



# COMBATING JIHAD ON CAMPUS

How pro-Hamas activists have  
hijacked U.S. universities and  
what can be done to stop it

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The Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs is a non-partisan, not-for-profit organization.

ISBN 978-965-218-169-5

*Combating Jihad on Campus* is dedicated to the loving memory of

**Olga Meshoe Washington**

who worked passionately for interfaith relations and Israel advocacy

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# Introduction

## Combating Jihad on Campus

Dr. Dan Diker

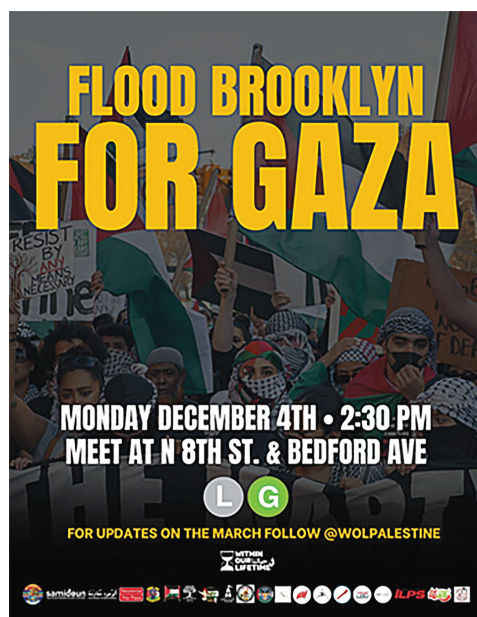
The Hamas atrocities of October 7, 2023 – including the rape, torture, and mass murder of some 1,200 men, women, and children – and the violent kidnapping of 240 more, were greeted with a disconcerting show of public support around the globe, including on university campuses. Over a quarter of young Americans have expressed support for the Islamist group's takeover of Israel.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike past atrocities and genocidal massacres in Iraq, Rwanda, Srebrenica, and Kosovo, which were met with international outrage and condemnation, Hamas's 10/7 pogrom, which included violent mistreatment of hostages, including sexual abuse and execution, has been rationalized and even celebrated on Western campuses and pro-Palestinian protests in American cities.<sup>2</sup> International demonstrations of support and U.S.-led calls for an immediate ceasefire have bolstered Hamas's international legitimacy and their intransigence to remain in power, subverting Israel's global standing and war effort.

The phenomenon of increasing Western support for Hamas's mass murder and kidnapping, months after the graphic revelations of 10/7 and its aftermath, constitutes an unprecedented case study of a U.S.-designated terror

organization undermining the international legitimacy of a key democratic ally of the United States in the aftermath of the worst atrocity against Jews since the Nazi Holocaust.

To help comprehend this unprecedented development, this compendium exposes Hamas's entrenched ideological and political support network in the West, including the Palestine Solidarity Committee and Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP). These organizations comprise the most significant so-called "pro-Palestinian" network on North American university campuses.



Since SJP's founding in the early 1990s, the group has platformed U.S.-designated terror organizations including Hamas and other Palestinian terror group members, including from Palestinian Islamic Jihad and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, transforming some of America's finest



universities into hothouses of radicalism and extremism. Statements by SJP members and supporters parallel and justify the language of the Hamas charter, which calls explicitly for the murder of Jews and the destruction of Israel. They have also called for violent uprising and subversion of the United States.<sup>3</sup>

The amalgamation of Hamas and well-organized networks of Western supporters and loyalists underlines the importance of this book's analysis of campus organizations that have legitimized, energized, and encouraged dangerous Palestinian jihadi terrorist groups.

Indicative of this union, a November 2023 poll revealed that 35 percent of Americans blamed Israel for the current war with Hamas and expressed doubts over the veracity of Hamas's rape of Israeli women.<sup>4</sup> The poll also reflected the West's uncritical acceptance of Gaza casualty numbers provided by the Hamas-controlled Gaza Ministry of Health. A March 2024 Gallup poll revealed that most Americans oppose Israel's conduct of the war against Hamas.<sup>5</sup>

While several universities, including Brandeis, Columbia, George Washington, and Florida's public universities, have closed SJP branches, its ideology, growing activism, and broad influence on university campuses require scrutiny and moral clarity.

*Combating Jihad on Campus* features assessments by authors familiar with both the U.S. university scene and the political culture of Islamist jihadi organizations.

**Khaled Abu Toameh** exposes and explicates Hamas's effective mobilization of their student and faculty campus loyalists who

amplify jihadi messages such as, “From the River to the Sea, Palestine will be free.” **Hussein Aboubakr Mansour** assesses the ironic convergence between Hamas, other conservative Islamic groups and progressive far-left organizations. **Asra Nomani** exposes the central role of Zaytuna College’s Professor Hatem Bazian as a critical mediator of radical political Islamic activists on behalf of Hamas on campus. **Olga Meshoe Washington** examines the consequences of the misappropriation of the term “apartheid” by activists, including those on campus during “Israel Apartheid Week,” who delegitimize the State of Israel as racist and denigrate Black South African history. **Michal Cotler-Wunsh** tracks how academia and international community institutions, primarily the United Nations, have perpetrated “Holocaust inversion” by appropriating “genocide” terminology and making claims that dehumanize the Jewish people and delegitimize Israel’s existence. Egyptian Middle East expert, **Dalia Ziada** exposes the Muslim Brotherhood’s aim to subvert the West, especially through campus activism, and the West’s acceptance of their propagandist appropriation of the human rights narrative that serves Hamas’s jihad. U.S.-Mideast analyst **Hazem Alghabra** covers the American legal aspects of clamping down on campus support for U.S.-designated terror groups.

These articles provide essential background for Westerners whom Hamas and other Palestinian terror groups have targeted with disinformation and poisonous propaganda campaigns.

In addition, this compendium reveals the significant challenges SJP poses to university presidents and senior administrators to enforce university codes of conduct that would prohibit campus groups’ open support for genocidal terror groups and the encouragement of antisemitic harassment. It also raises the

significance of U.S. universities enforcing Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which prohibits intentional discrimination based on race, color, or national origin and allows for financial penalties for public universities that do so. This book poses a challenge to faculty and student leaders in weighing the acceptability of terror-supporting student organizations, some of which are dependent on billions of dollars of funding from foreign sources, including Qatar, a long-time supporter of Hamas as a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood.

What can be done to stop pro-Hamas activists from hijacking U.S. universities? The Jerusalem Center for Security and Foreign Affairs proposes the following action points to combat jihad on campus:

- ♦ Require transparency for foreign funding of university programs especially Middle East studies and social science departments, and foreign and domestic off-campus financing of campus activism.
- ♦ Enforce the Higher Education Act (HEA), requiring colleges and universities that receive federal funding to report to the U.S. Department of Education any gifts or contracts from foreign sources that exceed \$250,000 per year for courses, programs, or faculty positions, to protect national security or academic integrity.
- ♦ Enforce sanctions through the Office of Foreign Assets Control (OFAC), and export control laws (e.g., ITAR and EAR) where applicable.
- ♦ Consider bills such as the No Foreign Gifts Act (2024) introduced by Rep. Ritchie Torres, a bipartisan bill that

seeks to ban U.S. colleges from accepting money or gifts from nations that fund terrorism (e.g., China, Russia, North Korea, Iran, Qatar) and the recently proposed Protecting Higher Education from Foreign Influence Act (2025) that would lower the reporting threshold for foreign gifts to \$50,000 and restrict contracts with certain countries.

- ◊ Enforce Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to protect Jewish students as a distinct ethnic group from on-campus harassment and discrimination for Jewish-Zionist identity, as was initiated by President Trump on December 11, 2019, and further empowered by his signing of the Executive Order on Combating Anti-Semitism (Order 13899) at the start of his 2025 presidential term. Title VI protects Jews, among other ethnic groups, from discrimination based on race, color, or national origin in programs receiving federal financial assistance. Title VI protections also empower universities and colleges to enforce their anti-discrimination policies by providing a federal legal framework to compel university administrators to enforce its provisions their codes of conduct. For example, Jewish students were prevented by protesters to access to certain parts of campus at a pro-Hamas student encampment at UCLA in summer 2024. Title VI was invoked to protect their rights in a federal lawsuit, and a federal court issued a precedent-setting preliminary injunction order against UCLA in August 2024.
- ◊ Suspend and expel university students or staff who publicly support Hamas or other U.S.-designated terror organizations using university codes of conduct and campus policy. Revoke the visa status of foreign students openly supporting terror groups and prosecute students

who break federal laws against material support for terrorism, investigating their activities when applicable.

- ◊ Demand academic integrity and balance in courses and seminars on Israel and the Middle East, and in those teaching postcolonial theory, which also target the United States and the West. The U.S. government provides significant funding via student loans, grants, and research support from federal agencies subject to Title IV of the Higher Education Act. These could be conditioned on universities demonstrating academic integrity and ideological balance, mandating that courses cover multiple perspectives on these topics. State legislatures and city governments may have monitoring powers over state and municipal colleges and universities, that can press for curriculum changes through state legislatures and education boards. Congress may also mandate through laws and hearings that universities promote more balanced curricula, spotlighting perceived biases and encouraging universities to self-regulate.
- ◊ Adopt the widely accepted International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA) Working Definition of Antisemitism and its examples to prevent antisemitism against Jewish individuals such as students, faculty, and staff on university campuses as well as against the antisemitic delegitimization and demonization of the Jewish collective – the Jewish State.

## Notes

1. [https://harvardharrispoll.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/HHP\\_Oct23\\_KeyResults.pdf](https://harvardharrispoll.com/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/HHP_Oct23_KeyResults.pdf) October 2023 Harvard Harris poll: 26% percent of 18–24-year-olds polled believe the

solution to the Israel-Palestinian conflict is for Israel to be “ended and given to Hamas and the Palestinians.” Overall, 84 percent of respondents said they side with Israel over Hamas, but only 52 percent back Israel among 18-24-year-olds. Additionally, 51 percent of 18-24-year-olds said that the Palestinian grievance justified the killings of October 7.

2. In 2004, SJP co-founder Hatem Bazian declared to a crowd of protesters in San Francisco, “we’re sitting here and watching the world pass by, people being bombed, and it’s about time that we have an intifada in this country that change fundamentally the political dynamics in here,” and “They’re gonna say, ‘some Palestinian being too radical’ – well, you haven’t seen radicalism yet!” Bazian later backtracked on a Fox News interview. <https://www.historynewsnetwork.org/article/hatem-bazian-calls-for-an-intifada-in-the-united-s?form=MG0AV3>
3. See [https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/hamas.asp](https://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/hamas.asp). “Palestine is an Islamic land... Since this is the case, the Liberation of Palestine is an individual duty for every Moslem wherever he may be.” (Article 13) Days after the 10/7 atrocities, SJP hosted a “National Day of Resistance” throughout the United States. Protest leaders declared: “Gaza broke out of prison. Resistance fighters captured one of the bulldozers used to destroy Palestinian homes and used it to breach the illegitimate border fence back into ‘48 Palestine.” See <https://www.jpost.com/bds-threat/article-768024>
4. <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2023/12/08/americans-views-of-the-israel-hamas-war/>
5. <https://news.gallup.com/poll/642695/majority-disapprove-israeli-action-gaza.aspx>

# **The End of “the Useful Idiots:” The Left, Islam, and Palestine**

Hussein Aboubakr Mansour

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.



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

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 as 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 in 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 Fayez 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.

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.



Hercules and the Lernaean Hydra, 3rd century Roman mosaic, National Archaeological Museum of Spain. (*Benjamín Núñez González/CC BY-SA 4.0*)



# There's no Doubt What "From the River to the Sea" Means

Khaled Abu Toameh

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's 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.*<sup>1</sup>

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.”<sup>2</sup>



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



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 of terrorism mentioned above. 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 Palestinian's 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 okay 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's 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 2023.

## Notes

1. Hamas Charter, Avalon Project, Yale Law School, The Avalon Project: Hamas Covenant 1988 (yale.edu)
2. Middle East Eye, <https://www.middleeasteye.net/news/hamas-2017-document-full>

# How a Youth Wing of the “Woke Army” Spreads Toxic Hate of Israel and Jews from UC Berkeley to America’s Ivy League Colleges

*The “Poison Ivy” propagator: an agitator named Hatem “Hate-em” Bazian*

Asra Q. Noman

“Shame! Shame! Shame!” a phalanx of Harvard University students, including the editor of the *Harvard Law Review*, screamed<sup>1</sup> at a young Jewish American student in early November, surrounding him as he attempted to walk across campus.<sup>2</sup>

“Glory to our martyrs!” chanted students at Columbia University to celebrate the brutal attack on young innocents in Israel by Hamas terrorists on October 7, 2023.

“Long live the intifada!” yelled students,<sup>3</sup> most of them masked, on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley as students walked out of classes to rally against Israel.

Across the world, many wondered how this toxic hate against Jews and the State of Israel had spread overnight, like poison ivy – from our state schools to Ivy League colleges. But, as a former *Wall Street Journal* reporter who has investigated American Muslim organizations for 21 years, I knew. This campaign of hate by a network I call the “Woke Army,” rallying for the destruction of Israel and the genocide of Jews, was six decades in the making, tracing back to the establishment of American Muslim organizations by a network of men – “Muslim Brothers” rooted in the ideology of the political organization, the Muslim Brotherhood – with one agenda in their mission: the annihilation of Israel. Islamists, rallying for political Islam from the religious far-right in Islam, had forged an unholy alliance with the political hard left in the West to create this lethal Woke Army now waging a new war against Israel.



Pro-Hamas students harassing and blocking a Jewish student at Harvard. (Greta Van Susteren, Twitter)

In the 1980s, they created a base for their organizational efforts with headquarters in an office building at 500 Grove Street in Herndon, Virginia, investigated for years for ties to terrorism and support of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad terror organization and other militant efforts to destroy Israel. The latest chapter is led by a charming but dangerous Palestinian American academic – Hatem Bazian – who arrived on the campus of San Francisco State University in the 1980s as a college student. Over 40 years, Bazian stoked so much hate for Jews and the State of Israel he earned a fitting moniker: “Hate’em” Bazian.

Born in the 1960s in Jordan to a father from Nablus on the West Bank and a mother from Jerusalem, Bazian had gone to high school across the border in Amman, Jordan, where he became a member of the General Union of Palestinian Students, the student arm of the Palestinian Liberation Organization, eventually becoming its president. In the United States, he became president of the San Francisco State University Associated Students. One day, Bazian led a group of students to the campus newspaper, *Golden Gator*, and accused its staff of being Jewish spies. Another day, when artists painted a mural of Malcolm X with dollar signs surrounded by Jewish stars, the *Golden Gator* reported that Bazian spoke in support of the mural at a press conference, but Jewish students were barred from attending. Later, he spoke at a fundraiser for KindHearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, an organization linked to Hamas and investigated by the U.S. Treasury Department for designation as a terrorist organization and successor to the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, established at the base of the Muslim Brothers in America at 500 Grove Street in Herndon.

By the early 1990s, Bazian started as a Ph.D. student in philosophy and Islamic studies at UC Berkeley. In 1993, he established American Muslims for Palestine with an aim to destroy the State of Israel. The following year, his Palestinian-American friend, Nihad Awad, cofounded the Council on American-Islamic Relations, also established by “Muslim Brothers” with a burning desire to destroy Israel.



Bazian's Twitter post.

On campus, Bazian forged an alliance with architects of this emerging ideology called “Critical Race Theory” to exploit race and argue that Palestinians were the “oppressed” victims of the “colonial settler” violence of “white supremacist” Jews who had created the State of Israel. In the fall of 2000, Bazian stood before a crowd of anti-Israel protesters at Berkeley, arguing for divestment of academic funds in Israel, a movement aligned with the emerging “Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions” campaign against Israel.

The next year, in 2001, Bazian and a UC Berkeley pal, Snehal Shingavi, from India, co-founded Students for Justice in



Palestine, which immediately launched a campaign to press UC Berkeley to divest school investments in Israel. Significantly, they recruited young students to their cause. Bazian had constructed the perfect vehicle to spread his anti-Jew hate on campuses: college students themselves.

One afternoon in late April 2001, about 32 protesters staged a mock Palestinian refugee camp on the UC Berkeley campus, complete with “Israeli military checkpoints.” The protesters occupied Wheeler Hall, blocking access to the building by locking all but three of the building’s twelve doors and linking arms to block the three open entrances. On campus, as students marched, one of Bazian’s mentees, Javad Hashmi, a young Muslim from Fremont, California, and a UC Berkeley freshman, wrote a pointed attack against Israel in *Al-Bayan*, a UC Berkeley Muslim student publication where he was a staff writer. Hashmi called Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat an “Uncle Tom” for negotiating a peace settlement with Israel.

He quoted Bazian as saying,

*But let these Israelis know that in fifty years, we will demand EVERY SINGLE PENNY that they stole from us!... We will demand every house they burned down of ours! We will demand every inch of land they stole from us!” Hashmi ended his article as dramatically as Bazian had punctuated it, writing, “Although the military, economic, and political Uprising to capture people’s lost labor, capital and and [sic] is waged in the Middle East, the moral, intellectual, and spiritual uprising to capture people’s lost hearts, minds and souls will be waged the world over!*

Bazian was successfully inculcating this young generation of

students with his fiery brand of activism, and it would take only two more decades for this toxicity to spread like poison ivy across the nation. The early architects of this hate, like Bazian, showed no moral leadership to condemn Hamas, but rather deflected criticism of Hamas to indict Israel for “75 years of occupation.”

In the latest campaign of the Woke Army, teens and twenty-somethings from chapters of Students for Justice in Palestine marched with “allies” from campus Socialist organizations, harassing the young Jewish student at Harvard, raising the war cries at Columbia and globalizing the intifada at UC Berkeley.

Just days after the Hamas 10/7 attack, near Constitution Avenue NW in downtown Washington, D.C., Bazian led a march of thousands of anti-Israel protestors organized by his organization, American Muslims for Palestine. Nearby, his friend, Linda Sarsour, a Palestinian American activist, acted

Will any leader of major American Muslim organizations condemn Hamas' brutal massacre of 1,400 Israeli citizens? WATCH journalist @AsraNomani confront @Isarsour, @NationalSJP @HatemBazian, CAIR's @EdAhmedMitchell, @AMPalestine's Taher Herzalla a pro-Palestinian rally in D.C.



like a field marshal, directing the protestors where to march, among them officials from the Council on American-Islamic Relations.

“Do you condemn Hamas?” I asked Bazian in the sea of protestors.<sup>4</sup> “I like *tabouleh*,” he answered, joking out of a deadly matter.

Days later, when the “global intifada” had ignited across campuses and the world, students at nearby George Washington University projected these words upon the wall of their library: “Glory to Our Martyrs.”

Attorneys representing Jewish students on Bazian’s UC Berkeley campus filed a lawsuit against school administrators, alleging antisemitism had taken root on campus. They had one word that described aptly not only the problem at UC Berkeley but Bazian’s ideological corruption of generations of youth over four decades and counting: “unchecked.”

## Notes

1. <https://www.algemeiner.com/2023/11/01/shame-jewish-student-harvard-university-mobbed-anti-israel-protesters/>
2. Lee Zeldin, Instagram, [https://www.instagram.com/reel/CzH7n\\_Lt12N/](https://www.instagram.com/reel/CzH7n_Lt12N/)
3. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ql2KjUtOyGs>
4. <https://x.com/canarymission/status/1717607021741301997?s=20>



# **The Apartheid Libel: The Abuse of South Africa's History to Slander Israel**

*The continued misuse of the term  
“apartheid” makes peace for Israelis  
and Palestinian-Arabs unattainable*

Olga Meshoe Washington

I was born in Pretoria, South Africa's capital, so I have never doubted I was South African. That certainty waived when, a few years ago, I learned that citizenship designated to me at birth, per my birth certificate, was not of South Africa but of Bophuthatswana – one of several homelands created by the apartheid government and within the official borders of South Africa in 1977. It was a place where black people were to live separately from white people and according to their tribes. The sole reason for such separation? Race.

Many Blacks were made foreigners in the land of their birth, whether at birth – like me – or as adults through pernicious denaturalization laws because of the color of their skin.

## *The Apartheid Lie*

“End Israeli Apartheid!” and “Israel is Apartheid State!” – phrases that have become the mantra of activists who argue that their work is to ensure that Palestinian-Arabs living in Gaza and Judea/Samaria (also known as the West Bank) are liberated from “neo-colonial” rule and are afforded access to basic human rights.

“Apartheid” has become so synonymous with the State of Israel that many are ignorant of its actual meaning: the government regime in South Africa from 1948 to 1994 that segregated and discriminated black South African citizens from white South African citizens.

This regime was regulated and institutionalized by a system of over 150 codified laws. By law, black people were dispossessed of their land, homes, and livelihoods and forcibly relocated to designated, underdeveloped areas.



Anti-Israel “Apartheid” demonstrations take place on U.S. and UK campuses.

By law, we black South Africans were prohibited from using the same transportation and health systems, attending the same public schools, or enjoying the same public amenities as white South Africans. By law, we could not move freely within our own country and were not allowed to formally participate in the country's economy. We were denied the right to vote. We were forbidden from marrying the person we loved if they were of a different race group. Not only could we not attend the same schools as white South Africans, but the education system afforded to us was deliberately of a lower standard, underscoring the belief on which apartheid was premised: black people were morally and racially inferior to white people and so had to be separated from them on all levels of society and treated as second class citizens.

The above descriptions of apartheid South African life are the antithesis of Israeli life. The Israel apartheid claim has been debunked by laymen and scholars alike.<sup>1</sup> Even Arab Knesset member Mansour Abbas has denied this claim.<sup>2</sup> The diversity of Israeli politics, culture, and overall Israeli life is incomparable to apartheid South Africa. The accusation that Israel is an apartheid state is an outright lie that demonizes Israel, perpetuates the suffering of Palestinian Arabs, and is an affront to the real victims of apartheid.

### *The Shift from a Geo-Political War to a Human Rights War*

According to international law expert Eugene Kontorovich, the "Israel is Apartheid" libel is an updated spin on the accusation that "Zionism equals Racism." This egregious lie was created by the Soviet KGB to strategically shift the Arab-Israeli war from the realm of geo-political to the realm of human rights.

The “Zionism is Racism” accusation was introduced to the human rights stage through a 1975 United Nations (UN) resolution but was revoked by the UN in 1991 when countries recognized it for what it was – a weapon unleashed by the Soviet Union to undermine Israel as part of its Cold War struggle against the United States and the West. Unfortunately, the accusation that Israel is an apartheid state continues to be a coronary artery to the heartbeat of anti-Zionism, today’s form of antisemitism.

Those who hate Israel’s very existence are determined that Israel be accused of being an apartheid state and so guilty of committing a crime against humanity, deliberately weaponizing the term “apartheid.” The Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement’s longstanding “Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW)” is, according to their own website, “a tool for mobilizing grassroots support on the global level for the Palestinian struggle for justice...to raise awareness about Israeli apartheid and to mobilize support for strategic BDS campaigns to help bring an end to this system of oppression.”

IAW, held in March and April at college campuses in around 50 cities around the world, furthers the apartheid nomenclature.<sup>3</sup> In 2022, IAW in North America included at least eight protests, rallies, or marches. One such protest took place on March 30, 2022, (Palestinian “Land Day”) when City University of New York Law Students for Justice in Palestine and the radical pro-Palestine group “Within Our Lifetime” protested outside the New York City headquarters of Friends of the Israel Defense Forces and marched throughout midtown Manhattan.<sup>4</sup> Even during the coronavirus pandemic, IAW held a virtual “Global Rally Against Israeli Apartheid.”<sup>5</sup> IAW has included “house demolition” simulations at Columbia University, the



building of a “Separation Wall” at Harvard between dormitory buildings,<sup>6</sup> and fake “eviction” notices targeted at Jewish or Zionist students at Emory University in Georgia.<sup>7</sup>

IAW activism is a factor that has led to the disassociation of apartheid from the South African experience – the genesis of apartheid – in recent years and the imposition on Israel of the intent to commit apartheid. This new definition of “apartheid” is now being advanced by non-governmental organizations (including Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch), academia, and activities on university campuses to perpetuate this decades-old lie.

For example, the Israel and Palestine Director of Human Rights Watch, Omar Shakir, tweeted, just two days after the October 7, 2023, massacre in Israel, before the IDF began its retaliation against Hamas: “The killings of 100s of Israelis” Palestinians over [the] last 72 hours reflect a flagrant disregard for all int’l law. So long as there’s impunity, Gaza remains an open-air prison, and Israel’s apartheid is not dismantled, bloodshed and repression will continue.”<sup>8</sup>

Shakir and the BDS alike have used the “apartheid” libel as a justification for murderous terrorism,<sup>9</sup> a trigger word used to manipulate public opinion for their anti-Israel agenda. This is troubling for many reasons. The weaponization and nefarious use of the term apartheid trivializes the humiliation and injustices endured by black South Africans who lived through apartheid. It erases the authentic, very-lived experience of the brutality of apartheid. This reality includes mothers who, to this day, do not know what happened to their children and millions of Black South Africans who had to flee their country

and live in exile under fear of persecution because of the color of their skin.

### *The Peddling of an Antisemitic Lie*

Anti-Zionists often refer to the late former President of South Africa, Nelson Mandela, as the authoritative validator of the apartheid lie.

This is deliberately misleading; while Nelson Mandela was pro-Palestinian, he was not anti-Israel.

In his address at the 37th Congress of the South African Jewish Board of Deputies in 1993, Nelson Mandela said, “We [referencing the African National Congress] recognize the legitimacy of Palestinian nationalism just as we recognize the legitimacy of the (sic) Zionism as a (sic) Jewish nationalism.



In South Africa, the pro-Israel group StandWithUs staff and Miss Universe Iraq 2017, Sarah Idan, met with representatives of SAUJS and students at the WITS campus opposing Israel Apartheid Week in March 2022. (*StandWithUs*)

We insist on the right of the state of Israel to exist within secure borders but with equal vigor support the Palestinian right to national self-determination.” On a visit to Israel in 1999 (a place those who perpetuate the apartheid narrative don’t want the world to visit), Mr. Mandela said, “I cannot conceive of Israel withdrawing if Arab states do not recognize Israel within secure borders.” This is a Zionist statement.

Historical and legal experts have consistently debunked the apartheid libel over the years.<sup>10</sup> Respected South African leaders, drawing from firsthand experiences with apartheid, have also unequivocally refuted misrepresentations, offering a nuanced understanding of the truth and distinct reality of apartheid’s historical context. These leaders include King Goodwill Zwelithini, the late king of South Africa’s largest tribe and ethnic group, the Zulus; retired chief justice of South Africa’s constitutional court, Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng; South African Parliamentary Member and leader of one of the opposition parties in South Africa’s government, Rev. Dr. Kenneth Meshoe; and Bishop Dr. Barnabas Lekganyane, leader of the Zion Christian Church, the largest African-initiated church in Southern Africa.

### *The True Cost of the Israel Apartheid Narrative*

Lies empower evil. As has become glaringly evident in our post-October 7, 2023, world, this odiously false claim emboldens violent antisemitic acts on innocent Jews and non-Jews in Israel and on Jews across the world. The continued weaponization of apartheid by the UN and human rights activists is a mockery of the quest for human rights by people in real need of these rights. The lie has seared the hearts and distorted the moral

compasses of many so that urgent human rights issues, such as the ongoing enslavement of over a million Africans and the genocide of Christians in Nigeria, are ignored.

The continued misuse of the term “apartheid” makes peace for Israelis and Palestinian-Arabs unattainable because it creates a barrier to holding Hamas and the Palestinian Authority accountable for their mistreatment of the Palestinian people and attacks against Israelis – be they Jewish, Muslim, Arab, Druze, and Christian. It also perverts the truth. There can be no justice without truth.

### ***Conclusion: Appropriating Apartheid Dishonors South Africa and South Africans***

The incorrect and malevolent appropriation of South Africa’s apartheid history to Israel is disgusting. Those who demand an end to Israeli apartheid are not demanding an end to a politically institutionalized system with the goal that citizens of all races live together equally and in harmony, as was the case with South Africa. They are demanding an end to the very existence of the Jewish State of Israel.

My people’s history and experience are being used as an antisemitic tool to harm Israelis and Jews across the world. This must stop.

## **Notes**

1. See <https://www.jcpa.org/text/apartheid.pdf> and <https://fathomjournal.org/anti-zionism-and-the-humanities-a-response-to-saree-makdisi/>

2. <https://www.jpost.com/israel-news/politics-and-diplomacy/article-696212>
3. <https://bdsmovement.net/iaw#Only%20Liberated%20Minds%20Can%20Dismantle%20Apartheid>
4. <https://www.adl.org/blog/2022-israeli-apartheid-week-overview> Differing numbers were given for the cities participating in IAW in 2009. BDS websites estimate a list of “50 cities,” which include: Abu Dis, Al Quds, Atlanta, Berkeley, Bethlehem, Birzeit, Boston, Cape Town, Caracas, Chicago, Copenhagen, Durban, Edmonton, Edinburgh, Fredericton, Girona, Guelph, Halifax, Hamilton, Hebron, Jenin, Jericho, Johannesburg, Kalkilya, Kingston, London, Madrid, Montréal, Nablus, New York, Oakland, Ottawa, Oxford, Peterborough, Pisa, Qalqilya, Sal-fit, San Francisco, Soweto St. Catherine’s, Sudbury, Toronto, Tubas, Tulkarem, Vancouver, Washington, DC, Waterloo.
5. Speakers at IAW showcase both Western and Israeli and Palestinian BDS supporters, including academics, activists, and authors. A partial list of speakers would include: Ali Abunimah of the Electronic Intifada, Mohammed El-Kurd, Omar Barghouti, Balad MK Jamal Zahalka in 2007 and former MK Azmi Bishara, of Balad, who began Israeli Apartheid Week 2008 with a live broadcast from Soweto. MKs Ayman Odeh and Hanin Zoabi have also spoken at IAW. Noam Chomsky, Ilan Pappé, Ben White, Norman Finkelstein, Diana Buttu, Jacqueline Rose, Jeff Halper and Avi Shlaim have all spoken at IAW.
6. <https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2022/4/22/israel-apartheid-week-2022>
7. <https://www.algemeiner.com/2019/04/03/anti-zionist-students-target-emory-university-dorms-with-mock-eviction-notices-blasting-israel/>
8. <https://x.com/OmarSSHakir/status/1711472893526196579?s=20>
9. See <https://bdsmovement.net/news/textbook-genocide>
10. See <https://jcpa.org/israelophobia-and-the-west/the-israel-apartheid-lie-and-the-appropriation-of-south-africas-history/> and <https://jcpa.org/israelophobia-and-the-west/israelophobia-and-the-apartheid-criminalization-of-the-jewish-state/>



# Systemic Antisemitism in Universities and How to Combat It

Michal Cotler-Wunsh

*Israel's Special Envoy for Combating Antisemitism*

October 7, 2023, (10/7) was Israel's 9/11, forever changing the way Jews would see the world. Since then, time has transformed into the pre-10/7 era and the post-10/7 reality. Many Jews expected that after the world witnessed Hamas's heinous crimes, responses to the devastation would be commensurate and unequivocal. Instead, in self-perceived progressive quarters, responses were silent, they denied Hamas's wrongdoing and even justified and supported the perpetrators. At the same time, Jews around the world – on campuses, online, and on the streets – were attacked verbally and physically.

10/7 brutally exposed the multiple fronts of an unconventional war for public opinion raging in international organizations, university campuses, and social media spaces for decades. They converged into a tsunami of mainstream antisemitism, focusing on Israel's establishment in 1948 and not just its post-1967 war lines.

Jew hatred not only fueled the atrocities of 10/7 but it was mirrored in antisemitic narratives lurking under the guise of

“progressive” anti-Zionism, surprising many, including liberal Jews. Yet, for those monitoring the evolution of antisemitism, responses to 10/7 should come as no surprise. Percolating for years, the toxic brew of academic, international, and social media delegitimization and demonization of Israel exploded after 10/7, when Israel was more harshly criticized for defending its civilians than Hamas was for perpetrating war crimes and crimes against humanity.

The virulently antisemitic responses followed years of human rights and international law being co-opted and weaponized against the State of Israel. The UN, now dominated by nondemocratic states, predictably failed to condemn the acts of 10/7 unequivocally. The November 2, 2023, UN Human Rights Council Social Forum’s Chair – Iran, Hamas’s sponsor – used the same modus operandi – abducting, raping, and murdering Iranian political dissidents as its proxy Hamas did in its 10/7 massacre. Hamas, understanding and anticipating the unfathomable, live-streamed their crimes, knowing they



How three university presidents responded when asked if calls for the genocide of Jews violated their codes of conduct. (Greta Van Suster, Twitter)



would be met with justification and support from around the world. Even more incomprehensible, within days, Hamas and its supporters began denying the crimes they themselves photographed proudly.

In a decades-long process, the United Nations readied the ground for dehumanization, delegitimization, and double standards against Jews and Israel when its General Assembly passed Resolution 3379 of 1975 – “Zionism is racism” – a Soviet propaganda initiative, mendaciously linking the self-determination movement of the indigenous people of the Land of Israel to racism. Ten years after the 1991 reversal of Resolution 3379 after the fall of the PLO’s USSR sponsor, a UN-sponsored World Conference Against Racism and Xenophobia in 2001 in Durban, South Africa, resuscitated the PLO’s racial claim against Israel, comparing the Jewish and democratic state to apartheid South Africa. Soon to follow was the initiation of the Palestinian Academic Boycott of Israel, the Boycott Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movement against Israel, and the growing of its student wing, Students for Justice of Palestine, the sponsor of “Israel Apartheid Week” on campus, which indoctrinated students and professors alike.

The infrastructure that had been created to equally and consistently uphold, promote, and protect the post-Holocaust international rules-based order and human rights was systematically co-opted and weaponized against Jews and their nation-state. In an Orwellian inversion of fact and law at the International Court of Justice, it has been libelously alleged that Israel is perpetrating “genocide” in its defensive Swords of Iron war in the “context” of the 10/7 war crimes and crimes against humanity committed by Hamas, who openly advertise their genocidal intent, referred to as the “resistance”

by some campus progressives. Post-10/7 pro-Hamas rallies on university campuses echoed the Hamas Charter, with activist students chanting genocidal mantras such as “globalize the intifada,” “From the River to the Sea, Palestine will be free,” and “glory to our martyrs.”

The widespread use of social media has resulted in widespread misinformation among the masses, especially young people who lack historical knowledge and geopolitical context in the Palestinian-Israeli conflict and of the Middle East in general. Those who did not unequivocally condemn the barbaric savagery of Hamas exposed the cleavage between those who support Western civilization and a growing anti-Western trend that supports the Axis of Evil represented by China, Russia, Iran, and North Korea. Reflecting the anti-Western trend, Osama Bin Laden’s 9/11-era “Letter to America” mysteriously was re-circulated on social media to justify and support the attack. A dramatic rise in “classic” antisemitic tropes such as “Hitler was right” also flooded social platforms.

Social media intersects with university spaces, where, through the indoctrination of postcolonialism, neo-Marxism, and critical race theory (CRT), the Palestinian narrative became mainstream and socially acceptable. Even a massacre of civilians became justifiable in the name of “progress” and “social justice.”

This trend is not limited to students. As was revealed at a December 5, 2023, House Education Committee hearing titled “Holding Campus Leaders Accountable and Confronting Antisemitism,” university presidents of Ivy League universities failed to determine whether calls for genocide of Jews violated their codes of conduct. This, while it can be assumed that

calling for the genocide of any other group would indeed be a violation of codes of conduct. It revealed that Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion (DEI) policies exclude a majority of Jews and many non-Jews who identify as Zionists, deemed to be racists for supporting Israel, considered a “white, colonialist, European, occupying, apartheid” state.

The three university presidents’ responses exposed the blatant double standard in the application of DEI principles, which fail to censure a call for Jewish genocide yet punish microaggressions such as misgendering a fellow student, issue “trigger warnings,” and create “safe spaces.” In American universities’ rules of conduct, the censure of calls for genocide of Jews “depends on the context.” Yet, Hamas calls for the genocide of Jews in its founding Charter and in threats voiced by Hamas spokesman Ghazi Hamad.

This points to the even more alarming failure of the academy in its critical societal function of educating people on how to think critically rather than what to think. A fundamental pillar of liberal society, the university, now dominated by “progressive” indoctrination, has regressively allowed antisemitic hate speech, spelling trouble for society.

Universities must reckon with the systemic antisemitism exposed in the responses to 10/7, reflected by the morally ambiguous responses of the presidents of MIT, Harvard, and Penn in the wake of the worst atrocities perpetrated against Jews since the Holocaust. Students hold up signs reading, “We are Hamas,” or a clarion call to destroy Israel, “From the River to the Sea.” In contrast, the many students ignorant of which river and which sea show that universities have failed in their educational and moral missions. Instead, years of

indoctrination are manifest in a professor at Cornell University expressing his “exhilaration” at Hamas’s massacre and the domination of the “decolonization” agenda at law schools and in the previously apolitical life science “STEM” departments.

These educational agendas undermine the foundations of democracies. The lack of moral clarity in unequivocally condemning the burning of whole families or the rape of women is not “progress;” it is regress. False moral equivalence between a democracy defending its citizens from genocidal terror and a terror proxy enables and empowers terror and its regime supporters and, in turn, undermines democracy. 10/7 exposed the imperative for universities to utilize this moment to reclaim their mission to teach critical thinking. Failure to do so will render them institutions of mass indoctrination.

### ***International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance***

The International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance’s (IHRA) working definition of antisemitism, in its entirety, including its examples, is a critical means that assists in the identification of the modern, mainstream type of anti-Zionist antisemitism exposed post-10/7. The IHRA is a comprehensive resource, resulting from a long democratic process, adopted by over 30 countries and over a thousand entities.

Not legally binding, IHRA’s working definition is a moral benchmark, a vital educational tool that can be used in all settings, including universities, enabling the identification of all strains of an ever-mutating lethal virus.

Students, parents, faculty, professors, administration, trustees,

and donors must step up. Many in the campus community have been ignorant or supportive of the process that has led to this treacherous moment.

Starting with students, it is encouraging that the young generation is in tune with their identity. This enables Zionist Jews and non-Jews to equally reclaim their identity post-10/7, underscoring that Zionism is integral to their identities. In a climate of identity politics, young Jewish students must expect DEI principles to apply to them equally and consistently and be provided the tools and knowledge needed to attain equal respect for their identity.

Parents must also reclaim responsibility. Doubts have been cast on the once widely held assumption that Ivy League universities guarantee a good education and job. Prestigious workplaces such as law firms have declared that they refuse to hire Hamas supporters. It is an opportunity and responsibility for due diligence that holds universities to account. In that vein, transparency regarding billions of dollars of funding from Hamas-supporting countries such as Qatar, intersecting with opinions expressed by administrators and faculty, must be exposed and addressed. Legislators, too, must hold universities to task and demand funding transparency to address the increased threat to the foundations of democracies.

The most critical responses to 10/7 are moral clarity and courage in the face of rising antisemitism. Post-10/7, it became clear that the safety, security, well-being, and freedom of world Jewry, and all who cherish foundational principles of life and liberty are integrally connected. The silver lining of 10/7's dark cloud is that 2023 is not 1943: After millennia of exiles and persecution, Jews have sovereignty, a defense force, and a

nation-state to which Jews, a prototypical indigenous people, have returned.

On 10/7, Israeli Jews lost family, friends, neighbors, or community members. Diaspora Jews may figuratively have to “lose” friends, acquaintances, or neighbors who have excused Hamas’s atrocities.

In this existential intersection, in which barbarism waged war on civilization, Jews around the world have the ability and responsibility to transcend real or perceived differences and reach across gaps between right and left, and religious and secular. The “line in the quicksand” exposed on 10/7 demands that world Jewry work together with allies that recognize the existential nature of this moment.

# **Hamas and the Islamic Subversion of American Cities and Campuses**

Dalia Ziada

Hamas and its Qatari-sponsored media machine, including *Al-Jazeera*, have twisted the Western discourse regarding the October 7, 2023, massacre in Israel. Western media parrots *Al-Jazeera* and Hamas's misleading casualty numbers and their strategic disinformation on the war they started under Iranian sanction, supply, and funding. *Al-Jazeera*, the mouthpiece for the Muslim Brotherhood, and other Iranian regime-affiliated media outlets are portraying Israel, not Hamas, as the aggressor who is targeting the Palestinian people.

These lies are being communicated and amplified on American university campuses through social media in Hamas's effort to distract from the facts. The facts remain: they are a terrorist organization targeting innocent civilians. The "anti-Israel" slogans chanted on campus, "From the River to the Sea," "Free Palestine," and "Israelis are white colonialists," are not only calling for war on Israel but are directed at Jews.

Though Hamas and its supporters portray their struggle as a national freedom campaign against Israel and Israelis, the truth is that their war is a religious jihad directed against world Jewry and even against Western civilization as a whole.

To Hamas, it means nothing to be “Palestinian.” As members of the Muslim Brotherhood, they do not condone nation-states. Instead, they have pledged loyalty only to Islam and to the goal of a future caliphate they seek to establish.

Hamas is abusing the label of the so-called “Palestinian cause” to gain sympathy in the Arab world and globally. This is a tactic to justify its actions and to gain legitimacy for its religious, ideological war against the Jews. The proof of this is in the Hamas Covenant of 1988, which describes the killing of the Jews at the end of days.

Shockingly, the West has adopted the narrative, including on campuses where young students believe Hamas terrorists are “freedom fighters.” It is shocking to see people from the LGBTQ community carrying signs at protests in support of Hamas. Do they really know how Hamas would kill them in a heartbeat?



Palestinian American activist Linda Sarsour, is an outspoken advocate of political Islam. (AP Photo/Henny Ray Abrams)



Hamas's Muslim Brotherhood political warfare has reactivated antisemitism, which has been long dormant in Western culture. In the past few decades, antisemitism was not religiously based; it was anti-Zionist. It reverted to a religious war when refugee members of Islamist groups emigrated to Europe and the United States, became citizens, and started gaining power and influence. They then began to push their twisted rhetoric and narrative, mainly in universities.

These Islamists in Egypt, Jordan, Morocco, and the Gulf also started with universities. What happened in the Arab world is now happening in the United States in precisely the same way, with the same tools.

On Middle Eastern campuses, Islamists create an *osra* – a family in Arabic – of young Muslims who sympathize with their cause. Those who join the *osra* are radicalized and mobilized to push a political agenda. The same is happening in the United States. The anti-Zionist narrative has become an anti-Jewish narrative. The progressive left and the Islamists have joined to promote extremism, harassing Jewish students on campus.

The anomaly of the Red (progressive and leftist, or “woke”) and Green (Islamist) alliance on campus can be explained in part by domestic politics and its motivations. The Biden administration made efforts to pander to American Muslims as part of its program to pander to progressives, especially in an election year. Though recent polls show that most Americans support Israel, this is not reflected in U.S. media coverage. Muslim Brotherhood strategies and tactics, which have developed over almost 100 years, are at play.

## ***The Muslim Brotherhood's Manifesto for Taking Action in the United States***

In 2007, the FBI unearthed an 18-page 1991 document penned by a leader of the Muslim Brotherhood. Found in an Islamist's home in suburban Washington, D.C., the "Explanatory Memorandum" outlined the Muslim Brotherhood's goals for its American operations and declared a plan to sabotage America from within. It was brought as evidence to a federal trial of the Holy Land Foundation, a charity front organization connected with Hamas. The document laid out plans to "take control of the American Muslim community, to embed itself in civil society, and ultimately prepare the way for a sharia state." It said:

*The process of settlement [of Islam in the United States] is a "Civilization-Jihadist" process with all the words' meaning. The Ikhwan ("brothers" - DZ) must understand that all their work in America is a kind of grand Jihad to eliminate and destroy the Western civilization from within and "sabotage" their miserable house by their hands and the hands of the believers so that it is eliminated, and God's religion is made victorious over all religions. Without this level of understanding, we are not up to this challenge and have not prepared ourselves for Jihad yet. It is a Muslim's destiny to perform Jihad and work wherever he is and wherever he lands until the final hour comes, and there is no escape from that destiny except for those who choose to slack.<sup>1</sup>*

To American Muslim Brotherhood activists, getting American citizenship and sending their children to American universities so they can influence the narrative constitutes their own "American Dream" to impact society at large.

Intersectionality has been a golden opportunity for the “New Western Brotherhood” (in the words of Muslim Brotherhood expert Lorenzo Vidino) to insert itself into politics with other minorities organized by progressive groups.<sup>2</sup> Many immigrants to the West who had ties to the Muslim Brotherhood now present themselves as those oppressed by their Middle Eastern governments because they were “fighting for democracy and freedom.” This is false. These immigrants do not believe in humanism, liberalism, or feminism, but use these terms to advance their aims with progressive movements.

Since the Islamists align with the “woke,” they have become influential, and American and other European leaders have tried to appease them.

Islamists’ grouping with the influential progressive left helps them influence voting outcomes and party politics. The progressive left is naïve, failing to differentiate between moderate Muslims and political Islamists. This explains the absurd LGBTQ solidarity with Hamas.

This black comedy illustrates that Hamas is clever. Their Qatari media machine is occupying social media, especially TikTok, misrepresenting daily how Israel treats Palestinians and the facts of the ongoing war.

This media machine has created a new generation of supporters in the Arab world and the United States, especially among Gen Z.

As opposed to Gen Z, the Arab Spring generation in their 30s and 40s saw with their own eyes what Israel is and what Hamas is. Before the Arab Spring, the narrative was that Israel was evil

and that Hamas was a resistance group. After the fall of Hosni Mubarak, things changed in Egypt. When Egypt was weak, it was not Israel who attacked but Hamas who killed Egyptian soldiers and Coptic Christians. These events were eye-opening, and the “Israel is the enemy and Hamas is resistance” narrative was replaced with “Israel is a neighbor; Hamas are terrorists.”

Gen Z did not live through the Arab Spring and witness Israel’s neighborly cooperation with Egypt. Instead, they are adopting the Hamas media machine narrative, primarily via TikTok. This new generation of brainwashed young people in both the Arab world and the West will one day be decision-makers, businesspeople, and political leaders. Thus, today, “speaking up” against Hamas and its twisted narrative is essential for Middle East peace and stability as well as safety in the West.

Hamas’s narrative is identical to another Axis of Evil: Qatar, Iran, and Pakistan. They are in a war against the Jewish people, and Hamas is at the forefront of a network of hate and destruction.

### *Lessons from an Egyptian University*

To prevent the spread of this poisonous narrative in universities, the West should take an example from Egypt’s prestigious Al-Azhar University. In 2008, a few members of the Muslim Brotherhood put on a military show in the middle of the university campus. They wore Hamas-style outfits and green “shahada” headbands, wishing to assert their influence and send a message to the Egyptian government that they “took over” the most influential university in Cairo. The then-president of Al-Azhar, now the Grand Imam of Al-Azhar,

Ahmad al Tayeb al Hassani, took immediate action, without fear, in accordance with the bylaws of the university, saying he would not let the Muslim Brotherhood hijack the university. If this enforcement of university codes of conduct is done in a Muslim country, then why not in the United States?

Some would answer because of the principles of free speech. This response would only bring home the point that political Islam is abusing the open society's dictates of free expression to sabotage America from within. Justifying rape and celebrating the murder of children is not free speech. Supporting a terrorist organization like Hamas is absolutely not free speech. Calling for the elimination of Israel, a whole country with a population of millions, is not free speech. These are crimes.

American universities and government leadership should oppose these crimes. These are not just ordinary, average students expressing themselves. They are part of a more significant movement that aims to destroy Western freedom and considers the West an enemy, while the West allows the Islamists to live, exist, thrive, and be happy. Leadership must understand this.

The obsession with election results by all sides of the political spectrum should not cause American leadership to pander to Islamists just for the Arab and Muslim vote. This pattern will forfeit a more fundamental part of democracy. I had to flee Egypt because of harassment by political Islamists and Salafists. Now they are here in the United States, and they are organizing protests in the U.S. Capitol the same exact way the Muslim Brotherhood organized protests in Egypt.

A few years ago, the Arab world launched a war on political

Islamists. If Arabs and Muslims fought to rid their societies of political Islam and the Muslim Brotherhood, it should serve as a lesson and as a message to the United States. Do not embrace and adopt the extremists that plan your own destruction.

## Notes

1. Rod Dreher, Reporting The Muslim Brotherhood, Hudson Institute, February 1, 2008. <https://hudson.org/national-security-defense/reporting-the-muslim-brotherhood->
2. Lorenzo Vidino. "The Muslim Brotherhood in the West: Evolution and Western Policies," International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence. February 2011. <https://icsr.info/wp-content/uploads/2011/03/1300106834ICSRTheNewMBintheWest.pdf> Vidino describes how Egyptian-born Yussuf al Qaradawi, the spiritual leader of the global and Western Brotherhood and chairman of the International Union of Muslim Scholars (who died in 2022 in Doha) affected the philosophy of the "New Western Brothers." The Western branch of the Muslim Brotherhood was guided by Qaradawi to play a role in Muslim leadership and recruit ignorant Muslim expatriates and their children to political Islam.

Qaradawi saw the West as an Islamic tabula rasa where the Brothers could implement their dawa freely, overcoming their competition with their superior mobilisation skills and funds. The New Western Brotherhood organisation also aims to partner with Western governments presenting themselves as a moderate force with a view of influencing Western policymaking both domestically and in regard to geopolitics. Qaradawi declared that "it is necessary for Islam in this age to have a presence in such societies that affect world politics" and that the presence of a strong and organised Islamist movement in the West is "required for defending the causes of the Muslim Nation and the Muslim Land against the antagonism and misinformation of anti-Islamic forces and trends." (See Vidino, pp. 8-11)

# **The 2024 Anti-Israel Campus Protests and the Distortion of Law and American Values**

*The protests sparked violence, legal challenges, and concerns over free speech limits and extremist ties.*

Hazem Alghabra

U.S. college campuses in 2024 witnessed unprecedented turbulence, often punctuated by violence, vandalism, destruction of property, disruption of the educational process, defense, and even celebration of terrorism, and the targeting and harassment of Jewish students. However, and through the fog, another sinister pattern started emerging: a systematic misrepresentation and abuse of American values in the name of freedom of expression and constitutionally-protected liberties.

In democratic societies, especially in the United States, the right to protest is a fundamental element of free expression. The First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, along with laws derived from it, guarantees the right to free speech and assembly and provides a robust legal foundation for protests. However, this right was never intended to be absolute and has always been subject to limitations set by original text code, case

law, and common law, especially when public safety, property, and freedoms are at risk. The anti-Israel protests on U.S. college campuses in 2024 severely tested the public's understanding of the First Amendment and the rights of assembly, protest, and political expression.

Despite the abundance of established legal framework, the recent campus protests raised novel questions given their breadth and nature. Further complicating the legal aspect was the protesters' unrelenting assertions that their actions were legal and constitutionally protected under the First Amendment, requiring a more thorough examination of the overt events that transpired at the protests, the covert infrastructure fueling the activities, and established law that relate to both issues.



Students protest in Washington, D.C. (Ted Eytan/Flickr/CC BY-SA 2.0)



While the wording and spirit of the First Amendment is clear and easy to comprehend, the increased political and social complexities that have developed in the past century have presented legal challenges around the text that could only be addressed in courts. An often-cited example dates to the World War One era. In *Schenck v. United States* (1919), the judicial opinion concluded that speech can be limited if it presents a clear and present danger of inciting illegal activities. Schenck's actions to distribute anti-draft pamphlets were considered an incitement to resist the draft, deemed a threat to national security. This early case is especially important as it does not only set limits to the applications of the First Amendment, but also specifically addresses the issues of resistance to lawful authority and threats to national security under the guise of free speech.

### *The Question of Property, Personal Safety, and Liberties*

The First Amendment text clearly specifies *peaceful* assembly as a protected right, thus any activities that lead to the disruption of peace or destruction of property will naturally fall outside constitutional protections. Case law has provided an abundance of First Amendment protections over the years, and went as far as providing an exception for 18 U.S. Code § 700, which prohibits the desecration of the American flag. *Texas v. Johnson* (1989) allowed for the burning of the U.S. flag as a form of expression, given that this flag is owned by the person destroying it or having explicit permission by the owner to do so. This exception simultaneously asserted that damaging public property or infringing on the freedoms and rights of others are not shielded by the First Amendment.

Examining the events that unfolded during the protests clearly illustrate widespread violations of the laws relating to property. Thousands of incidents of damage to public and private property by anti-Israel protesters were recorded across major cities and campuses. These incidents included graffiti using permanent paints, destruction of means of ingress and egress, desecration of government-owned flags in public spaces, and even vandalism of Federal and State-owned property. Some of these actions, especially upon government property, are well-defined felonies. 18 U.S. Code § 1361 clearly states that willfully damaging or destroying federal property, including government buildings, land, infrastructure, and vehicles, or attempting to damage or destroy federal property is a felony that can carry sentences of up to 10 years in prison.

Furthermore, disturbing the public peace and depriving others from access to their property or places of study or work is a well-defined misdemeanor in most states. In Virginia, the act of intentionally causing public alarm, annoyance, or inconvenience is a misdemeanor of disorderly conduct. Virginia law § 18.2-419 states that any person who shall engage in picketing before or about the residence or dwelling place of any individual, or who shall assemble with another person or persons in a manner which disrupts or threatens to disrupt any individual's right to tranquility in his home, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor. The definition of home does include university dormitories.

The protests' violation of the First Amendment's prerequisite to maintain peace expanded beyond property damage and resulted in direct threats to students in many instances, especially Jewish students and organizations on campus. The results of these unlawful activities became quickly evident

with hundreds of Jewish students withdrawing applications for, or even transferring from, their universities of choice preferring options deemed more Jewish-friendly and likely to guarantee their physical safety and mental well-being, such as Yeshiva University (YU) and Brandeis. YU had more than a 53% increase in transfer applications in 2024. The university's president, Rabbi Ari Berman, stated that he has seen an "unprecedented number of students from top-tier institutions transfer to YU, including from Columbia, Cornell, and Barnard."

While YU does not inquire of students the reasons for transfer on their application, the driving factors were clear. Brandeis University extended their transfer application deadline following the protests and received more than 90 applications during the extension period. Brandeis University's President, Ronald Liebowitz, believes that this is because "Jewish students are being targeted and attacked physically and verbally, preventing them from pursuing their studies and activities outside of class."

Severe disruptions of the educational process were also rampant as a result of these protests. John McWhorter, a humanities professor at Columbia University who had to cancel his music class due to disruption from the protests explains: "the relentless assault of this current protest - daily, loud, louder, into the night and using ever-angrier rhetoric - is beyond what any people should be expected to bear up under."

While it would be impossible to list every violation of law that occurred during the protests, any reasonable person would conclude that these abridged examples of what was taking place on and off university campuses as a result of these

protests can only be defined as widespread unlawful conduct that is not protected by constitutional rights.

Yet the organizing entities were always adamant, through their messaging on conventional and social media, that their conduct and the conduct of protesters was a constitutionally protected form of expression that cannot be legally obstructed. More dangerously, the organizers labored to convince the students, most of whom are too young to legally buy cigarettes, that their conduct was a form of patriotic action as intended by America's founding fathers.

### *The Question of Material Support for Terrorism*

While examples of the overt activities are simple and clear-cut, additional concerns about the legality of the 2024 anti-Israel protests arose from the nature of the groups that planned and logistically supported the protests and encampments, and their relationships with legally-designated foreign terrorist organizations such as Hamas. These questions are now being processed through the unhurried American justice system with two noteworthy legal battles currently taking place in the State of Virginia. Both of these lawsuits target a very complex network of interlinked organizations that includes American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) and Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP).

According to the Anti-Defamation League, SJP refers to a network of anti-Zionist student groups on U.S. university campuses that has justified terror attacks against Israel, particularly the Hamas-led October 7, 2023, onslaught, engages in antisemitic rhetoric and propaganda, and is a leading

campus organizer of Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) campaigns and anti-Israel protests on university campuses. It has been a central organizing hub for the student encampments that proliferated across American universities and colleges in the spring and summer of 2024, amid a surge in antisemitic activity and sentiment on campus.

On October 31, 2023, three weeks following the 10/7 attack, Virginia's Attorney General, Jason Miyares, launched a civil investigation into Americans for Justice in Palestine (AJP) Educational Foundation, Inc., closely associated with AMP, for potential violations of Virginia's charitable solicitation laws. The two cited concerns were that, first, the organization may be soliciting contributions in the Commonwealth without first having registered with the Commissioner of the Virginia Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services. Second, there are allegations that the organization may have used funds raised for impermissible purposes under state law, including benefiting or providing support to terrorist organizations.

As part of this investigation, the Attorney General's office was able to issue a Civil Investigative Demand (CID) to request donor information and internal communications. AJP's efforts to avoid compliance with the investigation were unsuccessful, and the Attorney General filed a petition for legal action to enforce the CID on January 14, 2025.

This investigation is a major development; it could expose the financial and operational details of one of the most controversial anti-Israel organizations in the United States. AJP, which was founded in 2006 by Hatem Bazian, a University of California, Berkeley professor with a controversial history of antisemitism, is a 501(c)3 non-profit organization that

funds SJP and other related groups. It has been linked to the Holy Land Foundation, accused of directly funding Hamas.

In a parallel effort, a group of American and Israeli victims of the 10/7 attack launched a civil lawsuit against AJP with detailed claims on how the organization serves as the public affairs arm of Hamas thus violating the U.S. anti-terrorism act, 18 U.S.C. § 2333(d) as well as the alien tort statute, 28 U.S.C. § 1350. Discovery and other public documents from this case will not only play a crucial role in exposing a national network of organizations disguised as non-profit groups while serving the interests of a foreign terrorist organization, but will also likely result in legal reform that will help prevent similar organizations from taking advantage of the 501(c)3 code and other laws to hide their illegal activities.

### *The Road Ahead*

Additional legal battles will likely ensue from the aftermath of the protests, and further legal action against AMP/AJP, including using the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) and/or Anti-Klan Acts (legislated in 1871 against the Ku Klux Klan), is actively being discussed. The outcome of Virginia Attorney General's CID will most certainly fuel additional complaints by the State and private groups.

However, the greatest challenge today is restoring the understanding of American values on campuses and repairing the damage caused by systemic debasement of the American Constitution and laws by insidious groups such as those in the AJP network. American students today, more than ever, need to engage in productive conversations about personal

responsibility, the rule of law, and the sanctity of the social contract. These students will soon become the new generation of American professionals, educators, and parents, and we simply cannot afford to ignore the damage done to their understanding of rights and privileges in our modern society during the past year.





# About the Authors

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Khaled Abu Toameh is a Senior JCFA Fellow and an award-winning Israeli Arab journalist, lecturer, and documentary filmmaker specializing in Palestinian affairs. A Senior Distinguished Fellow at the Gatestone Institute, he has also worked as a senior producer for *NBC* in the Middle East. He has reported on events in the West Bank and Gaza for several media outlets.

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Asra Nomani is an author and journalist who has also written for the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Washington Post*, the *New York*

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Hussein Aboubakr Mansour is an Egyptian American author and public intellectual. He has published several important academic and popular articles on the Global Left, Arab nationalism, and extremist Islam. He has served as director of the Endowment for Middle East Truth (EMET) Program for Emerging Democratic Voices from the Middle East. His autobiography *Minority of One: the Unchaining of an Arab Mind* tells his story as a political dissident in Egypt. Hussein Aboubakr Mansour is a JCFA Research and Diplomacy Fellow.

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Michal Cotler-Wunsh is Israel's Special Envoy for Combating Antisemitism, a former Knesset member, and a JCFA Fellow.

The jihadi campus narrative has whitewashed terrorism and mass murder, transforming pro-Hamas student organizations into conduits for pro-jihadi activism while academically justifying massacres of civilians.

This is why *Combating Jihad on Campus* provides a crucial assessment of a dangerous university phenomenon that has legitimized, energized, and encouraged Palestinian terrorist organizations on campus. Context is critical. The book reveals the historical, ideological, and social development of radical Islamic groups on campus. This study's broad assessment also reveals how these student organizations helped pave a pathway to the October 7, 2023, Hamas massacres by establishing an environment of campus legitimacy for Palestinian disinformation and terrorism. *Combating Jihad on Campus* suggests remedies to reverse this dangerous trend.

Cover photo:

An anti-Israel protest near Columbia University after the suspension of the Students for Justice in Palestine group, November 15, 2023 (*Here Now/Shutterstock*)



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