **Karpas** – A green, spring vegetable symbolizing spring’s bounty.
- **Beitzah** – A boiled egg symbolizing the cycle of life.
- **Z’roah** – A roasted Shank bone (or roasted beet for vegetarians) symbolizing the sacrifices offered.
- **Maror** – Bitter herbs symbolizing the bitterness of oppression.
- **Charoset** – A mixture of nuts, fruit and wine symbolizing the mortar Israelite slaves used to lay bricks.
- **Orange** – Symbolizing building, Jewish community where women, queer, and transgender people are welcomed and recognized as full valued participants.
- **Olive** – Symbolizing the self-determination of the Palestinian people and an invitation to Jewish communities to become allies to Palestinian liberation struggles.
- **Matzah** – As our ancestors were fleeing Mitzrayim, they did not have enough time to let the bread dough rise. They carried the unfinished dough on their backs and the hot sun baked it into hard, flat matzah. For the eight days of Passover, we eat no leaven (chametz) of any kind in memory of their hasty flight.

*An olive is added as “an invitation to Jewish communities to become allies to Palestinian liberation struggles.”*
Since it is customary for Jews to learn Torah on Shavuot, the holiday that commemorates the receiving of the Torah on Mount Sinai, JVP’s New York chapter organized a program called “Go and Learn: Jewish Community and Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions” around the holiday in 2012. The goal of the event was “to spend the holiday of Shavuot eating blintzes, learning about the Palestinian-led Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement and wrestling together with the implications of BDS for the Jewish community.”

In 2011, around a dozen communities hosted “Go & Learn” sessions in synagogues, homes, and community centers. In May 2012 though, the 14th Street Y in New York City canceled one of the “Go & Learn” sessions shortly before the event, which led members of YJP to claim they were being “silenced” by others in the local Jewish community.

The website for “Go & Learn” quotes Hillel the Elder, a Tannaitic sage, underscoring JVP’s effort to advance their agenda within a Jewish context.

LEADERSHIP

The following are brief biographies of some of the major leaders of Jewish Voice for Peace:

**Rebecca Vilkomerson** is the Executive Director of Jewish Voice for Peace. Vilkomerson is the public face of JVP and regularly speaks on the organization’s behalf on college campuses across the country, as well at major anti-Israel conferences like the 2013 Occupy AIPAC conference and the 2012 BDS conference at the University of Pennsylvania. Vilkomerson has also been invited to address mainstream audiences such as the 2011 J Street conference and at synagogue and other Jewish community events. After the Presbyterian Church passed a resolution calling for divestment from three corporations, Vilkomerson wrote a statement which was published in *Ha’aretz*, claiming that Eric Yoffie, the President Emeritus of the Union for Reform Judaism, “refuses to grapple with the reality of the occupation or to address the role Jewish American institutions play in repressing concrete actions against the Palestinians.”

**Rae Abileah** is a founding member of “Young, Jewish, and Proud,” Jewish Voice for Peace's youth movement. Abileah is also the co-director of CODEPINK, a women's antiwar organization that focuses heavily on anti-Israel initiatives. Abileah has garnered media attention for staging disruptive protests of pro-Israel events and speakers. In 2011, she was arrested for standing up and heckling Benjamin Netanyahu’s speech to a joint session of the U.S. Congress. Abileah supports a complete boycott campaign against Israel, recently tweeting a link to an article advocating for full BDS on her Twitter page and urging her followers to “DO THIS 4 PALESTINE. She also led a delegation to Israel and the West Bank in May and June 2013 as part of an Interfaith Peacebuilders (IFPB) delegation.

**Rabbi Brant Rosen** is the co-founder and chair of Jewish Voice for Peace's Rabbinical Council. Rabbi Rosen maintains a blog where he writes about issues related to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and his writings have also appeared on the anti-Israel blog Mondoweiss. He regularly delivers presentations at anti-Israel gatherings, including the March 2012 “One State Solution” conference at Harvard University and Israeli Apartheid Week programs on campus. Rabbi Rosen is the former leader of a Reconstructionist congregation in Evanston, Illinois and is the author of a new book called *Wrestling in the Daylight: A Rabbi’s Path to Palestinian Solidarity.*
Sydney Levy is JVP’s Director of Advocacy. Levy, who formerly served as JVP’s Director of Campaigns, has been involved with JVP for over 15 years and has spoken at many anti-Israel conferences organized by the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation and Friends of Sabeel – North America. He has supported and helped organize student-led divestment initiatives on campus, including writing a 2010 letter on behalf of JVP to the Berkeley Student Senate that described a divestment resolution there as an “inspiration.”

Rabbi Lynn Gottlieb is an Advisory Board and Rabbinical Council member of JVP as well as a founder of the Shomer Shalom Network for Jewish Nonviolence. In September 2008, Rabbi Gottlieb participated in an interfaith meal with Iran’s outgoing president, Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in New York, a meeting which was condemned by ADL for tacitly legitimizing Iran’s leader, who has called for Israel’s destruction. Rabbi Gottlieb has appeared at conferences organized by anti-Israel groups such as Friends of Sabeel – North America, US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation and CODEPINK. After participating in a “Gaza Freedom March” from Egypt to Gaza in 2009, Rabbi Gottlieb wrote an article justifying Palestinian violence against Israeli civilians as “just cause” against the Israeli occupation but acknowledged that she herself is committed to nonviolence.

Rabbi Alissa Wise is the Co-Director of Organizing for JVP and a co-chair of JVP’s Rabbinical Council. In June 2014, Rabbi Wise attended and delivered a speech at the General Assembly for the Presbyterian Church, which took place in Detroit, Michigan. In her remarks, she spoke favorably about the possible success of their divestment resolution and after the resolution was passed, Rabbi Wise stated that “The result of this powerful witness is a true compromise which includes investing in the Palestinian economy, commitment to reconciliation, and divestment from American companies profiting from the Israeli occupation.”

Liza Behrendt is a member of Young, Jewish and Proud and was involved with the JVP chapter at Brandeis University while a student there several years ago. Behrendt regularly engages in disruptions of pro-Israel events. At the 2012 AIPAC conference in Washington, D.C., she disrupted a breakout session about Israel advocacy on campus, chanting pro-BDS slogans and shouting, “Young Jews are being silenced on campus!” until she was removed from the room. In April 2011, Behrendt was involved in a protest of a panel discussion featuring several Israeli Knesset members at Brandeis. She repeatedly heckled Avi Dichter, one of the Israeli MKs, shouting “war criminal” and chanting in Hebrew, “Avi, Avi, don’t worry, we will meet you at The Hague.” In an interview following the event, Behrendt claimed that Dichter, who was previously head of Israel’s Shin Bet, should be put on trial for “crimes against humanity.”