



Left-Wing Anti-Semitism: The Greatest Campus Threat Is Ignored by the SPLC

Introduction

The foremost group solely focused on tracking anti-Semitism at American institutions of higher learning states that there were over 1,700 anti-Semitic incidents that have occurred in the past three years (2015-2017).¹ But outside large segments of the Jewish community, this grim reality appears to be virtually unknown. Within that community, however, an authoritative observer testified before Congress late last year that “[i]n the past several years, Jewish students on certain college campuses – not all, but a large number – have been subjected to unprecedented levels of anti-Jewish sentiment, leading many to feel uncomfortable participating in Jewish campus life or other campus activities whose participants are especially hostile to Jewish students.”²

Most Americans would be mortified to learn that the colleges and universities to which they pay a king’s ransom have become safe havens for an increasingly noticeable anti-Semitism that has produced an environment of bullying, intimidation, and fear for Jewish students and academics.³ This newly minted anti-Semitism has entwined itself into the fabric of many educational institutions via a predominant multicultural ideology that pronounces Israel to be its enemy.⁴

To add insult to injury for American liberals, many watchdog groups of the Civil Rights era, most notably the Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), have turned a blind eye to this emerging Jew-hatred that fashionably casts itself as a critique of the creation of the state of Israel as just another instance of Western imperialism. Accordingly, Israel is derided as a “white,” “colonialist,” “oppressor state” that has imposed its “apartheid regime” in Palestine to suppress the predecessor Arab population residing there.⁵

Over the past year, the SPLC has focused a great deal of time and energy describing an “alt-right” threat to the peace and security of American college campuses.⁶ It is true that there have been extremist right-wing incursions into the nation’s campuses that deserve our attention, but these events are largely sporadic and typically perpetrated by individuals and small groups who are never accepted by the academic environment they invade. Such ideological raids are not openly sanctioned by those within the targeted academic communities. In recent decades, public universities and colleges have not allowed their faculty to inculcate students with the teachings of neo-Nazis or white supremacists.⁷

On the other hand, the SPLC has ignored the greatest modern on-campus threat to a specific minority group’s rights and safety – the aforementioned threat to American Jews. This threat is a natural consequence of the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) Movement which targets the state of Israel regarding its ongoing conflict with the Palestinian Arabs. There is generally no enlightened debate over the Arab-Israeli conflict and the drawing of borders within Israel to implement a “two-state solution” on

American campuses. Instead, the “debate,” driven by the BDS Movement and its directors, has devolved into a full-bore attack on Israel’s existence, Zionism, and on Jews themselves.⁸

1. The Threat: The New Campus Anti-Semitism

Americans would be shocked to discover that public anti-Semitism is resurgent in the United States, with the majority of this resurgence happening at the universities and colleges funded by their tax dollars. Consider the observations made by Dr. Alvin Rosenfeld, renowned Holocaust scholar from Indiana University Bloomington, who spoke to the *Algemeiner* in March 2016:

“Antisemitism has become a serious threat once again,” ... saying that he had thought that after the demise of the Nazis and knowledge of the destruction they wrought, serious public Jew-hatred was unlikely to surface again in the West in any major way.

“I was wrong ... Antisemitism is on the rise again, and the situation on campuses seems especially acute ... We cannot hope to stop it or overturn it immediately, but our goal is to open more eyes toward what is happening, to get more people to start paying attention to contemporary antisemitism and the role that hostility to Israel plays in generating it...”⁹

At a recent event recognizing Religious Freedom Day at Family Research Council’s headquarters, human rights advocate and former Congressman Frank Wolf reiterated Kurtz’s concerns when he spoke about the growing tide of anti-Semitism: “Have you seen the anti-Semitism [happening] around the world? There’s anti-Semitism on American college campuses. This whole ‘boycott, divestiture, and sanctions’ [BDS Movement] is soft anti-Semitism. I have not seen any religious leaders speak out against this.”¹⁰

This new anti-Semitism is related to the general suppression of free-speech and religious expression on campuses, but it also targets Jewish members of the academic community because Israel is now an enemy of the political Left, as discussed below.

Freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and the right to peaceful assembly on campus have all been increasingly threatened in recent years as colleges and universities have closed their minds to points of view that deviate from any tenet of leftist political dogma.¹¹

Political conservatives see this discrimination clearly. As Stanley Kurtz, Senior Fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center noted in September 2017:

Less than a month into the school year, it’s evident that the campus free-speech crisis is still with us. Shout-downs are back, aggravated by troubling developments at some of last year’s hardest hit campuses. There are also signs of a general escalation: in addition to outside speakers, targets of attack now include disfavored professors, administrators, courses, and students. Campus-wide disruptions, Evergreen [State College]-style, have become a real possibility.

Kurtz predicted an ever-escalating lack of control on campus “[u]nless educators and legislators tackle the need to discipline speaker shout-downs, classroom invasions, building takeovers...”¹² Later developments would support his predictions.¹³

It seems increasingly clear that the well-being of Jewish students and faculty is something of a canary in the mine for freedom of speech and religion on campus – and perhaps, in America itself. If the taboos

against anti-Semitism that arose to virtual universal acceptance after the Second World War and decades of Holocaust scholarship can be swept away so easily, then no group or individual can be safe. The bullying and intimidation of Jews that now exists on American campuses is real and perceived to be so by them.¹⁴

Universities can, of course, be invaded by individuals with other disturbing viewpoints. For example, white supremacists hacked into open campus printer networks on over a dozen campuses in March 2016 and used the printers to produce racist and neo-Nazi flyers. The Southern Poverty Law Center (SPLC), considered by the establishment media to be the foremost expert on extremism, focuses on these events when discussing campus extremism. However, the SPLC cannot point to any public or major private university that promotes or allows faculty to present, espouse, or inculcate students with the teachings of neo-Nazis, the Klan, or *true* white supremacists. Most notably, the events of Charlottesville, Virginia in August 2017 could not be attributed to individuals or institutions affiliated with the University of Virginia.¹⁵

On the other hand, this leftist, “anti-Zionist,” anti-Semitic, and anti-Israel ideology is being openly disseminated on many campuses in classes and department-sponsored events. Related propaganda is so ubiquitous that it can be found in the most unlikely places – for example, even in new-student orientation materials.¹⁶ These pernicious ideas are most commonly, but not always promoted by pro-“Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions” (BDS) faculty ensconced in accepted fields of study (*e.g.*, Middle-Eastern studies, international relations, and international law.¹⁷ Additionally, course curricula, school-endorsed speakers, and school-recognized student groups like Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) reflect this perspective and, for the most part, go unchallenged by school officials.

2. The Perpetrators: The BDS Movement and the SJP

The first stage of the delegitimization of the Jewish state of Israel has been the focus of the aforementioned BDS Movement.¹⁸ BDS is an international movement that emerged from the 2001 World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia, and Related Intolerance (WCAR) in Durban, South Africa. It is not too much to say that the NGO Forum at Durban may have been the most virulently anti-Semitic major international gathering since the 1930s. The AMCHA Initiative, an organization that documents anti-Semitic incidents on college campuses, argues that the BDS Movement is anti-Semitic:

By demonizing the Jewish state with false charges of crimes against humanity, and singling out only one country in the world – Israel – for censure and abuse, while ignoring entrenched human rights abuses that are rampant throughout the Middle East, including against religious, ethnic minorities, and women, the movement exposes its bigotry towards Jews.¹⁹

Rabbi Abraham Cooper of the Simon Wiesenthal Center was present at the NGO Forum and larger conference in Durban. He has described BDS as a movement “that presents itself as a pro-peace initiative but in reality, is a thinly-veiled, anti-Israel and anti-Semitic ‘poison pill,’ whose goal is the demonization, delegitimization, and ultimate demise of the Jewish State.”²⁰ This has carried over to the BDS Movement on campus, and the effects it typically has when such resolutions are considered. For example, a spokesman for Hillel International, Matthew Berger, told *Inside Higher Ed*, “We know from our experience on campus that BDS votes are often followed by anti-Semitic incidents. The BDS Movement pollutes the campus environment and threatens Jewish life on campus.”²¹ This observation is

corroborated by comments submitted to the AMCHA Initiative by Jewish students on a number of campuses.

The hydra-headed BDS Movement is spearheaded on American campuses by a radical left-wing, anti-Israeli, anti-Zionist, anti-Semitic organization: Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP).²² Individuals associated with SJP, including its founders, have links to Hamas and have expressed sympathy for Hamas, the Gaza-based Islamist terror group.²³ Hatem Bazian, a Hamas-supporting ethnic studies lecturer at UC Berkeley with a penchant for making anti-Semitic statements, is credited with founding the group at Berkeley around the year 2000.²⁴ SJP “began organizing events and protests” in 2001 when Bazian was a doctoral student at Berkeley.²⁵ However, “it was not until 2010 that a national effort to unite SJP campus branches emerged, in the [American Muslims for Palestine]-sponsored ‘Palestine Track’ at the 2010 meeting of the U.S. Social Forum ... an anti-globalization ‘civil society’ conference that began in Brazil in 2001.”²⁶

Since then, the SJP’s growth has been extraordinary.²⁷ According to the AMCHA Initiative, SJP had 163 active chapters on U.S. campuses as of November 28, 2016. That total increased to 189 as of March 29, 2017.²⁸ Only one university has refused to give official sanction for an SJP chapter to operate on its campus. In December 2016, the Dean of Students at Fordham University’s Lincoln Center campus did so, even though the student government voted to grant recognition.²⁹ According to a summary of the AMCHA Initiative’s findings, there is a “[s]trong correlation between anti-Zionist groups, such as [SJP], and acts of anti-Jewish hostility.³⁰ Schools with an SJP or similar student group were 7 times more likely to host incidents that targeted Jewish students for harm.”³¹ On January 7, 2017, the state of Israel banned twenty organizations that support the BDS Movement in various nations around the world. Three American groups were included on the list: Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), and American Muslims for Palestine (AMP).³²

The most commonly accepted definition of anti-Semitism used today was adopted by the U.S. Department of State in June 2010 and reads:

Anti-Semitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of anti-Semitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.³³

This statement is followed by several “examples” that help to delineate “the ways in which anti-Semitism manifests itself with regard to the state of Israel...” Such manifestations tend to “demonize Israel,” judge it by “double standard[s],” or “delegitimize Israel” altogether.³⁴ The State Department fact sheet concludes with the unassailably correct observation that “... criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as anti-Semitic.”

The Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs’ Dan Diker and Jamie Berk conclude that the SJP is a not a “grassroots” student organization; rather, “it is a terror affiliated anti-Semitic network that currently operates with autonomy and impunity at colleges and universities across the United States.”³⁵ SJP’s statements and actions often have deeply anti-Semitic elements – in addition to clearly being rabidly anti-Israeli. Examples, of this fact can be easily found. For example, Yael Steinberg, a writer for the *Times of Israel*, described a meeting of the University of California Regents which took place at UC Irvine September 2015. Steinberg characterized SJP’s prepared comment as one that “simultaneously demonized the Jewish state, delegitimized Jewish suffering, and held Jewish students to a double standard.”³⁶ This is par for the course with SJP.

SJP's nationwide anti-Semitism would be difficult to ignore unless you are the SPLC – an organization “dedicated to fighting hate and bigotry and...seeking justice for the most vulnerable members of our society.”³⁷ When testifying before the House Homeland Security Committee on November 30, 2017, SPLC President Richard Cohen was asked by Rep. Scott Perry about SPLC's hate group list:

Rep. Perry: Why does it seem there are no left-wing hate groups on your list? For example, on-campus groups like Students for Justice in Palestine that have advocated for violence against Jews. Why aren't they on your list?

Cohen: Well, I don't know about that particular group. I couldn't answer that question. There are left-wing groups on our list.³⁸

Given what is happening on American campuses today, Cohen's answer is shocking.

It turns out that there is an overwhelming problem with modern-day anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic activities on campus that appears to paralyze the SPLC. Hard-left groups like the SPLC have a great deal of difficulty criticizing other hard-left groups because they are political and philosophical allies. Perhaps the SPLC's view of the world is so blinkered that it cannot even comprehend this problem, but that seems unlikely. It appears more likely that the SPLC's concern with anti-Semitism depends on the politics of who is involved.

3. Turning a Blind Eye to Danger: The SPLC

The current state of affairs has become so bad for Jewish students that in the fall of 2016, the *Algemeiner*, America's largest online Jewish news outlet, created a campus guide for prospective Jewish students entitled the “Annual List of the US and Canada's Worst Campuses for Jewish Students.”³⁹ We surveyed the SPLC website to see what they had to say about anti-Semitism on the *Algemeiner's* U.S. campuses (not Canadian campuses). The indispensable source in making a more detailed assessment of each campus was the AMCHA Initiative webpage for “Incidents on Campus / Individual Campuses.”

We have concluded that the SPLC has said almost nothing about the tsunami of left-wing, pro-Palestinian animosity toward Israel, Zionism, and Jews that may be found at many schools today:⁴⁰

- Internet searches did not produce any instance in which the SPLC linked the BDS Movement anywhere to anti-Semitism, and the term “BDS” itself appeared on the SPLC website only once.⁴¹ This is unusual because, as noted above, Jewish groups tracking anti-Semitism point to the BDS Movement as a major international and U.S. development in anti-Semitism. Furthermore, some Jewish students who have left comments with the AMCHA Initiative about the situations at their schools, have explicitly linked the BDS Movement (and Students for Justice in Palestine activity) with actions they perceive as being not only anti-Zionist, but anti-Semitic as well.
- The term “Students for Justice in Palestine” appears in only one SPLC story (which also includes one reference to “SJP”).⁴² Not surprisingly the article is an attack on Pamela Geller and her co-author, Robert Spencer, for calling attention to the SJP and similar groups. Perhaps this should not surprise us given Richard Cohen's statement to a member of Congress that he “didn't know about that particular group” when asked about the SJP. Using the information that Jewish college students have provided to the AMCHA Initiative, the SJP could easily be deemed to be an SPLC-classified “hate group.” The “Brandeis ‘Hotspots of Anti-Semitism’ Report” would support that

notion: “One of the strongest predictors of perceiving a hostile climate toward Israel and Jews is the presence of an active Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) group on campus.”⁴³

- The SPLC does discuss anti-Semitism in the context of white supremacist or neo-Nazi campus flyers distributed last year on a number of campuses in 2016 and 2017. In 2016, a white supremacist hijacked open printer networks on over a dozen campuses and printed anti-Semitic flyers on the printers. Flyers of a similarly racist style and substance were left around a number of schools. No students or administrators were responsible for those flyers. These activities — generated by right-wing bigots — were quickly flagged by the SPLC.
- There are no SPLC references to instances of left-wing or pro-Palestinian anti-Semitism on any campus in the modern BDS/SJP context.⁴⁴ These events are documented in the *Algemeiner* and other Jewish publications in both America and Israel. These stories are not difficult to find, and as noted above, the AMCHA Initiative has documented hundreds upon hundreds of anti-Semitic events on campuses since 2015. Given our reading of AMCHA Initiative data for the 36 *Algemeiner* schools, at least half of those events were left-wing, Palestinian-generated instances of anti-Semitism. Given that very substantial number and the fact that the SPLC *does* write about *right-wing, campus-based anti-Semitism*, one would expect the SPLC to discuss radical left-wing anti-Semitism at least occasionally. However, it never does so. This leads us to conclude that the SPLC filters out politically inconvenient incidents of anti-Semitism. In this case, it is ignoring the obvious elephant in the room.
- There are only three references to the *Algemeiner* in the SPLC’s “Hatewatch Headlines,” *none of which reference the BDS Movement or the SJP*.⁴⁵ Notably, the SPLC had nothing to say about the National Students for Justice in Palestine Conference in October 2017. According to a story in the *Algemeiner*, “Activists who helped lead a national anti-Israel conference for students last year have publicly denigrated Jews, advocated violence against Zionists, and praised Palestinian terrorist groups, a new report has found.”⁴⁶

Conclusion

Allowing the anti-Semitism of the institutional political Left to take hold on campuses is dangerous on two levels. *First*, as the Jewish student testimonials given to the AMCHA Initiative demonstrate, it is this anti-Semitic, BDS/SJP hostility that poses the greatest threat to Jewish students on our campuses. Those who publicly express their religious beliefs by wearing certain garments and those who express their belief that there should be a nation-state for Jews in the land of their ancient forbearers in modern-day Israel are under siege at many major colleges and universities.

It is the BDS/SJP phalanx that holds anti-Semitic rallies on Jewish holy days and days commemorating the Holocaust, and sets up mock apartheid walls and compulsory mock check points on campuses purporting to recreate “racist,” “Zionist” check points used by the Israelis to search Arabs traveling within sections of Israel. No college or university would allow the KKK, neo-Nazis, or white nationalists to do similar activities on their campuses, but at numerous schools an alliance of left-wing groups, the BDS Movement, SJP-type groups, and elements in the faculty (which have even included formal department actions) are allowed to nurture such activities.

The tolerance and tacit encouragement for such political activities brings us to the *secondary* effect of this institutional intolerance. Clearly, it becomes far more difficult to suppress the anti-Semitism of neo-Nazis, white supremacists, and other related bigoted groups when the anti-Semitism of the Left is

permitted to roam free on campuses. What sort of example does that set? In an age of Twitter, YouTube, and other social media, such intolerance is seen everywhere almost instantly. Thus, internet interconnectedness allows groups that hate each other to work to defame and attack their common Jewish enemy.

In closing, two points must be acknowledged. *First*, the United States now tolerates a level of public anti-Semitism that would have been unimaginable only two short decades ago. Furthermore, the American academic system is acting as the incubating environment for this new species of Jew-hatred that is dressed up as opposition to the state of Israel's policies toward Palestinians. *Second*, the Southern Poverty Law Center has demonstrated little appetite for tracking the left-wing, pro-Palestinian anti-Semitism that now exists on American campuses. The domination of major American campuses by the anti-Semitism of the Left doesn't fit the narrative that the SPLC wishes to propagate. As an SPLC staffer once told a *National Review* reporter curious to know why the SPLC did not track the Occupy Movement (after five members had been arrested for trying to blow up a bridge in Cleveland), "We're not really set up to cover the extreme Left."⁴⁷ Not only are they not set up to do so, they seem to have no interest in doing so either judging from Richard Cohen's apparent total ignorance of the SJP.

A great fight lies ahead to defeat the anti-Semitic forces that have ensconced themselves in academic institutions.⁴⁸ The SPLC stands opposed to those who defend Israel. And it remains strikingly silent on the plight of Jewish college students who are being attacked for believing that Israel should exist, or merely because they are Jews.

¹ "Antisemitism Tracker - Organized by State," AMCHA Initiative, accessed January 25, 2018, <https://amchainitiative.org/antisemitism-tracker>. The AMCHA Initiative is an organization founded by two former University of California professors, "dedicated to investigating, documenting, educating about, and combating antisemitism at institutions of higher education in America. While diminishing antisemitic behavior is our central focus, what drives us is the desire to protect Jewish students from both direct and indirect assault and fear while attending colleges and universities."; The AMCHA Initiative's data were supported by figures released recently in: "2017 Audit of Anti-Semitic Incidents," Anti-Defamation League, February 2018, accessed March 7, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/education/resources/reports/2017-audit-of-anti-semitic-incidents>. The 2017 Audit states "that the number of anti-Semitic incidents in the U.S. rose 57 percent in 2017 - the largest single-year increase on record and the second highest number reported since ADL started tracking such data in 1979. The sharp rise was in part due to a significant increase in incidents in schools and on college campuses, which nearly doubled for the second year in a row."

² Statement for the Record, Rabbi Abraham Cooper, Associate Dean, Director Global Social Action, Simon Wiesenthal Center at 2, Hearing, U.S. House of Representatives Judiciary Committee, "Examining Anti-Semitism on College Campuses," November 7, 2017, <https://judiciary.house.gov/hearing/examining-anti-semitism-college-campuses/>.

³ Ruth Wisse, "Anti-Semitism Goes to School," *Mosaic*, May 4, 2015, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://mosaicmagazine.com/essay/2015/05/anti-semitism-goes-to-school/>. It should be noted that not all observers agree that there are troubling levels of anti-Semitism at America's major colleges and universities. For example, a study produced at Stanford's School of Education ("Safe and on the Sidelines") attempted to assess the level and effect of anti-Semitism on American colleges and universities by interviewing Jewish students on five California campuses (University of California, Berkeley; University of California, Irvine; University of California, Los Angeles; Stanford University; and San Francisco State University). The study disagreed with the claim that anti-Semitism has become rampant on American campuses: "Not a single one of our interviewees described their campus as hostile to Jewish students, nor did they identify antisemitism as a significant problem." ("Safe and on the Sidelines," Stanford University, September, 2017, accessed February 7, 2018, <https://stanford.app.box.com/v/SafeandonthesidelinesReport>.) While the 30-page Stanford study was carefully executed, criticisms of it were immediate and legitimate. For example, Rachel Hirshfeld argued that by excluding

students involved in Jewish activity and clubs on campus, the researchers were excluding those who would, more than likely, be most aware of and most targeted by anti-Semitism. Hirshfeld also argued that the researchers have a narrow and outdated view of what anti-Semitism is. See Rachel Hirshfeld, "Campus Antisemitism and Pseudo-Intellectual Complicity," ISGAP, December 11, 2017, accessed on February 23, 2018, <https://isgap.org/flashpoint/unsafe-and-on-the-sidelines-the-alarming-rise-of-antisemitism-on-university-campuses/>. Bennett Ruda made these same criticisms, arguing that because the researchers used a faulty definition of anti-Semitism and the researchers intentionally limited their sample pool, the results were not indicative of the true rate of anti-Semitism on campus. Additionally, Ruda argued that interviewing 66 non-random Jewish students from five Californian schools cannot be used as conclusive evidence for anti-Semitism – or the lack thereof – on all American college and university campuses. See Bennett Ruda, "Severely Flawed New Campus Study Claims Little anti-Semitism on Campus," *Jewish Press*, September 28, 2017, accessed on February 19, 2018, <http://www.jewishpress.com/indepth/opinions/severely-flawed-new-campus-study-claims-little-anti-semitism-on-campus/2017/09/28/>.

⁴ The latest example of this is San Francisco State University, which now faces its second major civil rights lawsuit filed by Jewish students who claim that they routinely face on-campus discrimination in violation of their civil rights. ("Second Major Civil Rights Lawsuit Filed Against San Francisco State University," *Business Wire*, January 31, 2018, accessed February 1, 2018, <https://www.businesswire.com/news/home/20180131006374/en/Major-Civil-Rights-Lawsuit-Filed-San-Francisco>.)

⁵ This kind of language is often used by the BDS Movement and other anti-Israeli groups. See "Israeli Settler Colonialism and Apartheid," BDS, accessed March 7, 2018, <https://bdsmovement.net/colonialism-and-apartheid/summary>.

⁶ In August 2017, the SPLC released a report, "The Alt-Right On Campus: What Students Need To Know" (Southern Poverty Law Center, August 10, 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/20170810/alt-right-campus-what-students-need-know>). It raised the specter of "alt-right" invasions of institutions of higher learning, a malleable term that lumps together speakers like former Marxist David Horowitz with white nationalists and neo-Nazis. Two months later, the SPLC released a "How To" manual entitled, "SPLC on Campus: A guide to bystander intervention." This SPLC paper instructed students on the various ways that they could interfere with the free speech rights of those on campus with whom they disagreed (SPLC, October 5, 2017, <https://www.splcenter.org/20171005/splc-campus-guide-bystander-intervention>).

⁷ The protests and rioting that took place in Charlottesville, Virginia in August 2017 cannot be attributed to any individuals or institutions affiliated with the University of Virginia. Those events have been analyzed best by an independent report prepared by a top-tier Richmond-based Virginia law firm. (Timothy J. Heaphy, et al., "Independent Review of the 2017 Protest Events in Charlottesville, Virginia," Hunton & Williams LLP, November 24, 2017, <http://www.charlottesville.org/home/showdocument?id=59615>.)

⁸ Since the modern leftist, pro-Palestinian judgment is that Israel is a racist, apartheid, settler-colonial state, the question then arises: who runs Israel? Its electorate consists primarily of secular and religious Zionists. According to *Haaretz*: 80 percent of the electorate is Jewish, 15 percent is Arab, Christian, and Druze, and 5 percent is "other." (Alona Ferber, "Israeli Election Math: Who Can Vote, When and Where?" *Haaretz*, March 17, 2015, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.haaretz.com/.premium-israeli-election-math-1.5337703>.) The argument continues, reminiscent of the 1970s U.N. resolution stating that Jewish nationalism (Zionism) is racism.

⁹ Andrew Pessin, "Holocaust Scholar Says He Was Wrong to Assume Serious Jew Hatred Wouldn't Resurface after Nazi Defeat (INTERVIEW)," *Algemeiner*, March 30, 2016, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2016/03/30/eminent-holocaust-scholar-to-bring-peers-together-to-address-serious-threat-of-rising-antisemitism-interview/>.

¹⁰ "Washington Watch with Tony Perkins," January 16, 2018, <http://www.frc.org/wvlivewithtonyperkins/sen-james-lankford-frank-wolf-dr-alveda-king-ryan-bomberger>.

¹¹ Even left-leaning publications like *HuffPost* and *The Atlantic* acknowledge this. See: Greg Lukianoff, "The 10 Worst Colleges For Free Speech: 2017," *HuffPost*, February 22, 2017, accessed January 18, 2018, https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/the-10-worst-colleges-for-free-speech-2017_us_58ac64bfe4b0417c4066c2f1; Conor Friedersdorf, "The Glaring Evidence That Free Speech Is Threatened on Campus," *The Atlantic*, March 4, 2016, accessed January 18, 2018, <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2016/03/the-glaring-evidence-that-free-speech-is-threatened-on-campus/471825/>.

¹² Stanley Kurtz, "The Campus Free-Speech Crisis Deepens," *National Review*, September 27, 2017, accessed January 26, 2018, <http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/451846/campus-free-speech-crisis-deepens>.

¹³ Stanley Kurtz, "Campus Chaos: Daily Shout-Downs for a Week," *National Review*, October 12, 2017, accessed January 26, 2018, <http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/452587/campus-chaos-daily-shout-downs-week-free-speech-charles-murray>; Stanley Kurtz, "Campus Shout-Down Rate Nearly Quadruples," *National Review*, November 2, 2017, accessed January 26, 2018, <http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/453357/campus-shout-down-rate-quadruples-free-speech>.

¹⁴ The AMCHA Initiative states: "Students, professors and members of outside organizations who use hateful anti-Jewish rhetoric and imagery, actively promote the dismantling of the Jewish State, and support terrorism against Jews, have created a hostile and threatening environment for many Jewish students on American campuses. These students report feeling physically unsafe, emotionally and intellectually harassed and intimidated by peers and professors, isolated from their fellow students, and unfairly treated by faculty and administrators. As a result of their experience of campus antisemitism, some Jewish students have even reported leaving the university, dropping classes, changing fields of study, avoiding certain parts of campus and hiding symbols of their Jewish background." ("Effects of Antisemitic Activity on Jewish Students," AMCHA Initiative, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://amchainitiative.org/effects-of-antisemitic-activity-on-jewish-students/>.)

¹⁵ Timothy J. Heaphy, et al., "Independent Review of the 2017 Protest Events in Charlottesville, Virginia," Hunton & Williams LLP, November 24, 2017, <http://www.charlottesville.org/home/showdocument?id=59615>.

¹⁶ Regarding student orientation materials, in August 2017 the "Tufts University Disorientation Guide" attacked the campus group Hillel describing it as "an organization that supports a white supremacist state" and also claimed that Hillel "exploit[s] black voices for their own pro-Israel agenda." According to the AMCHA Initiative, the guide was posted on two official class Facebook pages, where this observation was made about the Jewish state: "Israel is certainly implicated in systems of white supremacy. The fact that many white Jewish people feel favorably toward the Jewish state and the occupation of Palestine comes from a desire to preserve whiteness in the way it is unfolding in Israel and Palestine." See "Campus Monitor -Tufts University," AMCHA Initiative, accessed March 7, 2018, <https://amchainitiative.org/campusmonitor/campusmonitor-tuftsuniversity/>.

¹⁷ The AMCHA Initiative has concluded that a strong correlation exists between faculty who support an academic boycott of Israel and acts of anti-Jewish hostility. As they note: "Schools with one or more faculty members who endorsed an academic boycott of Israel were 4 times more likely to host incidents that targeted Jewish students for harm." ("AMCHA Initiative Publishes Two Landmark Studies Revealing the Nature and Scope of Antisemitic Activity on U.S. Campuses Most Popular with Jewish Students," AMCHA Initiative, October 2016, <https://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Overview-of-2015-and-2016-Reports-3.pdf>. The main faculty pro-BDS organization, US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (USACBI), has been endorsed by more than 1,500 academics. That said, it is a decidedly anti-Semitic organization that, among other things, has declared in recent social media that "All Zionism is racism." (Peter Reitzes, "How Boycotting Israel Promotes Violence," *Algemeiner*, January 15, 2018, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/01/15/how-boycotting-israel-promotes-violence/>.)

¹⁸ Dan Diker, "Unmasking BDS: Radical Roots, Extremist Ends," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2016, accessed January 26, 2018, <http://jcpa.org/unmasking-bds/>.

¹⁹ "The History and Antisemitic Nature of Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Campaigns," AMCHA Initiative, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://amchainitiative.org/1842-2/>.

²⁰ Harold Brackman, "Boycott Divestment Sanctions (BDS) Against Israel: An Anti-Semitic, Anti-Peace, Poison Pill," Simon Wiesenthal Center, March 2013, http://www.wiesenthal.com/atf/cf/%7B54d385e6-f1b9-4e9f-8e94-890c3e6dd277%7D/REPORT_313.PDF. An excellent examination of the anti-Semitic roots, operationalization, and effects of the BDS Movement may be found in a 2016 master's degree thesis: Stefany Truesdell, "The Nature of the BDS Movement on US College Campuses: A Brief Analysis in Three Case Studies," Brandeis University - Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Studies, May 2016, <http://bir.brandeis.edu/handle/10192/32048>.

²¹ Josh Logue, "Report Links Boycott Movement and Anti-Semitism," *Inside Higher Ed*, March 15, 2016, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.insidehighered.com/quicktakes/2016/03/15/report-links-boycott-movement-and-anti-semitism>.

²² Dan Diker and Jamie Berk, "Students for Justice in Palestine Unmasked," Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, 2017, http://americasurvival.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/11/SJP_Unmasked_Final_edited.pdf. While the most noteworthy of these groups is the Students for Justice in Palestine, other BDS groups include an anti-Israeli Jewish group called Jewish Voices for Palestine (SVP).

²³ Diker and Berk, 29: “Students for Justice in Palestine is a byproduct of American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), an organization whose leaders were former members and supporters of Palestinian and Islamist terror organizations. AMP was founded in 2005, after three organizations, Kindhearts, the Islamic Association for Palestine, and the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development, were implicated by the U.S. government between 2001 and 2011 for financing Hamas”; “Profile: Students for Justice in Palestine,” Anti-Defamation League, 2014, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.adl.org/education/resources/profiles/students-justice-palestine>; SJP “has consistently demonized Israel, describing Israeli policies toward Palestinians as racist and apartheid-like, and comparing Israelis to Nazis or Israel to the Jim Crow-era U.S.”; John Perazzo, “Students for Justice in Palestine: A Campus Front for Hamas,” David Horowitz Freedom Center, 2016.

²⁴ There were recent calls for Hatem Bazian to be disciplined due to anti-Semitic cartoons he posted on Twitter (Tamara Ziev, “UC Berkeley Jewish Students Demand Action Over ‘Antisemitic’ Professor,” *The Jerusalem Post*, December 3, 2017, accessed January 26, 2018, <http://www.jpost.com/Diaspora/UC-Berkeley-Jewish-students-demand-action-over-antisemitic-professor-515883>; Shiri Moshe, “Jewish Groups at UC Berkeley Call for Removal of Professor Who Shared Antisemitic Images,” *Algemeiner*, December 1, 2017, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2017/12/01/jewish-groups-at-uc-berkeley-call-for-removal-of-professor-who-shared-antisemitic-images/>).

²⁵ Diker and Berk, 26. Hatem Bazian was born in Nablus and attended school in Amman, Jordan. Bazian moved to the United States when he began undergraduate studies at San Francisco State University in the late 1980s.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 29.

²⁷ This exponential growth is all the more shocking because “[SJP] chapters across North America are notorious for harboring anti-Semites who mock the Holocaust, show support for Hitler and wish death on Jews.” (“SJP and The Holocaust,” Canary Mission, accessed January 29, 2018, <http://campaigns.canarymission.org/sjp/>.)

²⁸ “Campuses with Chapters of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) or Similar Anti-Zionist Group – Both Active & Inactive Status,” AMCHA Initiative, December 28, 2017, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://amchainitiative.org/sjp-chapters>.

²⁹ “I cannot support an organization whose sole purpose is advocating political goals of a specific group, and against a specific country, when these goals clearly conflict with and run contrary to the mission and values of the University,” Eldredge wrote at the time. “Specifically, the call for Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions of Israel presents a barrier to open dialogue and mutual learning and understanding.” Fordham is being sued about this decision, and over 100 faculty members have objected to the dean’s actions. (Shiri Moshe, “Legal Battle Heats Up Over Fordham University Decision to Ban ‘Students for Justice in Palestine,’” *Algemeiner*, January 5, 2018, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/01/05/legal-battle-continues-over-fordham-university-decision-to-ban-students-for-justice-in-palestine/>.) It is also extremely surprising that SJP’s status has not been rescinded or blocked by other schools after the AMCHA Initiative posted a letter that was sent to 100 universities with SJP chapters. The fifteen signatories from concerned Jewish organizations had discovered the charter document for the SJP chapter at Binghamton University. As the letter stated (and can be read below): “The document is extremely troubling in that it outlines a clear strategy for targeting, ostracizing, harassing, and silencing students on campus who oppose the boycott of Israel or who support or simply attend a program or event with which the SJP disagrees.” Letter to 100 Universities with Active SJP Chapters,” AMCHA Initiative, October 28, 2014, <https://goo.gl/V6NuMw>.

³⁰ Along these lines, as of January 2018, the SJP has launched a new initiative ahead of International Holocaust Remembrance Day. See: Adam Kredo, “Anti-Israel Campus Groups Plot to Defame Jewish State Ahead of Holocaust Memorial Day,” *The Washington Free Beacon*, January 26, 2018, accessed January 29, 2018, <http://freebeacon.com/culture/anti-israel-campus-groups-plot-defame-jewish-state-ahead-holocaust-memorial-day/>.

³¹ “AMCHA Initiative Publishes Two Landmark Studies Revealing the Nature and Scope of Antisemitic Activity on U.S. Campuses Most Popular with Jewish Students,” AMCHA Initiative, October 2016, (<https://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/10/Overview-of-2015-and-2016-Reports-3.pdf>).

³² Shiri Moshe, “Experts Praise Inclusion of Anti-Israel Campus Groups on BDS Blacklist,” *The Algemeiner*, January 8, 2017, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/01/08/experts-praise-inclusion-of-anti-israel-campus-groups-on-bds-blacklist/>.

³³ U.S. Department of State, Special Envoy to Monitor and Combat Anti-Semitism, Fact Sheet (June 8, 2010) (<https://2009-2017.state.gov/j/drl/rls/fs/2010/122352.htm>). See also Kenneth Marcus, *The Definition of Anti-*

Semitism (Oxford Univ. Press, 2015); Kenneth L. Marcus, "The New OCR Antisemitism Policy," *Journal for the Study of Antisemitism* 2 (2010): 479-491.

³⁴ These examples hearken back to the "3-D Test of Anti-Semitism" first propounded by Natan Sharansky in 2004. Natan Sharansky, "3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization" Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, October 21, 2004, accessed January 26, 2018, <http://jcpa.org/article/3d-test-of-anti-semitism-demonization-double-standards-delegitimization/>. A useful Wikipedia entry may be found at "3D Test of Anti-Semitism."

³⁵ Diker and Berk, 6.

³⁶ Yael Steinberg, "Students for Justice in Palestine Were Anti-Semites, at a Discussion about Anti-Semitism," *The Times of Israel* blog, September 30, 2015, accessed January 26, 2018, <http://blogs.timesofisrael.com/students-for-justice-in-palestine-were-anti-semite-at-a-discussion-about-anti-semitism/> ("A definition of anti-Semitism that includes delegitimization of the Jewish homeland offends SJP's sensibilities, because it means that the model of hatred that they have been using would be defined as intolerable.").

³⁷ "About Us," Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed January 31, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/about>.

³⁸ "Global Terror Threats, Part 2," U.S. House of Representatives, Homeland Security Committee hearing, November 30, 2017, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.c-span.org/video/?437873-3/homeland-security-panel-examines-global-terrorist-threats>. Go to: 42:35 for this exchange.

³⁹ "The 40 Worst Colleges for Jewish Students, 2016 – The Algemeiner's 1st Annual List of the US and Canada's Worst Campuses for Jewish Students," *Algemeiner*, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.algemeiner.com/the-40-worst-colleges-for-jewish-students-2016/>.

⁴⁰ It should be noted that the SPLC did prepare a report on campus anti-Semitism in 2008 that was rather idiosyncratic in terms of the cases it presented. The report contains no examination of the modern elements of mainstream on-campus anti-Semitism that is prevalent today. See Sonia Scherr, "College Campuses See Rising Anti-Semitic Sentiment," SPLC, August 29, 2008, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2008/college-campuses-see-rising-anti-semitic-sentiment>.

⁴¹ The one instance was found in an item criticizing two conservative groups, one of whose leaders used the term "BDS." ("Anti-Muslim Activists to Speak at Upcoming Charitable Fundraisers in Boston Area," SPLC, October 27, 2017, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/10/27/anti-muslim-activists-speak-upcoming-charitable-fundraisers-boston-area>.)

⁴² Arthur Goldwag, "Oft-Quoted Muslim Bashers Complain of Speech Suppression," SPLC, August 11, 2011, <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2011/08/18/oft-quoted-muslim-bashers-complain-speech-suppression>. The Norwegian killer Anders Brevik had referenced the two authors in his manifesto.

⁴³ Leonard Saxe, et al., "Hotspots of Antisemitism and Anti-Israeli Sentiment on US Campuses," Steinhardt Social Research Institute – Brandeis University, October 2016, <https://www.brandeis.edu/ssri/pdfs/campusstudies/AntisemitismCampuses102016.pdf> "Brandeis 'Hotspots of Anti-Semitism' Report." The Executive Summary (p. 1) contains the observation that on some campuses, anti-Israeli sentiment is linked to anti-Semitism: "CUNY-Brooklyn, Northwestern, and many of the schools in the University of California system, are 'hotspots' where the majority of Jewish students perceive a hostile environment toward Israel, and over one quarter perceive a general environment of hostility toward Jews on their campus. On these campuses it appears that the high rates of anti-Semitic harassment and hostility are largely driven by hostility toward Israel."

If its hate group list is to mean anything, the SPLC must include the National SJP and individual chapters that have attacked Jewish students as revealed by articles and the AMCHA Initiative data (e.g., Brown, CUNY-Brooklyn College, DePaul, Georgetown, Northwestern, San Francisco State, Stanford, UC-Berkeley, UC-Davis, UCLA, UC-Irvine, UC-Santa Cruz, U. of Illinois, UNC, Tufts, Vassar, and Wisconsin. See note 25). If these additions are not made, the SPLC needs to explain its continued non-listed status.

⁴⁴ The Fall 2008 issue of SPLC's Intelligence Report contained an article that, in part, described an extremely idiosyncratic, highly anti-Semitic Muslim sect from northern California that visited various California colleges and universities. (Sonia Scherr, "College Campuses See Rising Anti-Semitic Sentiment," SPLC, August 29, 2008, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2008/college-campuses-see-rising-anti-semitic-sentiment>.) This sect was nothing like the groups that Jewish students are encountering on their campuses that have become part of the fabric of American campus life – like the SJP or analogous organizations.

⁴⁵ Search results for “Algemeiner”, Southern Poverty Law Center, accessed January 25, 2018, <https://www.splcenter.org/search?keyword=Algemeiner>.

⁴⁶ Shiri Moshe, “New Report Shows National SJP Leaders Advocating Violence, Expressing Support for Palestinian Terrorism,” *Algemeiner*, January 4, 2018, accessed January 26, 2018, <https://www.algemeiner.com/2018/01/04/watchdog-national-sjp-leaders-advocate-violence-express-support-for-palestinian-terrorism/>.

⁴⁷ Charles C.W. Cooke, “Occupy the Southern Poverty Law Center,” *National Review*, May 4, 2012, accessed January 26, 2018, <http://www.nationalreview.com/corner/299011>.

⁴⁸ “American Jews Must Finally Realize There Is No Place for Us on The Left,” *Jewish Press*, March 6, 2018, accessed March 7, 2018, <http://www.jewishpress.com/indepth/opinions/american-jews-must-finally-realize-there-is-no-place-for-us-on-the-left/2018/03/06/>.