

# **JIHAD ON CAMPUS** **UNMASKED**

**HOW PRO-HAMAS**  
***STUDENTS FOR JUSTICE IN PALESTINE***  
**HIJACKED U.S. UNIVERSITIES**

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Pro-Palestinian, anti-Israel protesters gather in front of the Colorado Convention Center,  
the site of the opening plenary of the Jewish National Fund-USA annual conference,  
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# Introduction

# Jihad on Campus

**Dr. Dan Diker**

The Hamas atrocities of October 7, 2023 — rape, torture, mass murder, and kidnapping of some 1,300 infants, children, teens, women, men, and elderly in southern Israel, were greeted by a disconcerting display of public support across U.S. cities and university campuses. Revelations of savagery by both Hamas terrorists and Gazan civilians were recorded on bodycams and cell phones in real time. Hamas fighters broadcasted atrocities live on social media.

Unlike past international atrocities, such as the genocidal massacres in Nazi Germany and occupied Europe and, in later years in Rwanda, Srebrenica, and Kosovo, which were met with international outrage and condemnation, the Hamas atrocities were greeted with approval and even excitement on some Western campuses and in some cities.

This convergence of Hamas' barbaric acts of torture and murder and the sharp rise of genocidal antisemitism on American university campuses underscore the urgency of this compendium, *Jihad on Campus, Unmasked: How Hamas-linked Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) Hijacked U.S. Universities*. SJP is the most significant “pro-Palestinian” network on North American university campuses.

SJP has platformed Hamas and other Palestinian terror groups, including Palestinian Islamic Jihad and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, since SJP's founding in the early 1990s.

The establishment of National SJP in 2010, a nationwide network of SJP-affiliated groups, centralized and strengthened the group's organized activity and protest culture on more than 200 universities across North America.

SJP's unabashed, outspoken demonstrations of support on campus for Palestinian terror groups has transformed America's finest universities into hothouses of radicalism and extremism. At a rally at Cornell University organized by SJP, a professor said that Hamas's acts “exhilarated” and “excited” him. SJP chapters posted pictures and graphics on social media of invading Hamas paragliders, celebrating its deadly assault on young Israeli partygoers on the Simchat Torah holiday weekend. Hours after the massacre,

George Washington University SJP issued a statement justifying the mass murder reflecting the student group’s ever-increasing radicalization.

In 2018, NYC Students for Justice in Palestine was rebranded as the extremist, “Within Our Lifetime” (WOL) organization.

WOL’s student leader, Nerdeen Kiswani, was recorded at a protest in 2021 declaring, “We want all of it” - meaning all of “Palestine” from the river to the sea –as exclusively Arab and Muslim. Kiswani’s statement paralleled the Hamas 1988 charter, which calls explicitly for the murder of Jews and the establishment of an Islamic trust over geographical Palestine, from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea reflecting the incantation heard at SJP protests.



In 2021, WOL launched a campaign to “Globalize the Intifada” which, “comes from the urgent need to defend our lands, resist our oppressors, and break free from the genocidal grip of U.S. imperialism and Zionism.”

The October 7, 2023, Hamas massacre in Israel energized this genocidal libel that has metastasized across U.S. university campuses. Days after the atrocities, SJP hosted a “National Day of Resistance” throughout the United States. Protest leaders declared:

“Gaza broke out of prison” and breach(ed) the illegitimate border fence back into ’48 Palestine.”

The Columbia University “Social Workers 4 Palestine” referred to the Hamas massacre as a “counteroffensive.. and the centrality of revolutionary violence to anti-imperialism.” This was a searing statement by social workers, mandated to help trauma victims such as the orphans, widows, widowers, friends, and rape victims of Hamas.

SJP’s jihadi narrative has whitewashed terrorism and mass murder, transforming the students’ organization into a conduit for pro-jihadi activism while academically intellectualizing massacres of civilians.

This is why *Jihad on Campus, Unmasked* provides a crucial assessment of this ominous student organization and dangerous university phenomenon that have legitimized, energized, and encouraged Palestinian jihadi terrorist organizations both in the Middle East and the West.

Context is critical. The book reveals SJP’s historical, ideological, and social development. It illustrates how SJP helped pioneer the genocidal antisemitic narrative that has taken hold on university campuses.

The study’s broad assessment of SJP also reveals how this student organization helped pave a pathway to Hamas’ October 7, 2023 massacre by establishing an environment of campus legitimacy for Palestinian disinformation and terrorism.

In short, SJP’s nationwide aggressive actions, initiatives, and programming have signalled to Hamas and other colluding terror organizations that they could carry out the mass murder of Israelis with limited repercussions in the West.

A November 2023 poll revealed that 35 percent of Americans blamed Israel for the current war with Hamas and expressed doubts over Hamas’ rape of Israeli women. The poll also reflected the West’s uncritical acceptance of Gaza casualty numbers as provided by the Hamas-controlled Gaza Ministry of Health.

While several U.S. universities, including Brandeis and Columbia, have shuttered their SJP branches, its ideology, growing membership, freedom of action, and influence on university campuses require scrutiny and moral clarity.

In this regard, the *Jihad on Campus, Unmasked* compendium of articles, including critical assessments by Arab authors who are intimately familiar with the political culture and anthropology of Islamist Jihadi organizations, provides critical context for the Western reader whom Hamas and other Palestinian terror groups have targeted with disinformation and propaganda campaigns.

Moreover, this policy compendium reveals the significant challenges SJP poses to university presidents, several of whom admitted in December 5th, 2023 congressional testimony their inability to define, prohibit, or condemn genocidal declarations against Jews on campus as “harassment” in violation of their respective university’s code of conduct.

*Jihad on Campus, Unmasked* also tests senior administrators, faculty, and student leaders in weighing the acceptability of student organizational support for genocidal Islamic, Palestinian, and other terror organizations on North American universities, some of which are dependent on funding from foreign countries.

# The Vanguard of Hamas Information Warfare on Campus

By Irina Tsukerman



SJP's logo, Columbia chapter

While Students for Justice in Palestine, a non-profit organization with branches on campuses across the United States, has become a flashpoint for debating free speech, academic freedom, and antisemitism after the October 7, 2023, Hamas attack on Israel, their role is likely far more sinister than other anti-Israel organizations pushing propaganda narratives onto impressionable college students. An interview with Adela Cojab Moadeb, a law student, former campus activist, and the complainant in a Department of Education action pushing for equal protections for Jewish students at NYU in 2019, reveals that SJP may be an active facilitator of Hamas' strategy. Any possible coordination between SJP and Hamas in facilitating information operations, recruiting followers, and antagonizing Jewish and pro-Israel students on campus should be scrutinized by the newly launched Congressional probe into charities linked to terrorist organizations in Gaza.

According to Cojab, SJP was ready with relevant material for dissemination immediately after October 7, which was only possible for a student organization with some advance warning. In other words, from the level of action readiness by SJP campus groups, SJP chapters were made ready for a rapid propaganda response to any anticipated Hamas action. If any of the SJP chapters or the national center had an advance warning of an impending attack and had agreed to facilitate the consequent information campaign, they could be considered accessories after the fact or co-conspirators in planning the attack. This means that the organization and any of its constituent members who were privy to that information and took any part in relevant, coordinated activities could be subject to a criminal investigation. According to Cojab, SJP follows a sophisticated procedure for recruiting fellow travelers from faculty by engaging in prep work and informal outreach throughout the fall semesters at the universities where these chapters are active and when student organization is otherwise dormant and not actively involved in the event space. By the time the spring semester arrives, SJP activity is in full swing; the professors are fully engaged and supportive of the cause, attending events, signing petitions and letters, and otherwise propagating SJP perspectives.

SJP, Cojab contends, should be recognized as closely affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood, which is believed by many to be a grassroots revolutionary movement engaged in Muslim advocacy. In contrast to its reputation of being democratic, progressive, and revolutionary, the Muslim Brotherhood – the source from which Hamas and most jihadist groups emerged – is a tribal/familial, rigidly hierarchical, and tightly controlled movement that began in Egypt under the ideological influence of the Bolsheviks and Nazis. The Brotherhood is engaged in a political form of Islam and views outsiders with suspicion even when they share its ideology and views. The Muslim Brotherhood, which has migrated from Egypt to Turkey and Europe following the counter-coup by now-President Al Sissi, has been generously funded by Qatar, which also reported supporting Hamas and other terrorist organizations. SJP's sister organization, American Muslims for Palestine, shares a co-founder, Hatem Bazian, a lecturer at the University of California at Berkeley and recipient of donations from the AFR Foundation. According to the Middle East Forum, this foundation appears to serve as an umbrella for approximately 50 private Islamist grant-making foundations.

Moreover, at least one of these organizations, the Muslim American Youth Association, has, according to the FBI, “played pivotal roles in building [the Palestinian terrorist group] Hamas’s infrastructure in the United States.” The donation to American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) may seem negligible. Still, under federal law, non-profits in the United States are not required to disclose all their funding sources, even those from abroad (although several states require greater transparency). The financial trail from Hamas-linked and other Islamist entities to SJP and its network could be substantially greater than is currently known. Before creating AMP and SJP, Bazian was a fundraiser for KindHearts. This pro-Palestinian charity had its assets frozen by the



federal government for “support for terrorism behind the façade of charitable giving,” specifically for allegedly providing aid to the terrorist organization Hamas,” according to InfluenceWatch. KindHearts denied these allegations, but the pattern of links between Bazian and Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad-linked entities has already been explored extensively by the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs.

The vocal support for “terrorist groups” led to a Florida state government directive to shut down all SJP chapters at the universities across the state. SJP likewise retains strong ties to Qatar; for instance, it has a branch at the Georgetown campus in Doha. Is Doha one of its financiers? A National Association of Academics Study found that Qatar donated approximately \$4.7 billion to universities between 2001 (right after 9/11) and 2021; most of the donations came from the Qatar Foundation International, which is linked directly to the ruling Al-Thani family. Much of the funding went towards opening the chapters of the various universities in Doha, such as Georgetown and Northwestern, Carnegie Mellon, and others; additionally, some of the funding went towards opening schools of journalism and schools of government. Northwestern signed a cooperation agreement with Al Jazeera, a Qatar state-controlled media conglomerate the Trump Administration’s Department of Justice ruled should be designated as a foreign agent. Al Jazeera’s coverage of the Israel-Hamas war has been so biased and distorted that Secretary Anthony Blinken requested Emir Tamim to “tone it down.”

One of the most famous graduates of Qatar’s School of Journalism is Karen Attiah, the Washington Post op-ed editor who drew controversy for the arrangement between the QFI and then-columnist Jamal Khashoggi. QFI provided Khashoggi with source material for his articles, which he largely copy-pasted into his column, which was translated and edited by Attiah. Khashoggi was likewise affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood. Many of these unaccountable donations went toward Middle East Studies departments in the recipient universities; these departments typically reflect pro-Palestinian narratives. According to Cojab, one NYU Middle East Studies department propagated narrative, now popularized on Tik-Tok, is that Osama Bin Laden was a “freedom fighter.”

In November 2023, Columbia University suspended Students for Justice in Palestine and Jewish Voice for Peace as official student groups until the end of the Fall semester. The two groups violated university policies on holding campus events and using threatening and intimidating rhetoric. Brandeis University and George Washington University recently followed suit with SJP.

Because the donations are fungible, they could have gone toward student activity, including organizations such as Students for Justice in Palestine. Quantitative studies, such as the recent Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy (ISGAP) report, “The Corruption of the American” mind, found a direct correlation between

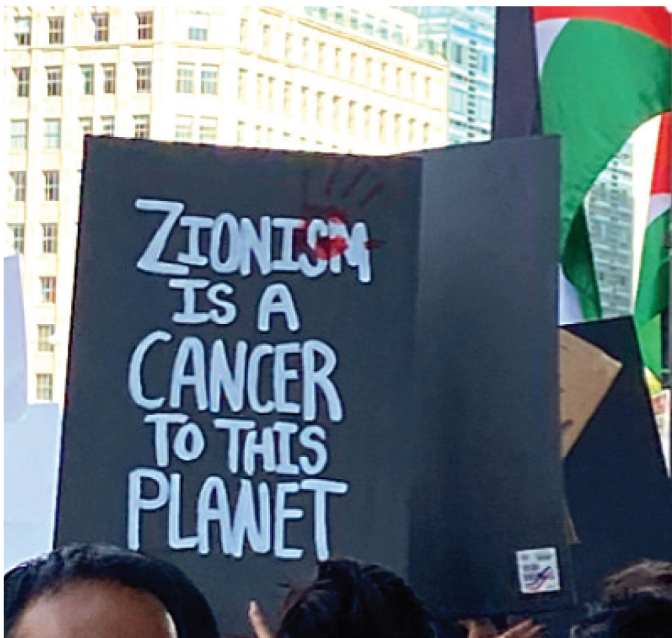
undisclosed funding between universities known to be receiving funding from Qatar and targeted antisemitic campaigns against academic scholars, as well as various other antisemitic incidents and antisemitic expressions on campus. While the report has not established causal connections, it did show a high degree of correlation between undocumented foreign money, Middle Eastern donations to universities, illiberalism, and antisemitic activity, including by SJP. In response to these findings, the U.S. Congress is moving to cut federal funding to universities where antisemitism is rampant and to investigate SJP and AMP. Moreover, some Iranian activists, who echo Tehran narratives, have joined with SJP, drawing scrutiny from bloggers and journalists as possible unregistered Iran agents amid media and Congressional probes into Iran's influence campaigns.

## Endnotes

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# The End of "the Useful Idiots:" The Left, Islam, and Palestine

Hussein Aboubakr Mansour



An anti-Israel rally in Washington D.C, November 4, 2023, (ADL)

In the immediate aftermath of the October 7, 2023, Hamas terrorist attack, one thing stood out to Israelis, world Jewry, and all concerned people: the shockingly vibrant support for genocidal antisemitism and ruthless terrorism against Israelis at the heart of Western liberalism and its elite institutions. In particular, Western elite universities presented us with a stark image of explosive student support for antisemitic terrorism, faculty endorsement, and administrative toleration of such an abomination. Immediately after the initial events, student groups and faculty members issued statements and letters defending the inhumane murder of Israeli civilians, the rape of Israeli women, and the abduction of Israeli children as legitimate acts of decolonization by the oppressed – in what historian Simon Sebag Montefiore described as a “historically nonsensical mix of Marxist theory, Soviet propaganda, and traditional antisemitism from the Middle Ages and the 19th century.” But was such a display of insanity so nonsensical after all?

For most, the convergence of Islamist movements like Hamas and the international left represents a significant ideological paradox. Islamism, with its conservative, religious roots, seems inherently at odds with what is perceived to be the secular, progressive values of the left. This alignment around the Palestinian Cause is often seen as a byproduct of the shared opposition to mutual adversaries, such as perceived Western imperialism and Zionism. For long, the alliance between the left and Islamist groups like Hamas was seen as a complex marriage of convenience in which figures of the Western left were dismissed as “useful idiots.” The consistency of support and the very language used to support Palestinian terrorism among leftist students, scholars, and publications begs the question of whether such support doesn’t have a much more complex and cohesive intellectual foundation on the left than previously assumed.

The relationship between the Palestinian Cause and the international left goes back decades to the 1950s by way of Arab Nationalism and direct affiliation since the 1960s. As a matter of fact, if the Palestinian Cause is defined by its main feature of anti-Zionism, the relationship then could go back to the 1930s when the Third International (the Communist International – Comintern) institutionalized its analysis of Zionism as a colonialist movement acting as an agent for Western imperialism in the Middle East and insisted on supporting worldwide, not nationalist, labor Socialism as the only possible solution to the Jewish question. In the Middle East, this Soviet position, directly related to the Leninist analysis of imperialism, was known only to the Arab Marxists and Arab Communist parties in the Levant. Leninism maintained that Western worldwide imperialist behavior was the primary mechanism through which Western capitalist markets avoided their inevitable internal collapse. Thus, an alliance with anti-Western forces in what became known later as the Third World will help bring revolution inside the Western core. This conception was to be later institutionalized and expanded as the primary strategy of Soviet foreign policy during the Cold War, through which the Soviet Union allied itself with Third World national movements against “the principal enemy” of Communism: the United States and its allies. It was by this mixture of theoretical and strategic innovations that, within the international left, Third World nationalisms were to be considered progressive. In contrast, Western nationalisms were reactionary, a configuration that is currently applied to “reactionary” Zionism and “progressive” Palestinianism.

It was only in the 1950s, with the rise of the potent ideology of Arab Nationalism as part of the Third World liberation movements, that such a conception of Zionism as a reactionary forward base for Western imperialism and capitalism became the official line of Arab revolutionaries in Egypt and the Levant, who presented themselves as part of the world socialist revolutionary process. For its part, the Soviet Union contributed heavily to the radicalization of Arab societies by pushing classical antisemitism mixed with anti-imperialist zeal in programs of ideological indoctrination, leadership training, and mass propaganda. Arab politics of the era were defined by the cosmic

clash between the Arab Nationalist trinity of the good of “Unity, Liberty, and Socialism” facing off with the triad of the evil of “imperialism, Zionism, and Arab reaction.”

It was in the 1960s, however, that monolithic ideological leviathans of what became known as the “old left,” such as Stalinism and Arab Nationalism, were irreversibly fractured and fragmented, giving way to a new era of New Left radical politics of identity and solidarity, and the new radical forms of violence of guerilla warfare. The intellectual birthplace of this new era was Paris, where most Third World intellectuals received their education and conceived of their political programs as part of something unitary, significant, and historic. The three main contributors to these new developments and who would have a direct and enduring influence on the emerging Palestinian nationalism were Marxist philosophers Jean-Paul Sartre, Frantz Fanon, and Régis Debray.

In post-WWII France, French intellectuals developed a distinct form of intellectual pathos and philosophical melancholia characterized by despair from the prospects of an actual revolution in the West and a disillusionment with Stalinism. Thus, political salvation was sought in the Third World, where masses of humans “more disinherited than the Western proletariat” were seen as messianic saviors of humanity from capitalism. Decolonization emerged as a new intellectual construct primarily comprised of nationalism, anti-Western, and Marxist revolution and served as the primary tool of the Marxification of the Third World. Unlike what the term might suggest, decolonization never innocuously meant mere political independence from colonial rule but always contained elaborate Marxist revolutionary content and was often fueled by a heavy dose of Soviet antisemitic propaganda. By the 1960s, during these significant transformations of radical politics, the very ideological structure of Marxism itself was transformed as it abandoned its core category of class in favor of race and abandoned its focus on national political economy to focus on international relations, giving rise to what came to be known the New Left. This was also the decade of the birth of the modern Palestinian national movement, which incorporated much of its intellectual developments.

The Marxist psychoanalyst Frantz Fanon was to have the most enduring effects on the meaning of decolonization through his book *The Wretched of the Earth*, considered by many to be the Bible of decolonization. The book is a theology of ruthless murderous violence against the white races, only through which the new decolonized man could be reborn. Sartre wrote the introduction to the book and endorsed its message with a masochistic enthusiasm and a psychotic endorsement of mass murder that often outdid Fanon himself. The book was immediately translated into Arabic by the Levant’s most important progressive publishing house at the time, Suhayl Idris’s *Al-Adab*, and the book made a lasting impact on the emerging generation of Palestinian activists. As a matter of fact, following the Munich massacre, Fatah’s magazine featured Fanon on its cover, and much of the literature of PFLP’s Ghassan Kanafani revolves around the Fanonian motif of the birth of the Palestinian through the killing of an Israeli.

The second most crucial self-making concept the Palestinians acquired from the French left was “armed struggle,” theorized in French Marxist Régis Debray’s book, *Revolution Inside the Revolution*. This concept would become both the main self-image of Palestinian identity and the very content of Palestinian nationalism itself. By the late 1960s, after a new generation of New Left Palestinians was able to wrestle the Palestinian Liberation Organization from the hands of the Nasserist Old Left, the Palestinian Cause formally became one of the components of the International Left consortium of struggles fueling the radical left worldwide and which included rising forms of identity, gender, and sexual, political movements. This smooth incorporation was aided by a new generation of Arab American intellectuals who helped establish the Palestinian Cause in the moral category of the New Left, notable of whom were Fayeze Sayegh, the first to explain the Palestinian Cause in the language of racism and apartheid, and Edward Said, who had a far-reaching influence on the development of contemporary identity politics and the current climate on college campuses.

The Palestine of the New Left differed significantly from the Palestine of the Old Left and Arab Nationalism. While the latter was part of a struggle against Western imperialism, the former was the beginning of “Palestine” as part of the liberationist project of humanity against white racism and dispossession. Within the ideational structure of the New Left, the identity of the Palestinians stood next to blacks, women, and homosexuals as symbols of the dehumanization of humanity at the hands of the Western world order and its delusion of freedom.

By the 1980s, following the Islamic Revolution of Iran, large segments of Middle Eastern societies and their politics went through the process of Islamization in which movements such as Hizbullah in Lebanon and Hamas in Gaza were born. Far from being the return of the religious repressed, these movements emerged out of societies that had already internalized the revolutionary ethos of radical ideologies, and the Islam that emerged in the late 1970s was primarily a post-Marxist Islam. Thus, movements like Hamas are inherently ideological hybrids incorporating much of the fanaticism common to religious fundamentalism and the revolutionary ethos of modern radical politics, which they inherited from their immediate political predecessors. Fanonian decolonization was wedded to Islamic religious and historical symbols. While this has often been unrecognized by many, the true identity of such Islamic movements is recognized by radical Western intellectuals such as Judith Butler and Robert Malley, who openly considered such movements progressive social movements.





Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra, 3rd century Roman mosaic (National Archaeological Museum of Spain). *(Luis Garcia/Flickr)*

If half the claims in this article are valid, then the expressions of American college students, nursed in the classroom on the writings of the likes of Fanon and Butler and enthused by the criminal violence of Hamas, are far from shocking. Such support is consistent with the theoretical developments on the left ever since Feuerbach published his *Essence of Christianity* in 1841 until today. It established a complex and coherent framework for understanding the Palestinian Cause as inherently progressive and Zionism as inherently reactionary. There are no useful idiots here but complex political activism webs with objectives different from what many assume. While one cannot deny that many who identify as progressive merely want better lives, more rights for minorities, and better care of the environment, no informed observer should ignore the entire intellectual and philosophical legacy of the International Left in which the Palestinian Cause is now an inalienable component and the main point of contact with hundreds of millions in the Third World. The Jewish people, once again, are facing off against the poisonous hydra of the times.





# There's no doubt what “From the river to the sea” means

Khaled Abu Toameh



A sign at an anti-Israel demonstration (ADL, Center on Extremism)

It is now evident that the messages and slogans of Hamas have infiltrated university campuses in the United States, Canada, and Europe. By endorsing these messages and slogans, “pro-Palestinian” groups and individuals on the campuses are empowering Palestinian radicals, including Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and helping advance their strategy of waging Jihad (holy war) against Israel. In addition, the groups are aiding Hamas in spreading antisemitic tropes.

The slogan, “From the [Jordan] River to the [Mediterranean] Sea, Palestine will be free!” has been chanted by anti-Israel students on Western campuses for years. This slogan echoes Hamas’ ideology as reflected in its charter and statements of its leaders. The slogan means that Jews have no right to live in their own sovereign state and denies any Jewish link to the land.

Hamas’s 1988 Charter makes it crystal clear that there is no room for Israel in the Middle East, including the land stretching from the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea:

“The Islamic Resistance Movement [Hamas] believes that the land of Palestine is an Islamic Waqf consecrated for future Muslim generations until Judgement Day. It, or any part of it, should not be squandered; it, or any part of it, should not be given up. Neither a single Arab country nor all Arab countries, neither army, king or president, nor all kings and presidents, neither any organization nor all of them, be they Palestinian or Arab, possesses the right to do that.”

In 2017, Hamas published a “political document” with 42 articles in which it reaffirmed that “Palestine, which extends from the Jordan River in the east to the Mediterranean in the west and from Ras-al-Naqurah (Rosh Hanikra) in the north to Umm al-Rashrash (Eilat) in the south is the land and the home of the Palestinian people.” According to the document, which some Western analysts have falsely interpreted as a sign of “moderation” by the Islamist group, “Hamas rejects any alternative to the full and complete liberation of Palestine, from the river to the sea.”

Hamas officials and media outlets must be happy to see university students at Western campuses endorse the call for eliminating Israel and replacing it with an Islamist state. Students who are chanting “From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free!” are not only denying Israel’s right to exist, but also supporting Jihad against Jews to facilitate the mission of “freeing Palestine, from the river to the sea.” After all, as Hamas has repeatedly stressed, Jihad is the only way to “liberate Palestine.”

It’s also worth noting that by endorsing the slogan “From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free!” the “pro-Palestinian” students are also sending a message that they do not accept the “two-state solution” or agreements signed between Israel and the PLO. They are saying that they are opposed to the PLO’s “recognition” of Israel’s right to exist. The students, in other words, are saying they prefer Hamas over the PLO which, in their eyes, “betrayed” the Palestinians by abandoning plans to destroy Israel.

In 1993, PLO leader Yasser Arafat, in a letter to then-Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, stated that the PLO “recognizes the right of the State of Israel to exist in peace and security.” Arafat, in other words, was saying that the Palestinians have abandoned the slogan “From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.” It is ironic that while

Arafat and his successor, Mahmoud Abbas, have publicly recognized Israel's right to exist, university students in the West continue to promote Hamas's genocidal agenda.

Another slogan employed by the "pro-Palestinian" (i.e., anti-Israel) students is the one calling for an Intifada (uprising). For Hamas and other Palestinian terrorist groups, the term Intifada has always been associated with violence against Israel. This includes suicide bombings, drive-by shootings, stabbings, and car-ramming attacks, as well as the indiscriminate firing of rockets into Israel. Hamas leaders and spokesmen have made it clear that the only Intifada they believe in is a comprehensive Intifada, which includes the forms mentioned above of terrorism. So, by calling for a new Intifada, the "pro-Palestinian" students are calling on Palestinians to launch various forms of terrorist attacks against Israel, much to the satisfaction of Hamas.

At some campuses, students have voiced support for the Mukawama (resistance). In the Palestinian lexicon, especially that of Hamas, Mukawama is associated with the "armed struggle" against Israel. Palestinians often refer to Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad, and other Palestinian terrorist groups as Fasa'il al-Mukawama (resistance factions). This is done to distinguish them from other Palestinian factions that are not involved in terrorism against Israel. For example, Fatah, the ruling faction headed by Mahmoud Abbas, is no longer labeled as a resistance group because of its association with the Oslo Accords and purported recognition of Israel's right to exist. Hence, when the students chant slogans in support of the Mukawama, they are endorsing Hamas's armed struggle against Israel. The students, in addition, are expressing indirect disapproval of any Palestinian faction that is not involved in violence against Israel.

Similarly, the chant "Glory to our martyrs" is nothing but an expression of support for terrorist attacks against Israel. As far as the Palestinians are concerned, the term "martyr" includes suicide bombers and other terrorists. Praising Palestinians who are killed while attacking Jews has always been a significant part of the Palestinians' strategy. In this regard, it is not only Hamas but the Palestinian Authority as well. Those who chant "Glory to our martyrs" are sending a message to Palestinians that Westerners believe it is OK to kill Jews.

## **Opposition to Normalization**

Then there are the calls for Mukata'a (boycott), which have become commonplace on campuses and other venues worldwide. Hamas has long been supportive of the idea of a complete Mukata'a of Israel. When Hamas talks about boycotting Israel, it is not necessarily referring to Israeli products and companies. For Hamas, the idea of boycotting Israel extends far beyond not purchasing Israeli-made products. Hamas wants Arabs and Muslims to boycott Israel because it is opposed to any form of

normalization. Hamas wants the rest of the world to boycott Israel because it is hoping that this will weaken the Jewish state and facilitate the mission of eliminating it.

Hamas is not hoping that the boycott will pressure Israel to change a particular policy or rescind a specific decision. Besides being tantamount to a blood libel, slogans such as “Divest from Zionist genocide” serve to amplify Hamas’ call for the destruction of Israel. The term “Zionist genocide” has long been a Hamas favorite, but its use picked up significantly after the start of the Gaza war in October.

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