

ANTI-SEMITISM ON CAMPUS: A CLEAR-AND-PRESENT DANGER



Columbia University

A REPORT BY DR. HAROLD BRACKMAN



FOOD FOR THOUGHT

“[American college campuses are] islands of anti-Semitism . . . [where] the next generation [is] becoming the new Jews of silence. On the college campus, Israel is epitomized as the epicenter of everything that is hateful in the universe.”

- Natan Sharansky in U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Campus Anti-Semitism* (2005)

“Given that you’re a Jewish student and very active in the Jewish community . . . how do you see yourself being able to maintain an unbiased view in your position?”

- UCLA Student Council member Fabienne Roth questioning Rachel Beyda, a candidate for the Judicial Board, February, 2015

“Given your strong Jewish identity, how would you vote on divestment?”

- Stanford student Molly Horowitz being question about her fitness for office by the Students of Color Coalition, April, 2015

“Part of our outrage should also be directed at ourselves, and at our leadership, for failing to educate the campus that Jews are a people, not merely a religion, that this people has a dream called Zionism, that Zionism is synonymous with a universal right to self-determination and, most important, that religion does not have a monopoly on human sensitivity. In other words, that when it comes to campus norms of civility, Zionophobia is at least as evil as Islamophobia.”

- UCLA Professor Judea Pearl, March, 2015



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The period after World War II up through the 1960s was arguably a “golden age” for American Jews on college and university campuses. Though we still live in the warm afterglow of that era, we cannot afford to look backward with nostalgia. Present trends for Jewish students who affirm their identity and don’t hide their love for Israel are not good—and getting worse. If you doubt it, see, for example, *The Case Against Academic Boycotts of Israel* (2014), ed. by Cary Nelson and Gabriel Noah Brahm.

These assumptions about the present are corroborated by a new poll by the Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law and Trinity College showing that 54 percent of American college students experienced or witnessed anti-Semitic incidents last year.

Israel is consistently vilified on our campuses by Mideast scholars whose biased research and teaching are funded by both the Gulf States and U.S. taxpayers. Arab and Muslim students and their allies across a broad leftist ideological spectrum have established a coast-to-coast pattern of disrupting pro-Israel speakers while sponsoring speakers for whose anti-Zionism is often a thin disguise for virulent anti-Semitism. Even on campuses that promise “harassment-free” environments, Jewish students who proudly display their Jewish affiliation, including members of Jewish fraternities and Hillels, increasingly find themselves harassed, vilified, and targets of hate attacks.

The Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), founded at UC Berkeley in 2001, is in the vanguard of these anti-Israel, anti-Jewish campus shock troops as well as anti-Israel divestment campaigners. This Report analyzes the situation on elite “bicoastal” campuses: Harvard and Yale in the Ivy League and the 10-campus University of California System. It also discusses a cluster of Middle Western universities. It should be noted that campus anti-Semitism is now a truly national phenomenon, not limited to elite campuses or either coast.

On the Ivy League campuses, this Report finds that history is repeating itself in the worst way with patterns of discrimination and intimidation of Jewish students not seen since the 1930s when iconic American universities—believe it or not—cozied up to the Third Reich. Voices including (now) former Harvard President Lawrence Summers have decried and deplored these trends.

In the UC System, the two elite campuses—Berkeley and UCLA—have both experienced an uneven pattern of intimidation and violence against Jewish students and institutions going back to the 1990s. The administrators of these great institutions have tried very little, and accomplished even less, in combatting these trends that, on both campuses, have created an atmosphere so uncongenial to free political expression that Jewish students have largely given up serious opposition to anti-Israel divestment resolutions that have been ramrodded through the student governments in recent years. At UCLA, a student government body voted initially, before being pressured by the administration to reverse itself, against appointing Rachel Beyda to a judicial position solely because she was “a Jewish student and very active in the Jewish community.” Now, something similar has happened on Stanford’s campus. Is being “too Jewish” to participate in politics or government in danger of becoming the new campus norm?

We focus in particular on a less prestigious but important UC campus, 24,000 student University of California at Irvine (UCI) where a pattern of administrative indifference to and even complicity in anti-Israel, anti-Jewish incidents was so severe that the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) was compelled a decade ago to file a complaint with the Office for Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education alleging violations of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The OCR—despite some movement toward recognizing the potential for anti-Semitism to reach levels creating a “hostile educational environment” for Jews on campus—is still reluctant to treat Jewish victimization in the way it treats real and perceived complaints of mistreatment from people of color and women, for example. That reluctance, fully in evidence on many campuses, explains why complaints alleging anti-Semitism against both UC Berkeley and UC Irvine have not been successful.

Yet the problem of campus anti-Semitism is real and growing, not only in the Ivy League and the UC System but on Middle Western campuses, and the responsibility to combat it primarily lies with administrators who have displayed profiles in cowardice by ignoring or explaining away hate speech and actions, while stonewalling efforts to hold both professors and students responsible for violating university canons requiring classroom objectivity and free debate on campus.

We agree with the 14 national organizations that last year sent a letter to the presidents of more than 2500 four-year U.S. colleges and universities, urging them to protect Jewish students in light of the alarming rise in anti-Semitism on American campuses.

AMONG THE RECOMMENDATIONS:

- Review and augment campus security so that they are prepared for and able to respond to violence, and alert local police officials to the potential for violence.
- Provide a clear mechanism for reporting harassment, intimidation and hate crimes on campus.
- Issue strong public statements to the university community, urging students, faculty and others to engage in discussion and debate in a civil, tolerant and respectful manner.
- Respond promptly to anti-Semitic incidents by publicly condemning them and the perpetrators, and affirming that anti-Semitism is inconsistent with university values.
- Immediately and thoroughly respond to possible infractions of university rules and policies, and hold wrongdoers accountable for their misconduct.
- Immediately report alleged or suspected criminal conduct to the appropriate authorities.
- Familiarize administrators, faculty, security and other university personnel with the U.S. government standards on anti-Semitism, which explain when “anti-Israelism” and anti-Zionism cross the line into anti-Semitism.
- Ensure that all forms of anti-Semitism are a focus of the university’s diversity education for students, staff and faculty, and provide appropriate oversight of groups that engage in anti-Semitic conduct.
- Issue a statement to faculty making it clear that students must be able to express their views in class without fear of intimidation or reprisal from other students or professors.
- Exercise moral leadership by publicly condemning “anti-Israelism” that crosses the line into anti-Semitism.

In California, the so-called “Leonard Law,” Education Code 66300, is explicit in barring either the UC Regents or California State University Trustees from punishing students for free speech-related conduct. However, there should be a red line between protecting students’ free speech, including repugnant speech involving Jews and Israel, and holding accountable campus-approved or sanctioned groups such as Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) when they engage in or encourage behavior such as disrupting pro-Israel speakers or setting up blatant mechanisms designed to intimidate and demonize, including faux campus check points aimed at Jewish students or targeting Jewish students with “eviction notices.” California public higher education authorities can and must take action against such outrages.



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In light of more than a decade of evidence that anti-Semitism is a serious problem on individual campuses and system wide, the Simon Wiesenthal Center urges the Regents of the University of California to appoint an Anti-Semitism Monitor to study and review ongoing instances and make recommendations for corrective action.

ACTION, TAILORED TO SPECIFIC CAMPUS SITUATIONS, MUST ALSO BE TAKEN NATION-WIDE.

INTRODUCTION

According to the new poll by the Pew Center, 5.5 billion people—77 percent of the world’s population—live in countries where religious freedom is restricted, while global hostility to Jews has reached a seven-year high.¹

Unsurprisingly, the United States is on the side of the angels—but there is a glaring exception. A new study by the Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law and Trinity College shows that American colleges and universities are not ivory towers of tolerance regarding Jews, but hotspots of anti-Semitism where 54 percent of all students report that they have either experienced or witnessed an anti-Semitic incident during the past year. A comparable survey of UK Jewish college students actually showed slightly lower levels of anti-Semitic incidents. According to the U.S. survey, Jews ages 18-29 are more than five times as likely to be called offensive names as are Jews over 65 years of age. The vast majority of anti-Jewish behavior comes from fellow students; only 3 percent of Jewish students attribute their exposure to anti-Semitism to administrators, and 6 percent to faculty.²

It is important to note that the incidents involved—not criticism of Israel and its governmental policies—but rather malicious comments or behavior, including graffiti and social media, bullying and hate crimes, directed against Jews. The incidents sometimes occurred in the classroom, but more often on campus. Sometimes, the bigotry involves only a short-hand slur stereotyping Jews, but other times it involves full-blown, often contradictory “theories” depicting Jews as greedy capitalists or atheistic communists, Judeo-Nazi persecutors of Palestinians, global conspirators, media manipulators, Christ killers, unpatriotic cowards, or warmongers.

This Report is a study of the clear and present danger of anti-Semitism on campus, an analysis of its rise and prevalence, and suggestions for what can be done to combat it. The ADL is among Jewish organizations, that have noted “the paradox” that Jewish college students continue to thrive at the same time that the menace of campus anti-Semitism has been increasing exponentially. History often shows that paradoxes between conflicting trends often resolve themselves in ways not favorable to Jews. Don’t underestimate the effect of a constant stream of propaganda hostile to Jews and Israel on impressionable young people, often away from home for the first time. The stakes are enormous and the slippery slope may be already upon us.³

Here is one example worth looking at, not from 1935 but 2015: “a Jewish student and very active in the Jewish community” has come to be viewed with suspicion at UCLA:

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rpULMwxQnz4#t=122>.

Soon before this Report went to press, the student governments of both the Berkeley and UCLA campuses of the University of California voted to condemn anti-Semitism, while UC President Janet Napolitano expressed her support for the U.S. State Department definition of “anti-Semitism” as including “anti-Zionism.” But these positive developments are still not enough to constitute a “trend.”



CAMPUS ANTI-SEMITISM: PRESENT AND PAST

The Brandeis Center/Trinity College survey is of a representative sample of over 1,000 Jewish young people on campus today. They are predominately white and U.S. born, majority female (like the overall college population), and proud to identify as Jews though not very religiously observant. Over a third report intermarriage in their families. Interestingly, only 6 percent are first-generation college students, while 75 percent reported having a grandparent who was a college graduate. This survey observes: “our Jewish sample is not composed of strangers to the college campus. They are also not as easily distinguishable as previous generations of Jews” from non-Jewish students.

Unfortunately, what does distinguish this generation is more exposure to anti-Semitism—and linked anti-Israel bigotry—than that experienced by their parents or grandparents. The details are particularly troubling: women—now a majority among Jewish college students—are 40 percent more likely to report anti-Semitic incidents than men. Many AIPAC supporters and J Street supporters among Jewish students both report anti-Semitic incidents—the difference being that a majority of AIPAC supporters say they “never” hide their Jewish identity, while a majority of J Street supporters say they “always” do. How did such a state of affairs come to pass?

POST WWII

Most of the parents and grandparents of today’s students came of age during what historians may view as “a golden age” of Jews in colleges and universities. During the 1960s, the sociologist Milton Gordon celebrated American campuses as democratizing “melting pots” where religious, ethnic, and racial differences increasingly did not matter. The trend toward selecting Jewish university presidents had begun, while from 20 percent to 40 percent of physical science and social science faculty were Jewish. The dominant liberalism of the time was associated with philo-Semitism and support for Israel. ⁴

The post-World War II “good times” for Jewish life on campus, peaking in the early 1960s, in fact was not the historical norm.

1920S-1930S: JEWISH QUOTAS AND COZYING UP TO NAZI GERMANY

The ugly trend toward post-World War I academic anti-Semitism started at Harvard where in 1922 President A. Lawrence Lowell proposed a “Jewish quota” that was ultimately implemented by means of a euphemistic “geographic diversity” mechanism whose real purpose was to keep out brilliant, but unwanted Boston and New York Jews. ⁵

In the 1930s, Lowell’s successor, President James B. Conant, talked up meritocracy, but in practice discriminated against Jews in both student admissions and faculty hiring. This was also when America’s elite educational addresses cozied up to the new Nazi regime. ⁶

In 1933, when Adolf Hitler and the Nazi Party came to power in Germany, Harvard’s president refused to do anything to provide haven to refugee Jewish professors and even went out of his way to torpedo Du Pont Chemical from hiring a distinguished chemist because he was “certainly of the Jewish type—rather heavy.” In 1934, Harvard rolled out the red carpet for Ernst (Putzi) Hanfstaengl (Class of ‘09), who had experimented with a precursor of the “stiff-armed Nazi salute and Sieg Heil chant” as a Harvard cheerleader. ⁷



1920S-1930S: JEWISH QUOTAS AND COZYING UP TO NAZI GERMANY

Hitler's foreign press chief, Hanfstaengl had bragged to an American diplomat that the Nazis would destroy the Jewish "vampires sucking German blood" by assigning a storm trooper to deal with each of Germany's 600,000 Jews. The student paper, the *Crimson*, urged that Hanfstaengl be granted an honorary degree as a mark "of honor appropriate to his high position in the government of a friendly country." In 1935, the German consul general was permitted to place a wreath with the swastika in Harvard Chapel. Before, during, and after the 1936 Berlin Olympics, Harvard students and administrators made a point of using German passenger liners to visit the Third Reich where students participated in study abroad programs at Nazified universities like Heidelberg and Goettingen with which Harvard maintained cordial relations.

Not until after Kristallnacht in 1938, did the Harvard community begin to engage in noteworthy protests against Hitlerite outrages. Yet Conant during the 1950s as U.S. High Commissioner for Germany and then U.S. Ambassador to the Federal Republic "was significantly involved in paroling vast numbers of Nazi war criminals, including those engaged in the most heinous atrocities." Of course, Conant never praised Hitler; what he did was more insidious.

Harvard set a pattern for anti-Semitic practices, not only for Ivy League schools, but nationally for institutions of higher learning including Catholic schools and women's colleges.

SINCE THE 1960S

Today, the zeitgeist prevalent on American campuses is completely different from the 1930s—yet in some ways campuses are becoming no more friendly for Jews. The academic melting pot of the 1960s has given way to new crucibles of identity politics in which students separate out according to race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexual orientation, and other disaggregating characteristics. Most of us familiar with the business world are familiar with the concept of "a hostile work environment" which is deemed to exist when employers fail to prevent prejudiced attitudes or behavior toward women or minorities. Now, this has carried over onto college campuses where the emerging thing is "a hostile learning environment" involving complaints by students of diverse backgrounds of real or perceived hostility to them that academic administrators have an obligation to correct.

The frustrating paradox here is that college and university administrators—under pressure not only from student groups but also by governmental equal opportunity bureaucracies—show a disturbing indifference or lethargy regarding anti-Semitic "environments" that contrasts with their hyper-vigilance against every other form of bigotry.

HARVARD AND YALE AS PROFILES IN COWARDICE

These days, it's not only advanced aircraft that fly under the radar: so do elite universities seeking to hide their capitulation to extreme anti-Israel campaigns that feature anti-peace, one-sided boycotts, and divestments designed to strangle and demonize the Jewish state, including Israeli economic and educational institutions. Case in point: Harvard.

CASE IN POINT: HARVARD.

Despite the University administration's official opposition to divesting from Israel, the Harvard Management Company—which oversees the university's multi-billion dollar investment trust—has quietly filed an SEC Notice divesting its shares from high tech Israeli companies including TEVA pharmaceuticals, Cellcom wireless communications, and Checkpoint Securities. The manufacturer of anti-virus firewalls, Checkpoint Securities was



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Was this action a consistent statement for human rights? Then how to reconcile it with Harvard's maintenance of a \$295 million investment in the repressive Chinese regime, its newly opened position in Turkish stocks—despite the recent international condemnation of the Ankara regime for using poison gas against Kurdish rebels— and the growing virulent anti-Israel animus of President Erdoğan's autocratic regime that is worrying Turkish Jews considering an exodus from Turkey.⁸

The alma mater of John Kennedy who wrote *Profiles in Courage*, Harvard has maintained a cowardly profile about the Mideast at least since 2002 when a notorious Harvard-MIT faculty and student petition ignored Palestinian attacks on Israel civilians during the Second Intifada to condemn only the Jewish state in urging its slow death by divestments and boycotts. The comparison between Israel—which gives its Arab citizens equal rights and seeks to make peace with the Palestinian people—and Apartheid South Africa could not be more specious.

The increasing complicity of the Harvard community in one-sided anti-Israel campaigns occurred when it did in spite of the tenure from 2001 to 2006 of its first Jewish president, Lawrence W. Summers, who tried his best to stand up against the trend. Summers was ultimately forced to resign over his controversial speculation in 2005 that there might be an aptitude difference men and women in ability for scientific achievement, but his troubles can be dated as far back as 2002 when American university elites—including Harvard's—did not receive well his warning that campus anti-Semitism was on the increase, or his statement that Harvard and MIT professors who advocated that universities divest their endowment holdings from Israel were anti-Semitic in their effect, if not their intent." Summers' successor, Drew Gilpin Faust, wrote a personal letter in 2007 condemning the movement to boycott Israeli universities, but chose not to join other university presidents in signing on to an anti-boycott petition that ran as an ad in the *New York Times*.⁹

Just a few months ago, the Brandeis Center strongly condemned Harvard University's suspension of Sodastream, the do-it-yourself soda and water machine, from campus dining services in a clever ploy by the Boycotts, Divestment, and Sanctions (BDS) Movement to hurt the Israeli economy while in no way furthering professed human rights concerns. The *Harvard Crimson* revealed that the Harvard University Dining Service (HUDS) succumbed to pressure by anti-Israel activists, discontinuing use of Sodastream products, in response to Sodastream's operations in the West Bank.¹⁰

"These machines can be seen as a microaggression to Palestinian students and their families and like the University doesn't care about Palestinian human rights," said Rachel J. Sandalow-Ash '15, a member of the Harvard College Progressive Jewish Alliance. HUDS' action, however, seems to disregard the opinions of many pro-Israel students on campus, as well as the many merits of Sodastream and how the company works to protect Palestinian rights—including the rights of 500 Palestinians who work for Sodastream to have jobs.



CASE IN POINT: HARVARD.

As the Brandeis Center President Kenneth L. Marcus concluded in a protest letter to Harvard President Faust, these “micro-BDS” efforts are, in many ways, more dangerous than broader campaigns against the entire country of Israel, because they are sneakier and more deceptive. They target one or two companies, or a short list of Israeli politicians or universities. And they claim that they are not advocating boycotts against the entire Jewish nation. But they are based on the notion that it is okay to apply different standards to Israelis than to the rest of the world’s peoples. And they ultimately end up in the same place. All anti-Israel boycotts, whether limited or comprehensive, advance the same agenda, which is to deny Israel normalcy and legitimacy. Despite the intervention by Harvard’s president, this was a deeply anti-Semitic campaign and it must be understood as such.¹¹

At Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government, “Checking Your Privilege 101” orients incoming students who are white to “check their privilege” and assume imputed guilt by virtue of their ancestry as beneficiaries of past racism. At Princeton, student freshman Tal Fortgang—whose grandfather fled Nazi-occupied Poland, leaving five siblings behind—complained: “‘Check your privilege’, the saying goes, and I have been reprimanded by it several times this year. . . . I do not accuse those who ‘check’ me and my perspective of overt racism, although the phrase, which assumes that simply because I belong to a certain ethnic group I should be judged collectively with it, toes that line. But I do condemn them for diminishing everything I have personally accomplished, all the hard work I have done in my life, and for ascribing all the fruit I reap not to the seeds I sow but to some invisible patron saint of white maleness who places it out for me before I even arrive.” Of course, Fortgang’s family (who are an American success story) were facing fierce discrimination in pre-Hitler and Hitler Europe when slavery and segregation were shaming the U.S.¹²

YALE UNIVERSITY:

In 2010, soon after President Faust’s moral default, the Yale Initiative for the Interdisciplinary Study of Anti-Semitism (YIISA), headed by Professor Small, sponsored a scholarly conference on “Global Antisemitism: A Crisis of Modernity.” The distinguished scholars who spoke include several experts on “the new anti-Semitism” in the Arab and Muslim World. YIISA is “dedicated to the scholarly research of the origins and manifestations associated with anti-Semitism globally, as well as other forms of prejudice, including racisms, as it relates to policy.” Its mission statement observes that, in the modern era of globalization, anti-Semitism “has taken on new complex and changing forms that need to be decoded, mapped and critiqued.”

Unfortunately, the main success of YIISA’s conference may have been to uncover a troubling tolerance for anti-Semitism among the politically correct on the Yale campus and in Yale’s administration, headed by President Richard C. Levin. Not every Jewish observer agrees, but distinguished scholar-journalist Ron Rosenbaum has even called this episode “Yale’s new Jewish quota.”¹³

The precipitant for this revelation about the Yale situation was a stinging letter of rebuke of the YIISA Conference, written by Maen Rashid Areikat, head of the PLO Mission in Washington, to Yale’s president. Mentioning in particular presentations by retired Israeli Col. Jonathan Figchel, a senior researcher at the International Institute for Counter-Terrorism, Anne Herzberg, legal advisor to the group NGO Monitor, and Itamar Marcus, who heads the Palestinian Media Watch website and lives in the West Bank settlement of Efrat, Areikat said: “It’s shocking that a respected institution like Yale would give a platform to these right-wing extremists and their odious views, and it is deeply ironic that a conference on anti-Semitism that is ostensibly intended to combat hatred and discrimination against Semites would demonize Arabs—who are Semites themselves.”



YALE UNIVERSITY:

Charles Small's defense of his Conference—pointing out that speakers from 18 countries offered a broad spectrum of outlooks—seems not to have quieted the mind of Yale President Levin who began running away from YIISA even before receiving Areikat's letter, possibly out of fear of losing Gulf State funding for Yale.

In an extraordinary move, Yale's Associate Provost took it upon herself in remarks to the 2010 YIISA Conference to use the opening session to impugn the "objectivity" of the presenters. Leading the cheering section for Yale's break with YIISA was Charles Robinson Hogen, head of the PR Department, whose close anti-Israel associations include radical Palestinian Professor Rashid Khalidi.¹⁴

Forcing YIISA, the first university academic research center in the U.S. devoted to the study of anti-Semitism, to have its relationship with the University severed, Yale cravenly retreated in the face of anti-Israel propagandists who equate with "Islamophobia" any criticism of anti-Semitism in the Arab and Muslim world—where the respected Pew Survey shows levels of Jew hatred in some countries exceeding 90 percent. But it should not surprise anyone familiar with either Yale's recent or more distant history. During and after Vietnam War protests, Yale made a name for itself excluding the ROTC, silencing conservatives on campus, and honoring such speakers as Amiri Baraka, formerly Leroi Jones, who when asked by a Jew what Jews could do for the cause of Black Power responded: "Die Baby. All you can do for me is die." This is the context in which Zaid Shakir, Yale's former Muslim chaplain, who counseled Muslim students, said that Muslims cannot support America's secular political system because "it is against the orders and ordainments of Allah."¹⁵

According to Yale students, Daniel Fichter and James Kirchick, the real purpose of the divestment in Israel movement at the University was "to abolish the Jewish state. Activists leading the divestment campaign . . . have repeatedly state their belief that Zionism . . . is inherently racist and that the only way to bring peace to the region is to eliminate Israel."¹⁶

As with Harvard, Yale's president has admitted the University's shameful anti-Semitism before World War II—but not more recently. Back then, following in the footsteps of Harvard, Yale imposed an informal anti-Jewish quota. Jewish students on campus were socially ostracized and made to feel like pariahs by an atmosphere that postwar Yale President Kingman Brewster later described as "subliminal anti-Semitism."

Yale's head librarian, Professor Andrew Keogh, was sure that "European book burnings are never so serious as the newspapers make them out to be." Before World War II, Yale President James Rowland Angell refused an invitation to speak at an anti-Nazi community meeting in 1933, while supporting a fundraising campaign to send Yale students to the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The Yale student newspaper noted regarding campus support (or lack of it) for German-Jewish professors persecuted by Hitler that a large group of students said: "We don't like Jews, There are too many at Yale already. Why bring more over?" The same newspaper was more critical of "the ominous aspects" and "moral fervor" of anti-Nazi student demonstrations than of campus anti-Semitism.

At both Harvard and Yale, the shameful 1930s past continues to provide a prologue to deplorable present.



THE BACKLASH AGAINST PRESIDENT SUMMERS

In January 2015, former Harvard President Lawrence H. Summers, speaking at Columbia Center for Law and Liberty, stated:

“I believe that the general failure of American academic leaders to aggressively take on the challenge posed by the Boycott, Divestment, Sanction (BDS) movement represents a consequential abdication of moral responsibility.” Summers went on: “My [2002] suggestion that the divestiture and boycott movements were ‘anti-Semitic in effect if not intent’ seems to me to have stood up rather well. Note I did not label anyone an anti-Semite. I said instead that the effect of the actions they favored—singling out Israel for economic pressure—if carried out would be anti-Semitic—in other words, in opposition to the Jewish people. We live in a world where there are nations in which the penalty for homosexuality is death, in which women are stoned for adultery, in which torture is pervasive, in which governments are killing tens of thousands of their own people each year. But the proponents of Israeli boycotts divestiture and sanctions do not favor any form of pressure against countries other than Israel.”¹⁷

Corroborating Summers’ argument is the conclusion by the U.S. State Department’s Anti-Semitic Monitor: “while criticism of Israel cannot automatically be regarded as anti-Semitic, rhetoric that . . . applies double standards to Israel crosses the line of legitimate criticism.”¹⁸

MIDDLE WESTERN UNIVERSITIES

The nation’s third largest metro area—“Chicagoland”—is the hub for a number of important universities where anti-Israel and anti-Jewish trends have been much in evidence recently. The past and the present interact in shaping a Chicago atmosphere that is increasingly dark for Jews. The Chicago Tribune under the editorship of Colonel Robert R. McCormick supported the Nazi regime as a “bulwark” against communism during the 1930s, and then dismissed the Holocaust as “wild rumors.” Now, the Tribune editorial page has carried a cartoon by Joe Fournier linking Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu’s purported opposition to “the two state solution” to the false charge—reminiscent of anti-Semitic blood libels—that Netanyahu purposely ordered the repeated bombing of Palestinian “hospitals, mosques, and schools” during the Summer 2014 Gaza War.¹⁹

The Wiesenthal Center’s Chicago branch closely monitors developments on Middle Western campuses. Here is a look at troubling developments on several of these.

DEPAUL UNIVERSITY

At the conclusion of the 2014 spring semester at DePaul, there was an increase in anti-Israel sentiment with the launch of the campaign “DePaul Divest,” spearheaded by SJP. The campaign created an atmosphere of intimidation and hate towards students who identify with Israel. The campaign to delegitimize the Jewish State via referendum eventually passed with 54 percent of votes.



NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

A student organization called “NU Divest” has demanded that Northwestern University drop any investments in Illinois-based Boeing and Caterpillar, as well as four other firms that are said to profit “off of the illegal occupation of Palestinian lands.” An inflammatory “NU Divest” video—obviously intended to implicate Israel in the deaths of Michael Brown and Eric Garner—includes this testimonial: “I support NU Divest because the New York and the St. Louis police department were both trained by the Israeli military. If black lives matter, then Palestinian lives must also.”²⁰

On February 18, 2015, Northwestern’s Associated Student Government (ASG) voted by a razor thin margin (24-22, with 3 abstentions) to pass NU Divest’s resolution.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

During a student involvement fair at Chicago’s Loyola University, Students for Justice in Palestine protested a booth set up by the Jewish student organization Hillel advertising Birthright trips to Israel. SJP was suspended after violating six campus community standards including interfering with the rights of others to demonstrate, harassing other student organizations (Hillel members were heckled: “How does it feel to be guilty of ethnic cleansing?”), and threatening university members. The university administration then reinstated the SJP chapter. Loyola University Chicago’s Hillel chapter president, Talia Sobol, spoke for many Jewish students: “Hillel students are anxious for results [from the university investigation], and want to feel protected on this campus. . . . Campus security must attend every single event we hold because of the campus climate towards Jews.”²¹

Loyola University’s SJP and MESA (Middle Eastern Student Association) held a fundraising event, paid for in part by student activity funds, for Palestinian terrorist Rasmia Odeh, convicted in both Israeli and U.S. Courts (for the facts, see the discussion of DePaul University below). It was promoted by a grotesquely untrue Facebook Page reading: “Rasmia’s case is the disgusting reality of rape culture in this country. The charge against her in U.S. courts rely on an arrest made in 1969 by the Israeli military, where her confession to a crime was obtained via sexual torture. Anyone who denies this is feeding into and perpetuating rape culture, a sickening reality where victims stories are not believed. The targeting of Rasmia is an attack on sexual assault survivors, immigrants, and Palestinian advocates. Join us on February 26 to learn why you should stand with Rasmia and to learn about FBI targeting of Arab Americans.”²²

On March 25, 2015, Loyola University Chicago’s Student Senate (SGLC) held a meeting to debate a measure that called on the University to divest its holdings from Israeli companies. The debate resulted in a tie vote of 15-15, with 2 abstaining. The Speaker of the Senate, Danish Murtaza, issued the tie-breaking vote and voted in favor of the resolution. The divestment campaign was closely modeled after that of Northwestern University’s divestment campaign.



DEPAUL UNIVERSITY

DePaul's chapter of SJP scheduled a fundraiser on February 3, 2015, for the defense of Rasmia Odeh, a Palestinian woman convicted in Israel in 1970 for fatal terrorist bombings (she was released from an Israeli prison in 1980 in a prisoner swap with the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine), and in 2014 by a U.S. federal court for immigration fraud. She is out on bail appealing a sentence of 18 months in prison to be followed by loss of U.S. citizenship and deportation. Rasmia Odeh attended the DePaul event as well as a subsequent Loyola University student fundraiser where Jewish students braved a snowstorm to stand in front of the auditorium where the fundraiser was held to protest and hold a prayer vigil in honor of Edward Joffe and Leon Kanner, two of Odeh's Israeli victims.²³

OHIO UNIVERSITY

During Summer 2014, thousands of Americans including many college students posted videos on Facebook challenging people to donate \$100 to the ALS Association or suffer the wrath of having a bucket of ice water dumped on their heads. The ice-bucket drenchings also were meant to promote awareness of ALS or "Lou Gehrig's disease." In a cruel parody of this humanitarian event, Megan Marzec, the Student Body President of Ohio University, created an outrageous video when she dumped a bucket of simulated blood over her head in protest against Israel's defensive war against Hamas in Gaza. The video calls for the divestment of the university from relations with Israel and an end to the "Israeli Occupation of Palestine." She is shown in the video wearing a shirt that reads "Ohio U Divest From Israel" and saying: "This bucket of blood symbolizes the thousands of displaced and murdered Palestinians, atrocities which OU is directly complicit in through cultural and economic support of the Israeli state."²⁴

Four Jewish students—Jonah Yulish, Maxwell Peltz, Rebecca Sebo and Gabriel Sirkin—were arrested by the campus police and faced up to 30 days in jail and a \$250 fine after being charged with disruption of a student senate meeting where they demanded Marzec's resignation. They resisted pressure to plead guilty, and the charges against them were ultimately dropped.²⁵

THE 10-CAMPUS UC SYSTEM: OMINOUS TRENDS

Though Ohioans and Michiganders disagree, Californians consider the University of California this country's premier public university system.

With the exception of the ugly California loyalty oath controversy during the McCarthy Era of the early 1950s, UC upheld the highest standards regarding objective scholarship and freedom from ideological indoctrination of students—until spillovers Israeli-Palestinian conflict poisoned campus politics.

Examples of disagreements over the Mideast spawning anti-Semitism on UC campuses have garnered national headlines over the last few years. These recent episodes are discussed below, but it is important to note that the current ugly state of affairs is the culmination of a trend going back to the 1990s. We will survey leading campuses.



The Berkeley campus launched the first high profile anti-Israel divestment drive a prestigious American campus in February 2002. A second drive in 2010, after Israel's Operation Cast Lead, resulted in passage of a resolution by the Student Senate which, however, was vetoed by ASUC President Will Smeko. In April 2013, another resolution passed by only 11 to 9 but without a veto, after notorious anti-Israel author Alice Walker (who won't allow her novels to be translated into Hebrew) led the cheering section for it on campus, and Jewish students were assaulted with pro-divestment petitions at Sproul Hall. During a 2015 debate, BDS supporters used the epithet "Zizi" (i.e., Zionist Nazi) on Twitter to describe students who opposed their extreme program to delegitimize Israel's right to exist and deny Jewish self-determination. Back in 2013, attorneys Neal Sher and Joel Siegal, members of the Brandeis Center's legal advisory board, filed a petition with the U.S. Education Department's Office for Civil Rights Enforcement citing many instances in alleging creation of a hostile academic environment against Jews in violation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. They had filed first in federal district court and entered into a settlement with the University of California before refiling a complaint with OCR.²⁶

Berkeley was the home campus of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), organized in 2001 to implement the "Zionism Equals Racism" agenda of that year's UN Durban Conference as well as the subsequent BDS movement which became national as well as international in 2004-2005.

The early years of this anti-Israel movement at Berkeley were particularly ugly. In 2001, a Chabad member was assaulted on the way to Chabad House. In April, 2002, 79 pro-Palestinian demonstrators were arrested when they stormed into a university hall attempting to disrupt a Holocaust Remembrance Day commemoration. A brick was thrown through the glass doors of a Hillel building, which was defaced with "Fuck the Jews," while "anti-Zionist" graffiti festooned the campus and environs. Two Orthodox Jews were severely beaten one block from campus. That same month, a Muslim students association posted fliers with bogus quotations from the Talmud that "a Jew is permitted to rape, cheat and perjure himself, but he must take care that he is not found out, so that Israel may not suffer." A pro-academic freedom student leaders including campaigned for a candidate slate that squelched efforts to disinvite former Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak to speak on campus, but protestors did everything they could to disrupt his speech. Earlier, they had forced cancellation of an appearance by Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu (at the time not prime minister).²⁷

During this period there was a despicable synergy between the Berkeley campus and San Francisco State University where Director of Jewish Studies Laurie Zoloth in 2002 reported her harrowing experience surrounded and threatened to an inch of her life by "an angry out of control mob" shouting "Go Back to Russia."²⁸

Graffiti on campus in 2006 included the painting of the word "kike" on the porch of a Jewish fraternity house. Subsequently, a Jewish girl holding an "Israel Wants Peace" sign was ramrodded with a shopping cart by the head of Students for Justice in Palestine, and a swastika was stretched in a campus door. In 2009, thugs from the Berkeley campus vandalized a Trader Joe's grocery for carrying Israeli products.²⁹

By 2015, there had been a decade of increasing hostility on the Berkeley campus to Jewish students with the temerity to speak up for themselves or Israel, with such incidents as vandalizing Jewish property, spitting at Jewish students, threatening violence, and physically assaulting Jewish supporters of Israel. The U.S. Department Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) dismissed claims against Berkeley as well as UC Irvine and UC Santa Cruz on the grounds there was not "widespread," "systematic" evidence of campus anti-Semitism.

Complaints against campuses alleging sexism or anti-black racism were never dismissed in such a manner. The virulent anti-Israel lobby trumpeted the decision as a great moral victory.³⁰



UC BERKELEY

In an op ed in the *Daily Californian*, student Elijah Z. Granet, observed that the University's own 2012 report "concluded that Jewish students across our system are a minority facing rampant discrimination and harassment across all aspects of college life." He added: "Before I even arrived at Cal, I encountered anti-Semitism from UC Berkeley students. On the Berkeley 2017 Facebook group, several students directed anti-Semitic vitriol at me. The students who used such abusive language had not even set foot on campus, yet they were already perpetuating the campus's adverse attitude towards the Jewish community. Now that the cyberbullies I dealt with online have begun classes at Cal, I fear they will find a welcome environment for their acrimonious viewpoints."³¹

In 2014, a reporter went to the Berkeley campus to wave an ISIS flag and an Israeli flag. The ISIS flag and justifications for that organization raised no comment, while many student passersby shouted "Fuck Israel."³²

The unsuccessful movement to stop television's outspoken Bill Maher from speaking at Berkeley used the same tactics of intimidation developed by the anti-Israel lobby.³³

Seeking cover, the UC Student Senate unanimously passed a bill in 2015 announcing that: "The ASUC will actively fight against anti-Semitism according to the U.S. State Department's definition" The State Department's "working definition" 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." Examples include: accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust, and accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interest of their own nations.³⁴

Unfortunately, the student senate also has passed unanimously a resolution "to condemn these inflammatory, hateful, and racist assumptions by UCSC [University of California Santa Cruz] lecturer Tammi Rossman-Benjamin against Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian students, and Palestinian rights activists" for daring to suggest that there was a linkage between terrorism and student groups like SJP that openly support Hamas and other violent extremist movements.³⁵

UCLA

The University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), the UC system's second most prestigious campus, has certainly tried harder to create or at least not prevent a hostile environment for Jews in general and supporters of Israel in particular—and, to some extent, has succeeded.

Of course, this story was not always so. As late as 1973's Yom Kippur War, student newspapers reported large campus demonstrations sympathetic to Israel, but only small demonstrations opposed to it.³⁶

In 1999, Salam al-Marayati, executive director of the Muslim Public Affairs Council (MPAC), justified the 1983 attack on Beirut's Marine Barracks, killing 241 Marines, because it was an operation "producing no civilian casualties." That same year, UCLA's Muslim Student Association publication, *Al-Talib*, with a 20,000 circulation, followed the bombings of U.S. embassies in Tanzania and Kenya with "A Spirit of Jihad" issue lauding Osama bin Laden whose intent to directly attack the U.S. was already clear.³⁷



In 2009, the federally-funded UCLA Center for Near Eastern Studies (CNES) sponsored a vicious symposium on Israel and Gaza that Professor Judea Pearl, father of beheaded *Wall Street Journal* reporter Daniel Pearl, called “a Hamas recruitment rally” using “a clever academic gimmick.”³⁸

2014-2015 may be remembered as “The Years of Living Dangerously” if you were a self-respecting Jewish student on the UCLA campus.

The early months of 2014, featuring a February vote by the Undergraduate Students Association Council rejecting an anti-Israel divestment resolution by a 7 to 5 margin, left an ugly scar on UCLA’s reputation for civil debate. The rejection of the resolution was a victory for Jewish students who spoke up in an open-ended meeting that lasted until dawn. But almost immediately, two of the council members were targeted by a McCarthyite inquisition implying they were Jews not only with conflicts of interest but with “dual loyalties.” The SJP introduced a resolution calling for an investigation of Student Council members who have taken trips to Israel sponsored by groups—such as the ADL (Anti-Defamation League), AIPAC (American Israel Public Affairs Committee) and Hasbara Fellowships—which the SJP deems to have “political agendas that marginalize multiple communities on campus.”³⁹

A second SJP initiative sought to deprive pro-Israel students of a voice in campus discussions by demanding that candidates for student government positions sign a statement pledging that they would not go on any trip to Israel sponsored by the three Jewish organizations.

In summary, SJP urged the student judicial board to investigate two members of the student government, Sunny Singh and Lauren Rogers, who had traveled to Israel on trips paid for by pro-Israel groups, in an effort to “prove” that the two were biased and should not have been able to vote on a resolution calling for divestment from investments in Israeli companies. The other initiative called on all students who wished to become a part of the student government to first take a pledge that they wouldn’t travel to Israel with the pro-Israel groups.⁴⁰

Though other UC Chancellors such as Linda P.B. Katehi have been forthright in condemning campus anti-Semitism, UCLA Chancellor Gene D. Block initially decided to “leave the matter to be resolved by students” despite objectionable SJP tactics on many campuses. Suffering from cyberbullying and anonymous Internet threats, aggrieved UCLA student turned to UC President Janet Napolitano and the Regents in a vain attempt for relief. Pastor Dumisani Washington, leader of the Institute for Black Solidarity with Israel, said in his remarks at the hearing before the UC Regents that the SJP’s denunciation of pro-Israel groups for having a political agenda is not just hateful, it is hypocritical given SJP’s own repugnant political agenda. On other campuses around the country, National SJP tactics include the mock eviction notices against Jewish students on dormitory doors (this has happened at Harvard), “die-ins,” and promotions of virulently anti-Israel speakers and events.⁴¹

By November, when there was an 8 to 2 revote in favor of divestment, intimidation tactics by anti-Israel and sometimes anti-Jewish student groups had created a chilling atmosphere incompatible with free and fair debate. Rules were changed to limit debate and allow anti-Israel groups to pack the audience with 400 robotic shouters who drowned out any dissident voices.⁴²



Bruins for Israel and J-Street U, both supporters of Israel, in effect boycotted the hearing in an attempt to discredit the pro-BDS putsch. “We are not going to have our community sit through however long a session of bullying and hate speech,” said Tammy Rubin, president emeritus of Hillel at UCLA. She said that unlike last year, Hillel at UCLA, Bruins for Israel and J-Street U would now use the time not spent on opposing symbolic divestment resolutions to “reinvest in our community. . . . We’re not not fighting it [divestment]. We are just fighting it strategically in a different way.”

Gil Bar-Or, president of the UCLA branch of J-Street U, described an approach that would differ markedly from that of last year’s pro-Israel community, which passionately and publicly opposed divestment actions in a climate of toxic relations between pro-Israel and pro-Palestinian students.

In place of rallying against the divestment resolution, Hillel at UCLA, Bruins for Israel, and J-Street U hosted an alternate off-site meeting with about 125 pro-Israel students, where they discussed the thinking behind the new tactics and how Jewish UCLA students can strengthen their community.

At the decisive hearing, while dozens of divestment supporters from a broad spectrum of various ethnic, national, religious and gender student groups took the podium during the hour they were granted for public comment, not a single pro-Israel student took the podium, even as the few present divestment opponents brought forward a list of 2,000 students who signed a statement opposing divestment.

Not satisfied with the symbolic victory of UCLA’s pro-divestment vote, SJP, other Muslim student groups, and their leftist allies kept up the pressure in 2015. In February, Student Council member Fabienne Roth asked Rachel Beyda, a candidate for the Judicial Board: “Given that you’re a Jewish student and very active in the Jewish community . . . how do you see yourself being able to maintain an unbiased view in your position? My issue is, I’m going to be upfront about it, I think she’s pretty great. She’s smart, she like knows her stuff, she’s like probably going to be a really great lawyer. But I’m like not going to pretend this isn’t about conflict of interest. . . . It’s not her fault . . . but she’s part of a community that’s very invested in USAC. . . . Even if she’s the right person for the job.” Council President Avinoam Baral interjected: “questioning a candidate’s ability to remain unbiased simply on the basis of her being a member of a particular community is an inappropriate question that we would not feel comfortable asking student members of other communities.” But Council member Negeen Sadeghi-Movahed would not relent during a 40-minute Board discussion with Beyda kept outside: “For some reason, I’m not 100 percent comfortable. I don’t know why. I’ll go through her application again. I’ve been going through it constantly, but I definitely can see that she’s qualified for sure.” A third council member again raised the issue of conflict of interest. The first vote on Beyda failed by a tie vote. Only after an administrative ethics officer warned the anti-Beyda student council members that they risked being hoisted on their own petard by opening themselves to charges of “real or perceived” conflicts of interest, and it became clear that an online video of the meeting was going to surface, was the vote reversed and Beyda approved unanimously. A video of the entire hearing initially available on the student government’s YouTube page was removed several weeks later, with some members allegedly concerned for their own safety, but then put back on line.⁴³



In other words, the prevalent bias that inspired the initial rejection was the same that SJP had raised in 2014: female students could judge male students without bias, African Americans could judge white students without bias, Arab or Muslim students could judge Jews without bias—but the case was different with Jews. Jews are not fit to judge, and are not supposed to condemn anybody except, possibly, themselves.

There followed profuse apologies from student board members, including Sadeghi-Movahed on her Facebook Page, for having questioned, not Beyda's qualifications, but her Jewish identity and affiliation, and whether as a Jew she could be trusted to be an unbiased judge. Of course, they claimed that the thought of being accused of anti-Semitism never occurred to them: "We ask the Jewish community to accept our sincerest apology." Not everyone accepting such apologies at face value.⁴⁴

At the same time, Omer Hit, the vice president of Bruins for Israel, said he's concerned that UCLA may now be perceived as "not a good place for an entire Jewish community. I am thankful that we did not have to bring our entire community to sit through that," he said. "That would've been heartbreaking. Look at it now—it's already heartbreaking for the six of us that came. I know that this is all a PR thing. I'm afraid that they were able to dominate that."⁴⁵

Almost immediately, Omar Hit's words proved prescient. In response to Students for Justice in Palestine's increasingly repugnant tactics, the outspokenly conservative David Horowitz Freedom Center financed a series of posters on and around campus using images of Hamas' Mideast murders to accuse SJP, which since its inception has unequivocally supported Hamas, of apologizing for terrorism. The posters, hashtag "#JewHaters," were over-the-top, but more accurate than over a decade of campus anti-Israel propaganda picturing the Jewish state and its leaders as Moloch-like child killers who manufacture "Canned Palestinian Children Meat—slaughtered Under Jewish Ritual Rites under American License." These anti-Israel and often anti-Semitic barrages had been allowed to fly with just murmurs of disapproval from campus authorities who in fact sometimes defended them on "free speech" grounds. In contrast, the Horowitz Center's counter barrage produced an immediate response of reflexive horrified indignation from campus authorities who instructed the UCLA Police Department to tear them down on various grounds including vandalism and "hate speech." Many UCLA Jewish student organizations quickly distanced themselves from Horowitz and even defended SJP from such rhetorical payback.⁴⁶

Free speech at UCLA seems to be sacrosanct unless it's condemnatory of anti-Israel, anti-Jewish speech. The experience of Rachel Beyda of being stigmatized and marginalized for being a proud Jew has since been repeated at Stanford University where Jewish undergraduate Molly Horwitz, a candidate for student government office, alleges that she was asked—"Given your strong Jewish identity, how would you vote on divestment?"—by the Students of Color Coalition that is also under investigation for allegedly asking its endorsed candidates to sign a contract promising not to affiliate with Jewish groups on campus. Is this a national trend in the making?⁴⁷

UC IRVINE

The Irvine campus—24,000 students of whom 1,000 are Jewish—may be less academically prestigious than Berkeley or UCLA, but it has led the UC system in anti-Semitic incidents including both verbal threats and violence against persons and property. "The leaders of Irvine's student Jewish organizations told [Ken Marcus of the Brandeis Center] that they had become 'numb' to the hatred of Jews that surrounded them. . . . They realized that their complaints were going nowhere. They had wearied of fighting back against people who despised them."⁴⁸



In 2002 a campus newspaper columnist informed readers that Jews were genetically inferior. Campus posters showed the Star of David dripping blood and equated Jewish symbols with the swastika. In 2003, a campus Holocaust Memorial scheduled for a week was destroyed in the first night. A campus candlelight vigil commemorating the Holocaust was marred by an inscribed swastika. In 2004, an Arabic-speaking Jewish student wearing a pro-Israel tee shirt was verbally assaulted by an Arab student shouting “Ee Bakh al Yahud”: Kill the Jews. The same student was harassed for wearing a yarmulke and carrying a prayer book. He transferred to a different school. Arab and Muslim groups had a steady stream of virulent bigots speak on campus under the university’s official insignia including such notorious figures and George Galloway and Cynthia McKinney. Typical was Amir-Abdel Malik-Ali in 2006: “You all definitely don’t love children and you know why? Because you like to kill them.” Speaking on a campus plaza behind a sign reading “Israel, The 4th Reich,” he proudly stated that Israelis are “reluctant to get on buses and things, or go to the café. It’s about time that they live in fear.” He also said that “ Hamas are freedom fighters not terrorists,” and spoke on “The Palestinian Holocaust.”⁴⁹

Anti-Israel zealots whipped up hysteria around the martyrology of the so-called “Irvine 11” after 10 Muslim students were found guilty of conspiracy to disrupt a campus speech by former Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. in 2010. They received no jail time, only informal probation. Later, after an ugly debate, the Irvine student government voted for divestment in March, 2013.⁵⁰

The response of campus administrators was indifference and silence until they were challenged—and then stonewalling. The Zionist Organization of America filed a complaint alleging creation of a hostile campus for Jewish students in 2004. In 2007, the U.S. Department of Education’s Office for Civil Rights dismissed the complaint on technical grounds. The Orange County Independent Task Force on Anti-Semitism (<https://octaskforce.files.wordpress.com/2008/02/orange-county-task-force-report-on-anti-semitism-at-uci.pdf>) found differently on the substance.⁵¹

A female graduate student wrote this letter to the UCI Chancellor in 2002—with no response from the administration, except to be recommended for “emotional counseling”:

Not only do I feel scared to walk around proudly as a Jewish person on the UC Irvine campus, I am terrified for anyone to find out. Today I felt threatened that if students knew that I am Jewish and that I support a Jewish state, I would be attacked physically. It is my right to walk around this campus and not fear other students and hear condemnation from them. It is my right for my government to protect me from harm from others. It is my right as a citizen who pays tuition and taxes to be protected from such harm. . . . YOU may claim the first amendment. I claim the right to be safe and secure. You cannot use the first amendment as an argument against my safety. MY SAFETY SUPERCEDES FIRST AMENDMENT RIGHTS [emphasis in original].⁵²

Ongoing annual Israeli Apartheid Weeks at Irvine, organized by the Muslim Student Union, typically feature tee shirts reading “UC Intifadah,” bloody Israeli flags, an “Apartheid Wall” depicting Israel as a racist and genocidal regime, and even a mock green tank. Jewish students are a rarity like the one who stood near the Apartheid Wall with a sign that said “Caution: Hate Speech Zone.” In contrast, UCI graduate Russell Curry has appeared on campus boasting of her participation in an anti-Israel “Viva Palestina USA” convoy, for which the Muslim Student Union has been investigated by the university administration and the FBI because of charges that MSU funds raised to finance the convoy were handed over to Hamas.⁵³



The Zionist Organization of America, which brought the original civil rights suit against UCI, warned in 2010 that it was “a campus that permitted bigotry.” The ZOA’s has not removed its recommendation that college-bound high students as well as Jewish donors shun the campus. A prominent firm that advises high school students about their college choices has also warned Jewish students to expect a hostile atmosphere at UCI.⁵⁴

Other UC campuses not discussed here in detail are far from immune to serious levels of anti-Semitism. At UC Santa Cruz, IDF soldiers were accused of especially targeting pregnant Palestinian women, and Zionism was described a “racist ideology” adhered to by Jews with “pride in domination,” Israel is a spawn of European colonialism and “an apartheid regime,” etc., etc. At UC Santa Barbara, a dormitory site was defaced with “Nuke Israel” graffiti. Sociology Professor William I. Robinson emailed his students unsolicited pictures equating Israelis soldiers in Gaza with the Nazis crushing the Warsaw Ghetto. At UC San Diego, the campus newspaper told readers that the Mossad planned the 9/11 attacks.⁵⁵

PROFESSORS WHO MARCH IN LOCKSTEP AGAINST JEWISH RIGHTS

Colleges and universities are triadic institutions that depend on the professionalism and passionate commitment to education of faculty, students, and administrators.

Unfortunately, the many in the U.S. professoriate seem to be having increasingly difficulty finding the conviction to stand up against anti-Semitism including Jew hatred masquerading as “anti-Zionism.”

At virtually all universities, Middle East Studies Departments, organized into professional associations like the Middle East Studies Association have been transformed since after the 1967 Arab-Israeli War from an emphasis on regional scholarship to agitation and propaganda against Israel and often the U.S. As Professor Bernard Lewis has documented, these trends were cemented by Columbia Professor Edward Said’s theory of “Orientalism” blaming all the Middle East woes on European, U.S., and Israeli actors. Lewis concludes that: Mideast Studies programs have been distorted “to a degree of thought control and limitations of freedom of expression without parallel in the western world since the eighteenth century.”⁵⁶

It is important to note that this is not just an intellectual trend but a political one financed by Saudi and other Gulf State money as well as generous federal government grants. In addition to Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, funders include Title VI Centers for Middle East Studies at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Chicago, Berkeley, Santa Barbara, and others.⁵⁷

In the classroom, Jewish and Israeli students have been targeted for humiliation and ostracism. At Columbia University, a student’s conversation about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict with Middle Eastern Studies Professor George Saliba ended with him telling her: “You have no claim to the land of Israel. You have no voice in this debate. You have green eyes. You’re not a Semite. I have brown eyes. I am a Semite.” Professor Joseph Massad shut up an Israeli student taking his course by asking: “How many Palestinians have you killed.” The Chair of Columbia’s Middle East and Asian Language Department (MEALAC) wrote in an Egyptian newspaper: “Half a century of systematic maiming and murdering of another people has left . . . deep marks on the faces of Israeli Jews, the way they talk, the way they walk and the way they greet each other. There is a vulgarity of character that is bone-deep and structural to the skeletal vertebrae of a culture.” Former Columbia Anthropology Professor Nicholas De Genova chimed in with “the state of Israel has no claim to the Holocaust.”⁵⁸



PROFESSORS WHO MARCH IN LOCKSTEP AGAINST JEWISH RIGHTS

Mideast scholars—many of whom have carried over their hatred of Israel from that strife-torn region to American campuses—not only use their academic positions and memberships in departments and national and international professional associations to promote their extreme political agenda. When 500 so-called scholars called for a boycott of Israeli academic institutions, Professor Martin Kramer, the president of Shalem College in Jerusalem and the former director of the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies at Tel Aviv University, told the *Jerusalem Post*: “I can think of no more dire threat to the academic freedom of Israeli scholars, than for their institutions to adopt any form of political orthodoxy. Many of the boycotters hail from the Arab Middle East. They wish to impose the same intolerant conformism that rules Arab universities on Israeli academia. The effort will fail.”⁵⁹

Mideast scholars also exploit connections with scholars and organizations in other disciplines. Since 2007, the influential Modern Language Association (MLA) has featured pitched battles over divestment resolutions, pushed by its Radical Caucus, that have nothing to do with the study of modern languages. In January 2014, it devoted its entire opening session to a panel featuring papers skewering Israel. When Professor Barbara Harlow was asked why ignore the world’s most egregious human rights offenders were ignored and Israel singled out, she responded blithely “Why not.” Her response followed in the tradition of Professor Curtis Marez, president of the American Studies Association (ASA) which adopted an anti-Israel divestment resolution about the same time. His response to a similar question: “You have to start somewhere.” Under a barrage of criticism, the ASA announced that, in the name of free speech, it would allow Benjamin Netanyahu to speak before its membership—but only if he billed himself as “Mr. Netanyahu”—not the Prime Minister of Israel.⁶⁰

While ASA had no scholarly credibility concerning the Mideast, over 100 librarians claiming such credibility because of their regional interest signed a statement announcing that henceforth they would not consider putting on the shelves books published by what they deemed “pro-Israel” presses. *Commentary* magazine rightly labeled this a step on the road to book burning.⁶¹

When anyone speaks up against such politicizing of scholarship and teaching, the American Association of University Professors—over the protest of members such as Cary Nelson—decries such talk as a breach of “academic freedom” and the sin of Islamophobia. Steven Salaita was denied tenure by the University of Illinois at Urbana Champagne after the revelation of his tweets such as “too much of Israeli society is cheering the bloodletting in [Gaza] for me to make a firm distinction between the government and the people.” In another, responding to the kidnapping of Israeli boys, he said, “You may be too refined to say it, but I’m not: I wish all the fucking West Bank settlers would go missing.” In another, he asked, “At this point, if Netanyahu appeared on TV with a necklace made from the teeth of Palestinian children, would anybody be surprised?” He also reposted this statement, in a context that left no doubt he endorsed it, on journalist Jeffrey Goldberg, who has evidently been too critical of Hamas: “Jeffrey Goldberg’s story should have ended at the pointy end of a shiv.” Salaita not only sued the university but wealthy (Jewish) donors whom he accused of conspiring to deny him his rights. His anti-Jewish conspiracy theory resonated on the academic left.⁶²

A similar anti-Israel petition, distributed on the extremist Jadaliyya website, was signed by 500 historians, of varying degrees of professional reputation, only a few of whom specialized in the Middle East. Recovering leftist historian Ron Radosh entitled his analysis of their petition: “Historians for Hamas.” Fortunately, the mainstream American Historical Association refused to move such a petition by a vote of 144 to 51.⁶³



STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS: SHOCK TROOPS OF THE CAMPUS JIHAD

Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) is funded by American Muslims for Palestine and Al-Awda—two organizations dedicated to the destruction of Israel. Neither it nor its sponsors has an agenda extending beyond demonizing Zionists and destroying Israel to improving the lives of Palestinians. SJP is using ham-handed McCarthyite tactics, in the updated form of cyber-bullying, to punish Jewish students in the UCLA student government who voted against a resolution to divest from and boycott Israel. The SJP wants Tammany-style dominance of the UCLA student government. And Jewish students who opposed the anti-Israel divestment resolutions reportedly feel uncomfortable even walking on campus because of the hate mail they have received. Using such intimidation tactics as delivering fake eviction notice to Jewish students on campus, SJP was banned for a year in 2014 by Northeastern University.⁶⁴

SJP works with Muslim student associations and leftist anti-Israel and American groups, some with a communist or Trotskyist orientation, to promote an informal Islamist-Radical Left alliance that tries to advance the genocidal anti-Israel agenda of 2001's Durban Conference that was supposed to combat racism. This alliance also draws on diverse ideological currents mostly hostile to western civilization as well as Israel: Islamism, Third Worldism, Marxism, postmodernism, multiculturalism, post-colonialism, and anti-Americanism. Pro-Israel organizations like Stand With US are supported by the campus outreach efforts of Jewish nonprofits such as the Wiesenthal Center, which has a new campus initiative, I Act Impact involving discussion facilitators and educational videos. Another innovative approach on and off campus is the Wiesenthal Center's "CombatHate" iPhone App, debuted in Chicago. "Extremists use the internet, especially social networking, to target and recruit young people," Rabbi Abraham Cooper said. "We need to empower young people when they see this mostly anonymous stuff to click it and send it our way via smart phones."⁶⁵

At UC Berkeley, the teaching assistants union, UAW Local 2865, voted in December 2014, in favor of boycotting Israel, though leaders of Teamsters Joint Council 42 have written against such a boycott.⁶⁶

It might be asked whether our treatment here of both faculty and student movement whose "anti-Zionism" is tinged with Anti-Semitism smacks of conspiracy mongering. We don't believe in "hidden hand" conspiracies by Islamists and leftists to destroy Israel and marginalize American Jews. But strip away the thin politically correct veneer they use to justify themselves, and these individuals and movements are quite candid about their intentions to stifle Israel's Jewish supporters and ultimately destroy the Jewish state. What we have here is "an open conspiracy" against real diversity, tolerance, and academic freedom.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE FAULTLINE

One contemporary paradox of American higher education is the multiplication of the administrative class at the same time that administrators are decreasingly willing to use their authority to protect the core values of freedom of thought, expression, and association upon which higher education is based.

The University of California Irvine (UCI) is a case study of administrative default—and worse—in the face of campus anti-Semitism. After fruitless mediation session with the campus administration, the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) filed a complaint alleging a violation of Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act with the Education Department's Office for Civil Rights in 2004. The UC Irvine General Counsel Diane Fields Geocarlis finally responded in detail in February 2006. Among her remarkable obfuscations and prevarications:⁶⁷



THE ADMINISTRATIVE FAULTLINE

- The University's "Muslim-Jewish Dialogue" panels are "inclusive," and that the ZOA and Jewish student concerns over "inflammatory Muslim speakers" are an attempt to silence free speech.
- A Holocaust memorial candlelight vigil was indeed disrupted but nothing could be done because no witnesses or suspects could be found.
- A Jewish student's complaint about not feeling safe on campus had no merit because she could not identify a specific incidence of violence.
- A Jewish student in Orthodox garb was indeed the victim of a rock throwing, but nothing was done because the thrower was a child just playing with a rock.
- A student who was verbally harassed and then threatened by a group of Muslim students did file a police report. He was later was able to identify a Muslim Student Association (MSA) member, but that student accused the Jewish student of provoking Muslim students. The Jewish student did indeed transfer, but UCI accused the ZOA's Susan B. Tuchman of misstating his reasons for doing so.
- The UCI Counsel claimed that there is no cause for a legal complaint because Title VI does not apply to allegations of anti-Semitism based on religious discrimination. This assertion was a falsification of both a Supreme Court ruling and the change in policy that the OCR adopted in 2004.
- The University supposedly "is developing" a hate crimes web site that should handle future problems.
- The UCI Counsel quoted a letter from the student newspaper suggesting that the Administration should do nothing about anti-Semitic hate crimes because such matters are better settled through conciliation by students on their own.

Are we to credit at least the good intentions of UCI administrators? Consider the actions and words of Vice Chancellor for Student Affairs Manuel Gomez who attended anti-Israel events and refused to do anything about anti-Semitism because "one person's hate speech is another person's education."⁶⁸

In 2007, the Office for Civil Rights closed the case against UCI on grounds of timeliness, failure to provide sufficient factual information, and the sufficiency of the university's response. The OCR ignored the recommendation to proceed of its own San Francisco Office, and applied a very restrictive definition of the rights of Jews victimized by anti-Semitism that virtually ignored the OCR's own 2004 ruling that Jewish victims of discrimination can indeed be "a protected class. The Orange County Independent Task Force on Anti-Semitism (<https://octaskforce.files.wordpress.com/2008/02/orange-county-task-force-report-on-anti-semitism-at-uci.pdf>) excoriated the OCR's decision.⁶⁹

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Answers do not come easily. We suggest here only a few areas in which action seems warranted.

FIRST: JEWISH EMPOWERMENT. Imperative is better education of the public in general and Jewish students and their parents in particular. More, not less contact with and travel to Israel is a must. We must not be primarily reactive to bigots and anti-peace, and extreme anti-Israel campaigners. Give our students the tools they need to stand tall in their Jewish identity and in their love for Israel: today home to the world's largest Jewish community.

SECOND: KNOW YOUR RIGHTS ON CAMPUS. Many Jewish students just don't know their rights, and are intimidated when it comes to protesting discrimination. Many campuses promise an intimidation-free environment; harassment of a student should and must have actual consequences. Providing Jewish students with such knowledge is one



WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

THIRD: EMPHASIZE THE POSITIVE. The anti-Israel narrative in the media and on campuses must be challenged with an alternative narrative emphasizing the Jews' deep roots in the region, the necessity of a safe haven for Holocaust survivors, the Jewish state's tremendous accomplishments, and Arab and Muslim rejectionism as the continuing reason for the failure to Israeli-Palestinian peace. The extreme anti-peace BDS Movement must be taken head-on because, as Alan Dershowitz has written: "Divestiture is really not the goal. It's a campaign to miseducate and misinform the next generation. It's a variation of [Nazi propaganda minister] Goebbels' Big Lie."⁷⁰

FOURTH: RECOGNIZE NEW TRENDS. We must accept that higher education is affected—and possibly more so—by the same trends toward identity politics that are transforming the rest of society. This means that people of color, immigrants including the undocumented, women, the transgendered, the differently abled, and other categories of people are asserting identities and demanding recognition as never before.

American Jews must recognize that a correlative of these developments is a political presumption that they as a group are immune to discrimination needing legal remedy because they enjoy "white privilege" and are not members of a group requiring protection on the basis of religion, race, ethnicity, or national origin.

The truth is that the law points to a different conclusion. In 1987, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Shaare Tefila Congregation v. Cobb* held that Jews could be considered a "race" deserving protection under the terms of the 1866 Civil Rights Act. In 2004, the OCR finally responded by discarding its previous policy that anti-Semitism did not trigger special protection with new guidelines that recognized that Jews might qualify for protected status under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act even if "the alleged victims are Caucasian and American born." This occurred during the George W. Bush Administration. In 2010 under Barack Obama, the OCR decided that severe and pervasive discrimination on college campuses—involving, for example, swastika daubing and anti-Jewish bullying—could create "a racially hostile environment" against Jews if there were evidence of a "severe, persistent, or pervasive" pattern.⁷¹

The question is: should American Jews embrace these decisions as a basis for an aggressive political-legal campaign involving complaints of anti-Semitic discrimination whenever colleges or universities allow the development of "a hostile environment"? Opponents of doing this worry that might open Jews to a renewal of the age-old charge that they are "a race" seeking special benefits. But we are not and have never been a race; we are a people with Jews of every race and ethnicity bound together through 3,500 year connection to a Land and a Book.

Even so, American Jews must also defend their rights within the context of new identity politics that dominates so much of campus life. If people of color, women, recent immigrants and others will all be legally protected against prejudice and discrimination while Jews deny themselves such protections, Jewish kids are right to invoke Hillel's famous statement: "If I am not for myself, who will be? If I am for myself alone, who am I? If not now, when?"⁷²

We agree with the 14 national organizations that last year sent a letter to the presidents of more than 2500 four-year U.S. colleges and universities, urging them to protect Jewish students in light of the alarming rise in anti-Semitism on American campuses. Special attention should be given to reducing or eliminating the funding of Mideast Studies Departments often include the prominent anti-Israel, anti-American bigots who inspire and lead anti-Semitic incitement on campus.⁷³



WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Other recommendations include:

- Review and augment campus security so that they are prepared for and able to respond to violence, and alert to the potential for violence local police officials who also need clear guidelines about when to act.
- Provide a clear mechanism for reporting harassment, intimidation, and hate crimes on campus.
- Issue strong public statements to the university community, urging students, faculty, and others to engage in discussion and debate in a civil, tolerant and respectful manner.
- Respond promptly to anti-Semitic incidents by publicly condemning them and the perpetrators, and affirming that anti-Semitism is inconsistent with university values.
- Immediately and thoroughly respond to possible infractions of university rules and policies, and hold wrongdoers accountable for their misconduct.
- Immediately report alleged or suspected criminal conduct to the appropriate authorities.
- Familiarize administrators, faculty, security and other university personnel with the U.S. government standards on anti-Semitism, which explain when “anti-Israelism” and anti-Zionism cross the line into anti-Semitism.
- Ensure that all forms of anti-Semitism are a focus of the university’s diversity education for students, staff and faculty, and provide appropriate oversight of students and student groups that engage in anti-Semitic conduct.
- Issue a statement to faculty making it clear that students must be able to express their views in class without fear of intimidation or reprisal from other students or professors.
- Exercise moral leadership by publicly condemning “anti-Israelism” that crosses the line into anti-Semitism.

FIFTH: SPEAK TRUTH TO POWER. Whatever our philosophical views and definitions of Jewishness, we should unite in a recognition that craven silence, dereliction of duty, silence in the face of evil, and double standards against Jews are becoming the norm on many college and university campuses. Responsibility for this situation—and responsibility to reverse it—lies with administrators who currently are not doing their jobs.

For example, The UC Regents official policy for generations has stated that “misuse of the classroom by . . . allowing it to be used for political indoctrination . . . constitutes the misuse of the University as an institution.” In the face of this stated policy, stands recent decades of looking the other way by campus administrators who have allowed classrooms and campuses to be used for anti-Israel, anti-Jewish indoctrination on the specious grounds that perversion of higher education by propagandists posing as educators is “academic freedom” of “free speech.”⁷⁴

Recently, Oklahoma University President David Boren acted not only against the SAE fraternity as an organization but two SAE members for an anti-black racist chant on a chartered bus. It is possible that litigation may determine that Boren, especially in expelling the two fraternity leaders, violated free speech protections. In California, the so-called “Leonard Law,” Education Code 66300, is explicit in barring either the UC Regents or California State University Trustees from punishing students for free speech-related conduct. However, in our view there is a bright line between punishing students for free speech, including repugnant speech involving Jews and Israel, and holding accountable campus-approved or sanctioned groups such as SJP for engaging in or encouraging behavior such as disrupting pro-Israel speakers or setting up faux campus check points aimed at Jewish students or targeting Jewish students with “eviction notices.” California public higher education authorities can and must take action against such outrages.⁷⁵



WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

SIXTH: DEMAND ACTION. Jewish leaders, including those who provide major funding for universities must demand more of their beloved alma maters and the professors, Jewish and non-Jewish, whose chairs they often fund. In some cases, that would mean demanding an Anti-Semitism Monitor or Task Force to study and review ongoing instances and make recommendations for corrective action.

From top to bottom—from department chairs to chancellors to regents in the case of public universities—we must hold administrators to account when the classroom is hijacked by ideological fanatics who are beyond reason but not beyond the sanctions of lawful authority.

American Jews should redouble their efforts to marshal moral, legal, and political arguments and influence to change things on American campuses. The goal is not to stifle free speech but to hold bigots accountable for their cynical and dangerous onslaughts.

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Campus Anti-Semitism at UC and Stanford

by Aron Hier and Harold Brackman



Members of the UC Berkeley Rally Committee hold the Stanford Axe. Photo from Wikipedia

So far as we are concerned, Berkeley's Golden Bears have already won the Stanford Axe, the trophy in their annual "Big Game" with the Cardinals, despite the fact that college football season is still months away.

Our reason: the contrast between recent actions of the presidents of UC and Stanford to the challenge of campus anti-Semitism.

First, the good news: UC President Janet Napolitano for personally agreeing with the U.S. State Department's definition of anti-Semitism, which includes denial of Israel's right to exist—not criticism of Israeli government policies—as a manifestation of anti-Semitism. The State Department's "working definition" 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." Examples include: accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust, and accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interest of their own nations.

Both Rabbi Meyer H. May, Executive Director of the Wiesenthal Center, and Aron Hier, director of the Center's Campus Outreach program, have attended meetings over the course of months throughout the state urging UC Regents, chancellors, and policy makers to adopt the State Department definition which will also be voted on by the UC Board of Regents this July. In contrast, Stanford's SAE fraternity house has recently been defaced with a swastika, in addition to painted personal slurs and epithets.

Liana Kadisha, president of the Stanford Israel Association told the Stanford Daily that there has been a "rise in hostility toward Jewish communities," on campus since the university student senate approved a divestment resolution. Kadisha also said: "My parents are from Iran and left that country because it wasn't open really to Jews anymore and so I don't think they would ever expect that at Stanford, so many years later we would be dealing with these types of incidents."

Nationally, the SAE fraternity, site of the Stanford swastika, has a history of racial and religious discrimination. It banned Jews until some time after World War II, and only in recent years has it really opened its doors to Jewish members. Unfortunately, as is clear from the national headlines about what happened at the University of Oklahoma, it is far from outliving its history of bigotry against African Americans.

In a related incident, Stanford undergraduate Molly Horwitz, a candidate for the Student Senate, was vetted by the Students of Color Coalition about her fitness for office. This followed February's ugly campus debate that ended in a vote for a resolution for divesting in companies doing business on the West Bank as a way of punishing Israel.

During the divestment debate, Horwitz wrote several posts on Facebook against it. But then she and her campaign manager scrubbed Horwitz's Facebook page to hide all posts indicating support for Israel, including a photograph of a pair of shoes decorated to look like the Israeli flag. Why? Because: "We did it not because she isn't proud—she is—but the campus climate has been pretty hostile, and it would not be politically expedient to take a public stance." Reportedly, Horowitz's inquisitors are also being investigated for allegedly asking its endorsed candidates to sign a contract promising not to affiliate with Jewish groups on campus.

What's the response by the Stanford authorities to the latest swastika incident? Stanford University Department of Public Safety (SUDPS) spokesman Bill Larson said that the incident will be recorded as a hate crime. Well and good.

But what about the response by University President John Hennessy? He said: "I am deeply troubled by the act of vandalism, including symbols of hate, that has marred our campus. The University will not tolerate hate crimes and this incident will be fully investigated, both by campus police and by the University under our Acts of Intolerance Protocol. This level of incivility has no place at Stanford. . . . I ask everyone in the University community to stand together against intolerance and hate, and to affirm our commitment to a campus community where discourse is civil, where we value differences and where every individual is respected."

This sound good, but lacks one critical component: any mention of anti-Semitism. President Hennessy, who commendably has opposed the Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions Movement, suggests that we examine the University's "Acts of Intolerance Protocol." We have. This 4-page document's definition of "acts of intolerance" includes: Gender or gender identity, Race or ethnicity, Disability, Religion, Sexual orientation, Nationality, Age, Social or economic class. Very inclusive. But anti-Semitism—is it a crime against "religion" or "ethnicity" or "nationality" or some hybrid?—falls between the cracks. Significantly, when the reader gets to page 4, there is a listing of two dozen "University resources available to students, faculty and staff." No inclusion of Hillel, the Stanford Israel Association, the Jewish Students Association, or any other group with a Jewish or pro-Israel identity.

What's going on here is a form of "euphemism" practices on campus from the U.S. to the UK. George Orwell, who satirized "Double Speak" in 1984, treated euphemism as a wide variety of techniques to distort and obfuscate reality, often for political reasons or what we would call today political correctness. We can still smile at the Victorians' description of a pregnant woman as "being in an interesting condition." Describing torture as "an enhanced interrogation technique" is something else again. As to anti-Semitism, the euphemistic strategy is to deny it any specific mention in a list of "hate crimes."

Adopting the State Department's definition is an important step in the right direction.

Aron Hier is Director of Campus Outreach for the Simon Wiesenthal Center. Historian Harold Brackman is a Center consultant.