

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

the
UNCIVIL
University

*Intolerance on
College Campuses,
Revised Edition*

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

The UnCivil University: Revised Edition, 2009

Introduction by Ken Marcus	1
Conclusion	2
Epilogue	4

The UnCivil University, 2005

Academic Freedom and the Public Trust	7
Un-Civility: Campus Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israelism	9
Why Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israelism Are at Home on Campus	12
Reclaiming the Civil University	14
Major Findings	17
Policy Recommendations	21
Examples of Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israelism on Campus	25
Methodology.....	33
Institute for Jewish & Community Research.....	36
Endnotes	37

THE UNCIVIL UNIVERSITY: REVISED EDITION, 2009

Introduction to the Revised Edition by Kenneth L. Marcus

The resurgence of anti-Semitism on American college campuses documented in Gary Tobin, Aryeh Weinberg, and Jenna Ferer's *The UnCivil University* has been an unfolding scandal of the twenty-first century.

Some have failed to see the problem because there are so many signs that Jewish college students are thriving. Just a few years ago, our times were described by knowledgeable commentators as a "golden age" of Jewish student life in the United States; some speak in such terms even today.¹ At the same time, an insurgent campus minority has undertaken an extraordinary number of disturbing recent acts of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on American college campuses. Incidents at a few campuses have become widely publicized, but the problem is now undoubtedly national in scope. Jewish students—especially when visibly identified and when vocally supportive of Israel—have been repeatedly threatened, stalked, cursed, bullied, and harassed, while Jewish property is vandalized or destroyed.

Much progress has been accomplished, particularly since 2004. Dr. Gary Tobin, his Institute for Jewish & Community Research (IJCR), and the first edition of *The UnCivil University* all played a role in that progress. Dr. Tobin launched this book at a briefing before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, where I then served as director. Based in part on Dr. Tobin's research, the Commission

issued its 2006 report on Campus Anti-Semitism.² This report marked a watershed in contemporary understandings of domestic university-based Judeophobia, announcing that anti-Semitism had become, once again, a "serious problem" on many college campuses around the country. Moreover, the Commission pierced one of the most dangerous misperceptions of the new campus anti-Semitism. Addressing the political rhetoric in which much of the new anti-Semitism is wrapped, the Commission announced that "Anti-Semitic bigotry is no less morally deplorable when camouflaged as anti-Israelism or anti-Zionism."³ At several campuses, students and faculty have reported that this work inspired them to speak out against campus anti-Semitism.

Unfortunately, on some campuses, such as the University of California, Irvine and Wayne State University, the problems described in these pages have continued unabated. At others, such as San Jose State University and the University of California, Davis, new problems have arisen. Moreover, the Civil Rights Commission's directives have not been universally embraced. At OCR, new leadership has actually repudiated at least part of the 2004 anti-Semitism policy, raising doubts as to whether OCR will protect Jewish students at all.⁴ In the Irvine case, amazingly, OCR found preliminarily that it had insufficient evidence to bring suit against Irvine. Worse, OCR's opinion is written in a manner that appears to confirm the worst fears about its current treatment of Jewish students.

Sadly, we have learned from this experience that campus anti-Semitism is now a politically intractable problem which requires both serious study and decisive action. The revised edition of *The Uncivil University* contributes substantially to the need for further scholarship by updating and expanding upon the first edition's analyses. As for the need for decisive action, there is much work to be done.

At a national level, the Education Department needs to reconfirm its commitment to eradicating campus anti-Semitism. The inexplicable failure of OCR's current leadership to apply its official policy requires correction. Ultimately, a full governmental approach to this problem will require legislation. Locally, university students, faculty, and administration all have a role to play in defeating campus anti-Semitism. The important thing is to heed the admonition of the Civil Rights Commission's campus anti-Semitism initiative: "Silence is an Ally of Hate."⁵ The new campus anti-Semitism can only be defeated if good people speak out against this resurgent evil.

1. See, e.g., Chaim Seidler-Feller, "Advocacy and Education as Divergent Strategies in the Effort to Support Israel on Campus," in Deborah E. Lipstadt, et al., eds., *American Jewry and the College Campus: Best of Times or Worst of Times?*, p. 32 (American Jewish Committee, 2005), available at <http://www.ajc.org/atf/cf/%7B42D75369-D582-4380-8395D25925B85EAF%7D/AmericanJewryCollegeCampus2005.pdf>.

2. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Campus Anti-Semitism* (Washington, DC, 2006), available at www.usccr.gov.

3. *Id.*

4. See Letter of Assistant Secretary of Education for Civil Rights Stephanie Monroe to U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Staff Director Kenneth L. Marcus, dated Dec. 4, 2006, available at <http://www.eusccr.com/lettermonroe.pdf>.

5. The Commission's campus anti-Semitism initiative has a virtual presence at <http://www.eusccr.com>.

Conclusion

Higher education has made something of a fetish of "free speech" and "academic freedom," using them interchangeably as a rallying cry for non-interference into the life of the academy. Academic freedom is supposed to mean pursuit of knowledge and the exploration of ideas. Now, any outside attempt to monitor, regulate, or evaluate is characterized by the university community as an attack on free speech, or more commonly, as going down some slippery slope that might lead to interference with academic freedom. There is no question that the danger of over-zealous critics can be real—that some want to stop or circumscribe debate. What has been lost on the staunch defenders of free speech is that the limits being set inside the university are far more repressive than anyone on the outside is likely to achieve.

Calls for good scholarship, open debate, civil discourse, and greater economic and moral responsibility should not be dismissed as an assault on free speech. The deflection on the part of higher education is tantamount to running away from its own inconsistent, illogical, and uncivil behavior. A whole host of issues requires closer examination of the identity of higher education. Why do tuition hikes always outpace rates of inflation?⁶ Why are there more administrators than instructors? Why do universities have no payout rules for endowments?⁷ Why do liberals outnumber conservatives by 3 to 1 and 6 to 1 in many disciplines?⁸ How does the sports industry within higher education further the moral value of colleges and universities?⁹

Why do Christian groups often meet so much resistance?¹⁰ These and many more questions cannot be stiff-armed with charges of abrogating free speech.

Free speech is one type of cherished speech, but there are others. Intelligent speech is just as important, ideas of merit and weight, based in fact, and accumulated knowledge. Honest speech is essential. Telling lies and cloaking them in historical or scientific method is appalling. Manipulating or fabricating debate is unacceptable. Civil speech is critical, exchanging ideas in a safe environment. Bad manners, intellectual intimidation, and physical harassment have no place in higher education.

The defense of anti-Israelism on campus always focuses on free speech, the right of Israel critics to speak out. We endorse the idea of Israel critics speaking out. Abrogating free speech is not the solution to anti-Israelism. Maintaining the standards of intelligent speech, honest speech, and civil speech, however, are equally important. The same standards of scholarship that apply to economics and physics should be maintained for Middle East studies, for example. The same rigor that applies to analyzing Milton and Shakespeare should be enforced for Walt and Mersheimer, whose paper, "Israel Lobby" fails any true scholarly scrutiny. Civility would put an end to "Apartheid Week's" fake weapons on campus.

Certainly, some activity on campus today should be shut down according to campus rules, including restricting Jewish or pro-Israel student access to campus events, vio-

lently protesting the arrival of Israeli or other guest speakers, and spreading libelous accusations that verge on incitement. However, the great majority of anti-Israel activity on campus should not be prohibited, but rather should be met with strident and clear responses from administrators and faculty. The university community should speak out as to why many assertions circulating on campus are factually wrong, and why certain forms of dissent are improper and ineffective ways to communicate sound ideas. More restrictions are not the answer; more rigor, honesty, and civility are required. The abdication of responsibility, moral cowardice, and double standards plague higher education. They have created the world that they feared the most.

6. Sam Dillon, "Tuition Rise Tops Inflation, but Rate Slows, Report Says," *New York Times*, October 19, 2005, <http://www.nytimes.com/2005/10/19/education/19tuition.html?r=1&oref=slogin&pagewanted=print>.

7. Anne H. Franke and Meyer Eisenberg, "10 Rules for Avoiding Conflicts of Interest," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 12, 2007, sec. B20, <http://chronicle.com/cgi-bin/printable.cgi?article=http://chronicle.com/weekly/v54/i07/07b02001.htm>.

8. Tobin and Weinberg, *Profiles of the American University: Volume I: Political Beliefs & Behavior of College Faculty*, 39.

9. Myles Brand, "College Sports Are Not Professional," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 23, 2006, sec. B13, <http://chronicle.com/weekly/v52/i42/42b01302.htm>.

10. See Duane Gang, "Christian Group Denied Cal State Charter; Ruling: The University Says the Group Cannot Form Because It Would Exclude Some Students," *FIRE: Foundation for Individual Rights in Education*, December 20, 2005, <http://www.thefire.org/index.php/article/6611.html> and "Christians 'Too Evangelical' for Christian School: Alliance Defense Fund Asks University to Reconsider Ban on Ministries," *World Net Daily*, October 13, 2006, http://www.worldnetdaily.com/news/article.asp?ARTICLE_ID=52420.

Epilogue

Four years have passed since the first edition of *The UnCivil University* was published in 2005. The subject of the research, anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism in higher education, has continued to be at the center of highly politicized, passionate, and often vitriolic debate on and off campus. The expression of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on campus continues. Given our documentation of the extent of anti-Israelism on campus, its ongoing expression should not come as a surprise.

Anti-Israelists have continued to take advantage of higher education's vulnerabilities: bureaucratic paralysis, a political culture that abhors conflict, and the perversion of the concept and meaning of free speech. As a result, anti-Israelists have achieved significant gains over the past few years, especially in the realm of language and historical revisionism. The publishing of books and papers accusing Israel and Jews of dual loyalty and apartheid are having a strong effect on the normalization of anti-Israel language.

There have been positive developments over the past few years as well. The observations we made in 2005, along with a wealth of other work that supports our findings, have invigorated the debate about the place of higher education in America.¹¹ Some administrative heads, (though not nearly enough) have taken strong and brave stances against anti-Israelism and anti-Semitism on campus, re-asserting their oft-neglected role as true moral and ethical leaders in the campus community. A variety of financial boycott schemes against Israel have died on the vine over the past few years. The United States Commission on Civil Rights and the United

States State Department have both adopted some form of language recognizing the problem of contemporary academic or political anti-Semitism.¹² New student, faculty, and citizen groups have developed both from within and outside the Jewish community, calling for more honesty and rejection of bigotry disguised as debate or inquiry. These are all good trends.

As we have previously asserted, the increase or decrease of "background noise" on campus, the number, frequency, and volume of anti-Israel events or anti-Semitic incidents tell only a part of the story. The acceptance of anti-Israel ideology, the violation of accepted campus norms, and the export of anti-Israelism from the campus into the general society and onto the international stage are much more important trends and measures of campus anti-Israelism and anti-Semitism. They are also symptoms of the deeper malaise of the university. The quality of scholarship, the willingness of administrations to lead, the norms of political discussion—these are the phenomena by which we can gain insight not only into what the campus was like last year, or this year, but what it might be like five or ten years down the line. More importantly, it tells us how campus ideology might affect other parts of society.

Are campuses better off today than a few years ago?

Questions about whether campuses are calmer today than they were in 2000, when the second Intifada began and, in 2002, when the Iraq war broke out, are difficult to answer. In many ways they are. Signs of success in Iraq and the aging of the Intifada diminish the fervor of student protest and frequency of anti-Israel events. Proactive

responses to anti-Israel sentiment on campus by a variety of Jewish and non-Jewish organizations have helped to contradict some of the stereotypes and misinformation about Israel common to campuses. Some university administration heads have spoken up in defense of Israel, particularly in regards to attempted boycotts of Israeli scholars.

In other ways, they are the same or worse. Although the hostility at the University of California, Berkeley has toned down to some extent, the University of California, Irvine has more than made up for any abatement. While some unqualified and biased faculty have deservedly been dismissed, others have received tenure. Ahmadinejad's visit to Columbia, despite Bollinger's strong rebuke of the Iranian president, was a troubling development that along with Saudi agreements with the Universities of California and Texas (to name only two), provide invaluable legitimacy to Middle Eastern theocracies and dictatorships.¹³

It is not very productive to debate whether campuses are marginally better or worse than in the recent past. It is enough to know that anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism remain a problem on campus. What is more important to analyze is how the anti-Israel movement has developed: what is new? What can we expect in the near and distant future? In the past, the launch of the divestment campaign and the establishment of the annual Palestinian Solidarity Movement conference marked significant developments for the anti-Israel community. Today, high profile book releases and campus speakers take the stage. Anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism continue to evolve and express themselves within higher

education. The uncivil university persists, but there are signs of improvement. In the 1960s, students were urged to "take back the campus." We will make even more progress if the same rallying cry inspires those who are devoted to common sense and common decency.

11. See Howard Kurtz, "College Faculties A Most Liberal Lot, Study Finds," *Washington Post*, March 29, 2005, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A8427-2005Mar28.html> and Mark Bauerlein, "Research on Faculty Politics and Attitudes," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 15, 2008, <http://chronicle.com/review/brainstorm/bauerlein/?pg=2> and Alan Cooperman, "Is There Disdain for Evangelicals in the Classroom: Survey, Bias Allegation Spur Debate," *The Washington Post*, May 5, 2007, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wpdyn/content/article/2007/05/04/AR2007050401990_pf.html.

12. For further information, see "Findings and Recommendations of the United States Commission on Civil Rights Regarding Campus Anti-Semitism," *The United States Commission on Civil Rights*, April 3, 2006, <http://www.usccr.gov/pubs/081506campusantibrief07.pdf> and "Contemporary Global Anti-Semitism Report," *United States Department of State*, March 2008, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/102301.pdf>.

13. David Cohen, "Academic Oasis?" *Mail & Guardian Online*, July 31, 2008, <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-07-31-academic-oasis>.

Academic Freedom and the Public Trust

At the University of California, Berkeley, renowned both for its academic rigor as well as for its progressive, if not radical political history, there is a six-foot seal embedded in the pavement of the main walkway, Sproul Plaza, the staging ground of legendary student protests in the 1960s and 1970s. At the center of the seal is a six-inch ring of dirt, around which lies the inscription, "This soil and the air space extending above it shall not be a part of any nation and shall not be subject to any entity's jurisdiction." While many wanted the seal to be a monument to the Free Speech Movement, which began on the Berkeley campus in 1964, the university disavowed that connection. Nonetheless, campus folklore alleges that this spot is uniquely protected and that anyone standing on the seal may claim immunity from arrest or prosecution.

Despite the myth surrounding the seal and its ring of soil, it is not—it cannot be—an absolute sanctuary for those who wish to abuse the right of free speech, because no such place exists, not even on the grounds of the University of California, Berkeley. Both the rules of the larger society and the social norms of the campus require reasonable boundaries on what can be said. Perhaps the campus has fewer constraints, but safety and civility necessitate that some limits are imposed. While universities encourage expansive speech, they tend to draw the line on what they consider hate speech, even at Berkeley.

Assigning extralegal status to the seal in Sproul Plaza is as misguided as the oft-cited notion that college campuses themselves are untouchable spaces that must remain separate from the communities in which they exist in order to protect their own rights of free speech. Despite whatever desires students and faculty may have to live within an imaginary seal of immunity from which they may disregard the rules of the outside world, college campuses operate—or at least they should—by a well-defined code that allows for a greater level of freedom than in the non-academic world and simultaneously requires a higher level of accountability in exchange for that freedom. When students and faculty invoke the First Amendment to protect their right to express unpopular ideas, they are mistakenly conflating free speech with academic freedom. Free speech and academic freedom are not the same. Free speech is essential for academic freedom, but it is only one component. Overemphasis on free speech hints at a trivial aspiration: the desire to protest for the sake of protest, to remain on the outside purely for the status such a position confers.

Academic freedom is part of a system unique to the university. It allows for the unfettered exploration of unpopular ideas, but only within the context of meaningful scholarship. Academic freedom, even more than free speech alone, means that teachers and researchers can pose—without fear of repercussion and without their own biases clouding their inquiry—every reasonable and honest hypothesis. Such a privilege exists only

when scholars subscribe to the system of safeguards set up to ensure both their own immunity from politics (tenure, for example) and the integrity and worthiness of their work (peer review in academic journals, among others).

From their early days in the United States, universities were intended to be civil institutions in all senses of the word. Initially they were places where young men could learn the skills and knowledge necessary to teach and preach Christian values and scripture, then considered the mark of a civilized person. As universities became secular institutions (with noted exceptions), their classrooms and lecture halls evolved into models of civil discourse, where professors and their students could engage in respectful if heated discussion and debate about the most contentious topics.

Free speech on campus has its origins in such unfettered discourse. In the last half-century or so, universities, both public and private, have grown in size and influence and, as a result, have become even more firmly woven into the civic fabric through their contributions to the greater society. Every member of the populace, even those who never set foot on a campus, benefits from the knowledge, research, innovation, and education that flow from the halls of academia out to the community at large. Colleges are contributors to the commonweal; they are institutional citizens.

Higher education is an approximately \$250 billion-a-year enterprise, including a hefty sum coming from public funds. Research contracts, student loans, and tax subsidies provide the university with significant resources.

Total federal spending for university research and development is around \$20 billion, which amounts to over 50% of total higher education spending on research and development nationally.

Grant money comes from a wide variety of federal departments such as Health and Human Services, Defense, Agriculture, and Energy, as well as the National Science Foundation, among others. Federal financial support for higher education can be found in the most unlikely places. For example, the Transportation Equity Act of 2005, for \$286.4 billion, included more than \$500 million going to 142 colleges and universities. Some went for "National University Transportation Centers" and other funds for road improvement and parking garages.

Federal student aid is similarly generous. General available aid includes Pell Grants, Work-Study, Perkins Loans, and Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants. Designated aid includes Stafford Student Loans, Parents Loans for Undergraduate Students, Veterans Loans, and others. Total 2003-04 federal student aid amounted to over \$80 billion, with Pell grants and Stafford loans constituting about 75% of the total. Federal student aid provides over 40% of all undergraduate students with assistance.

State appropriations for public higher education across the nation totaled more than \$63 billion for the 2002-03 academic year, according to the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. This amounts to just below 40% of total expenditures by public universities. Some state systems are more and some less reliant upon

state funding. California, for example, allocates almost \$10 billion, 60% of total expenditures. Public universities in Vermont, on the other hand, receive 21% of total expenditures from the state. In addition to state appropriations, state student aid totaled over \$6 billion for the nation in 2003-04. Nationally, approximately 16% of undergraduate students receive some form of state financial aid.

Although state research grants are less common than federal support, 7% of total spending on research and development comes from state governments.

The combination of public university operating budgets, state and federal research grants, student aid, and other government subsidies demonstrates that universities and colleges, whether public or private, are at least partially government-sponsored.

Un-Civility: Campus Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israelism

The public provides financial support for higher education because, in its ideal state, the university provides the public with new ideas, vital research, and productive citizens. However, something is amiss in higher education.

What was once an ethical arena in which young people came to exercise their minds, to practice thinking in a safe and invigorating environment, instead has become more of a stifling museum devoted to preserving itself. The core values that make the ideal university a singular place have been subverted. Moreover, the roles that university stakeholders are supposed to play in how they execute their various responsibilities have become

murky. The civil university, despite its good intentions, has lost its civility, and the academy has become vulnerable to the very ills that the deliberately rarefied university system was meant to prevent.

The uncivil university is an abrogation of the partnership agreement between American society and colleges and universities. The net result is a loss of the search for truth, a violation of the purpose of the university and ultimately of the public trust. In our analysis, we detail a set of values and cultural norms that no longer reflect their noble origins nor achieve their stated purpose. In many cases, a “butterfly effect” has taken place, so that, with a small shift here and there, what were once well-intentioned and vital components of the university system, such as an emphasis on academic freedom, the willingness to question the established order, a love of rigorous scholarship, and an embracing of multiculturalism, have become twisted and sometimes barely recognizable versions of their former selves. It is in this unfortunate state that ideologies and practices antithetical to the civil university have flourished on some campuses, an indication of just how far they have diverged from their purpose.

The Uncivil University examines one particularly egregious and uncivil violation of the public trust—the ideology and expression of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism in higher education. We chose to examine these two closely related prejudices on college campuses, because the presence of anti-Semitism in a community has always been a reliable marker of its ill health.

Our analysis does not purport to say whether anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism are rising or declining, to count how many campuses in the United States experience anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism and to what extent, or to be a compendium of all of the incidents of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism to have occurred in the last few years. Nor does our analysis claim to be a survey of anti-Semitic and anti-Israel attitudes on campus. Rather, this volume focuses on the ideology of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on campus and the ways that this ideology is expressed.

Our analysis has three parts. We define anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism as an ideology. Second, we provide evidence about the expression of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism to understand how this ideology presents itself as behaviors as well as ideas. And, third, we examine how the presence of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on campus reveals where reform is needed in higher education.

Our definition of anti-Israelism and anti-Semitism as part of a combined ideology is critical to understanding the growth of intolerance on campus. Criticism of Israel's government policies, along with all nation-states, is legitimate and has a place on campus. One can disagree with anything from Israel's environmental policies to its strategies for national defense. However, such forms of critique differ drastically from what has become acceptable discourse on campus, both in terms of content and how much attention is devoted to the subject.

Israel dominates not only discussions of the Middle East, but also unrelated subjects. It is common to hear that Israel is the worst

offender of human rights issues all over the world. Israel is compared to Nazi Germany and apartheid South Africa. Israelis are called brutal, racist murderers committing genocide against the Palestinians. These accusations are not only prejudicial against a specific nationality, but often rely upon the use of traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes to demonize those who support or represent the Jewish state. Instead of Jews controlling the United States government, economy and media, it is Israel and the Israeli lobby. Just as Jews have historically been portrayed as caring more about money than people, Israelis are greedy for resources and land hungry. They are brutal and conspiratorial, charges levied against Jews throughout history.

While anti-Israelism, in itself, encourages anti-Semitic sentiment, it also invites participation by traditional anti-Semites who tailor their bigotry to focus on Israel in order to be acceptable on campus. The use of offensive imagery, such as the swastika to portray Jews, the rejection of opinion based on ethnicity, and demonization to the point where physical threats seem justified, is not part of civil discourse and legitimate critique. They are attempts to intimidate, to alienate and to silence Jews and others who support Israel.

This loss of civility should alarm all members of society, not just the Jewish people, because the existence of bigotry and hatred is an indication of a deep gash in the fabric of the public trust. The ideology and expression of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism in higher education is not a Jewish problem; it is an American problem.

Anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism are allowed to flourish because the loudest voices, which

embrace this bigotry, dominate the campus culture. It is symptomatic of what is happening in American society as a whole, where, as Morris Fiorina said, “the extremes are over-represented in the political arena and the center underrepresented.” The campus, like American society, is less polarized than popular image might have one believe. Those with the most extreme views often dominate the ranks and decision-making processes of many institutions and seem—falsely—to represent the majority.

Indeed, anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism flourish on college campuses because of the energetic focus of a determined minority and their willingness to dedicate themselves to this cause. Anti-Israelists spend time and energy to promote their cause, while most everyone else is not all that engaged. Most faculty do not endorse anti-Israelism as an ideology. Many simply tune it out on their campus or on other campuses around the country. Advertisers have long known that readers tend to ignore ads for washing machines unless they are looking to buy one. Most faculty are involved in their own disciplines and their own social and intellectual circles. Occasionally, what they consider to be the “sideshow” of the Palestinian-Israeli debate may attract their attention, but fleetingly, and with no real impact.

The irony of the campus endorsement (through action or by default) of anti-Israelism is that for the most part, campuses are not very active about most critical international issues. In spite of all the hype about social activism, embracing liberal causes, and fighting for the underdog, the campus community is disappointingly complacent about genocide, slavery, abuse of women and chil-

dren, horrific criminal justice systems, and other social and political tragedies around the world. Taking up the anti-Israel cause is all the more curious in the context of the blasé response to the world's tragedies.

Exposing anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism includes the willingness to judge ideas: not all ideas are good or of equal worth. Universities should celebrate cultural differences with the ability to discern right and wrong across cultural boundaries. Not all cultural practices are good, and not all are equal in their contributions to the benefit of the human family. Moral strength means celebrating good teaching that helps students think, analyze, and distinguish sound ideas from suspect ones. It means teaching, not preaching; exploration and rigorous examination, not propaganda. This includes anti-Israel propaganda, which cannot be framed as merely a clash of cultural ideas.

This volume is a call for reform in higher education. The university has all the structure, mechanisms, and values to address anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on campus. Formal systems include peer review, evaluation of scholarship and teaching, committees for hearing student complaints, and disciplinary measures for inappropriate faculty or student behavior. These mechanisms are not fully deployed in the case of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism.

They should be, however, because those who support higher education expect colleges to use the formal tools in place to keep their own house in order. When it comes to prejudice, propaganda in the guise of scholarship, or the failure to execute teaching responsibilities adequately, the full force of university

controls should be exercised. This includes creating a normative environment that banishes anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism from the accepted values of the campus and disciplining those who violate those norms.

Campuses also have informal guidelines that prohibit campus sexism, racism, and other forms of prejudice. Anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism have not been adequately constrained by these norms. University presidents, deans, faculty, trustees, and all other stakeholders have not done their job in applying these norms to anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism.

Anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on campus are symptoms of a much larger malaise. Reform is necessary to protect Jewish students, to be sure. Even more importantly, the failure to ensure the intellectual safety of Jewish students marks a corruption of the university as a civil institution. Colleges and universities should address anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism, not for the sake of the Jews, but for their own sake. The uncivil university must reclaim its civility.

Why Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israelism Are at Home on Campus

Higher education is a fertile home for anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism for a variety of reasons. First, campuses have been targeted by anti-Israel groups as an arena for the anti-Israel agenda. Those who are committed to anti-Israelism hope to capture the hearts and minds of young people in America's educational systems. Arab World and Islamic Resources (AWAIR), an Arab-American advocacy group that promotes anti-Israel propaganda, makes clear in its mission statement, "AWAIR's goal is to increase awareness and

understanding of this world region [Middle East] and this world faith [Islam] through educational outreach." The Arab World Studies Notebook also says, "We hold that preparing our young people for their roles as thoughtful, informed citizens of the next century is our most important work."

Second, universities are complex bureaucracies. There are a multitude of decision-makers, which include presidents, trustees, faculty, provosts, deans, associate deans, vice presidents, and associate vice presidents. Like New Orleans and the rest of the Gulf Coast following the devastation of Hurricane Katrina, the victims of that horrible tragedy were less beleaguered by conspiracy than they were by incompetence. Governments at all levels failed, most of all in their ability or willingness to communicate with one another to ensure appropriate action. Anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism flourish on college campuses partially because of the paralysis of bureaucracy in dealing with student complaints, monitoring conferences and events, and so on. Everyone is in charge, so no one is in charge. Anyone who has been inside higher education knows that many colleges and universities are wrapped more in red tape than green ivy.

Third, higher education is conducive to anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism because many of the stakeholders abdicate responsibility. Trustees do not want to interfere for fear of violating academic freedom. Faculty do not want to appear overzealous criticizing other faculty. Most university presidents, provosts, and deans look for stasis and avoid issues that rock the boat.

Fourth, universities are a fertile environment for anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism because activists with the most energy and loudest voices often capture organizational mechanisms. People in the middle tend to be disenfranchised by the activists who are most committed to a particular agenda. Research performed by the Institute for Jewish & Community Research revealed that, in fact, most professors do not hold negative views regarding Israel. Anti-Semites and anti-Israelists triumph on campus not because of their large numbers, but because of the willingness of the few to pursue their agenda. Those who may disagree with them tend to be silent, busy, or indifferent. The same phenomenon is seen in contemporary American politics in both the Republican and Democratic parties, and a number of NGOs, including the Presbyterian Church. The vast majority of Presbyterians are neither anti-Semitic nor anti-Israel. Yet, a few activists were able to capture the institutional decision-making processes to pass anti-Israel resolutions supporting divestment from Israel. This phenomenon is widespread on campuses as well.

Fifth, the ideology of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism fits within the larger campus themes that include anti-war (violence is never justified, war is bad, there is no just cause), anti-West, anti-American (Europe and America are powerful and bad, Brazil and Algeria are good), white people are bad, all other people are good, power is bad, weakness is honorable. These themes appear over and over again in the anti-Semitic, anti-Israel framework.

It is not surprising, therefore, that anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism have found their

way into America's educational systems, partly from forces outside the university and partly from within. Like the United Nations, the campus has developed into a comfortable home for anti-Israelists. Moreover, it is a platform from which one can reach a large audience, not only of students, but also of the many millions of Americans, and people around the world, who regard the American university as the incubator of change and the leader in intellectual thought.

Some observers argue that levels of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism can be measured primarily by the number of events, the shrillness of the rhetoric, or the most egregious expressions of either to take place in colleges and universities. Because both anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism are myths and ideologies, and have become blended in both rhetoric and activity, they exist beyond mere measurement of incidences and the most visible expressions. These belief systems, as they have in the past, take root in particular groups and institutions and express themselves in different ways over time, but they are there, more or less dormant, more or less active.

The "Israel debate" is not a true intellectual debate at all, but rather a failure of the university community at all levels to properly protect its highest ideals. No institution of higher learning should allow Jewish students to be intimidated or attacked, or pro-Israel speakers to be so physically threatened that they cannot safely visit a campus. Such an environment is antithetical to the mission of America's universities. While we have, unfortunately, come to expect this kind of atmosphere from Wahhabi extremists from Saudi Arabia or in the official dogma of Iran's dicta-

torial mullahs, this propaganda has no place on campuses.

On campus, anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism ideology has four primary components. First, Jewish nationalism is characterized as racism. Because “Zionism=Racism,” Jews do not deserve to have a nation-state in Israel. Second, the Holocaust is not a Jewish historical experience, but rather a Palestinian one. Third, violence against Israelis is justified, even terrorism, and Americans cannot judge such actions by Western moral standards. Fourth, Jews and Israel control America, the American government, and United States foreign policy.

Reclaiming the Civil University

Social norms in society are as important as the rule of law. Civilizations exist through a combination of restraint by public authority, self-restraint, and restraint through social approval and disapproval. The politics of multiculturalism on campus abhor prejudice based on culture, sexual identity, ethnicity, gender, race, religion, and nationality, except in the case of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism.

Changing campus norms can help reclaim a civil institution. Students or faculty who interrupt debates and lectures should be suspended or put on leave. Those who use violent messages or advocate violence should be expelled. Faculty who publish shoddy research should not be promoted. A faculty member who intimidates students or evaluates them on the basis of belief (the professor's or the student's) should be censured—and fired if they persist. Departments that discriminate on the basis of ideology either in terms of hiring or promotion should be put in receivership or shut down.

Societal support for higher education is grounded in the belief that democracy is reinforced by a good liberal arts education.

Stanley N. Katz, director of Princeton University's Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies, warned of the need to reform higher education: “A great deal is at stake for undergraduate education, and for the country. If we believe, as so many of the founders of liberal education did, that the vitality of American democracy depends upon the kind of liberal education undergraduates receive, we need to put the reimagination of liberal education near the top of our agenda for education in our research universities.”

Americans cherish their institutions of higher education and are rightfully proud of their quality and world leadership. Students from around the United States and the rest of the globe make great sacrifices to study at American universities, and they generally graduate well-positioned for successful careers and poised to make important contributions to society. The “something amiss in higher education” is not education itself, but rather the inappropriate politics that colors too much of campus life. The solution is not to balance one biased ideology with another but rather to eliminate politics altogether, except as a tool to teach students (and many faculty) to think for themselves.

Without essential reforms, the academy risks further and further separation from the public that nurtures it and whom it serves. “What is at stake is our future,” according to Brigitte Gabriel, a Lebanese-born Arab reformer, “the students of today who will become tomorrow's leaders. If their minds are poisoned with irrational hatred and the hate is not combatted and eliminated, then academic

freedom and free speech in an open marketplace of competitive ideas is dead.”

The stream of goodwill directed towards the university is not endless. It must be renewed through the visible efforts of the stakeholders to take more responsibility for ensuring the safety and well-being of all members of the university community. The campus must reform not simply because the specific ideologies of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism exist, but rather because any public institution that fosters expressions of hate is in need of drastic change. Anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism have found a harbor on campus, but they need not remain welcome there. It took four decades for the uncivil university to reach this point. It should not take another forty years in this desert for the civil university to find its way home once more.

1. Anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism are systemic in higher education and can be found on campuses all over the United States.

The ideology and expression of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism have taken root throughout much of the higher education system, even if embraced by relatively small segments of the faculty or student body.

Although anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism are national campus phenomena, they are not equally distributed among colleges and universities. Some universities may be relatively free of the ideology or its expression, while others may be more problematic. The incidence of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism may also vary on a particular campus over time.

Our research covered hundreds of campuses. In spite of the claims of some observers who assert that anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism affect only a few select campuses, our research disproves this assertion. Moreover, anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism can be found in both public and private universities throughout all regions of the country and in both elite “Ivies” and community colleges.

Anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism find expression inside and outside the classroom, in course syllabi, student newspapers, campus posters, rallies, lecture halls, and a host of other ways within the university. Middle East Studies departments and centers are particularly egregious in their promotion of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism.

2. Anti-Semitic behavior often cloaks itself as "legitimate" criticism of Israel. Pervasive anti-Israelism sets the stage for campus anti-Semitism. The distinctions between Israel and Jews become increasingly blurred as the rhetoric becomes more uncivil.

Analyzing or criticizing a policy of the Israeli government is not de facto anti-Semitic, but much of anti-Israel rhetoric is subtly or blatantly anti-Semitic. Anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on campus have become entwined, so that anti-Israel rhetoric draws from traditional anti-Semitic stereotypes. The ideology of anti-Israelism transfers these stereotypes of traditional anti-Semitism onto discussions about Israel. Israel is often substituted for Jews as the primary source of the world's woes.

Anti-Semitism is a belief system, a prejudice against Jews as a mythical enemy. Jews are the origin or cause of the inexplicable problems of life and community—poverty, war, or even natural disasters. Jews are also enviable. They are cast as rich, unusually clever, and powerful. Jews are “other”—people who are not like me, some group that is external to my group. Jews are stereotyped as having beliefs, values, and behaviors that are foreign, mysterious, and destructive.

Anti-Israelism on campus labels Israel as Nazi Germany, claims the Holocaust never occurred, that Israel is systematically committing genocide, that Israel and the Jews control the United States government, and other ugly charges.

3. The assault on Jewish nationalism is embedded in the ideology of the left.

The university has become a home to rhetoric from the left. As mystifying as it may be, the left sees no contradiction between its espousal of racial and ethnic equality and its prejudice against Jewish national identity. This hypocrisy has been successfully transplanted to higher education. While anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism also can be found on the extreme right, this connection is largely irrelevant in higher education where the right has little legitimacy.

This hatred of Israel does not exclusively stem from anti-Semitism, but also includes the demonization of America and the West as well. In this way, anti-Israelism from the left can be closely related to anti-Americanism. Over time, coming full circle, anti-Americanism endorses and devolves into anti-Semitism. And in cases where America is framed as a proxy for Israel and Jews, anti-Americanism and anti-Semitism become one in the same.

4. The failure to appropriately address anti-Semitic and anti-Israel bigotry is an indicator of a frightening breakdown in a number of university processes involving many stakeholders within higher education.

Donors are not paying enough attention (including Jewish donors who give billions of dollars to higher education). They are not holding universities as accountable as they do in other realms of their philanthropy. Trustees, often successful business leaders who are much more attentive in their entre-

preneurial spheres, fail to appropriately execute their fiduciary duties both in the operations of the institution and the mission. For example, they tend to rubber-stamp tenure decisions. Most of all, faculty and administrators exhibit unawareness, indifference, and sometimes even cowardice in their failure to exert moral leadership in condemning anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism.

5. Anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism are shielded by a wrongly defined academic freedom and free speech.

University stakeholders often accept misuse of academic freedom as a way to excuse anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism. Some characterize the “Israel debate” as merely part of the free exchange of ideas.

The discussion of Israel's faults and wrong actions can be part of campus discussion, as should be discussions of all nations, cultures, and societies. However, the red herring of censorship is not at issue. Israel-bashing, demonization, double standards, hateful language, anti-Semitic images, and obsession with Israel more than any other country are signs, indicators, and alarms that something other than debate and honest criticism are at work. Universities cannot pretend that calling for the destruction of Israel with the use of Nazi images is part of normal academic discourse. If they do, they are being untruthful with themselves.

Clearly, those who support Israel can be found on college campuses all over America. Students rally on behalf of Israel, books are published that support Israel, and so on. Anti-Israelism does not signal the absence of pro-Israelism. Indeed, this is often the ration-

ale, or excuse, for anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism in higher education. Advocates of free speech may say that clearly opposing forces can speak on campus and do. The presence of pro-Israel speakers, classes, faculty, or materials on campus, however, does not address the core issue.

Having a pro-Israel speaker does not erase an anti-Semitic diatribe from some other speaker. Good Israel talk does not balance bad Israel talk. Indeed, the balanced approach is a denial of the problem. Universities do not balance racism and sexism with “positive images” of blacks and women. They make it clear that racism and sexism do not belong on campus. Period. The same needs to be said and done about anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism—they have no place on campus. Period. Otherwise, universities should abolish their policies of zero tolerance for intimidation of students or hate speech. Why have them, when they are not applied uniformly? If hate speech against Jews is allowed as part of the balance of ideas on campus, then hate speech against all others should be afforded the same protected status in the name of freedom. Tolerate all racism or prohibit it. The truly civil university does not offer a cafeteria of selective protections.

Higher education is so concerned about the preservation of academic freedom that academic responsibility is ignored. Anti-Israelism can flourish because the academy is afraid to confront this ideology and those who preach it for fear of going down some slippery slope that will infringe upon academic freedom. But other slippery slopes are just as profoundly damaging to the ideals of the university, including the failure to ensure both high quality and honest scholarship, adhere to principles of truth, preserve civil

discourse and provide freedom from intellectual intimidation. All of these affect academic freedom, and define academic responsibility.

6. Universities, both public and private, are part of a public trust owned or financed by the American people.

The deep reliance on public funds makes the universities' almost religious adherence to the concept of free speech in opposition to encroachment of the public and the government seem particularly misplaced. The university is the public; it is a part of the government. It is a civil institution.

Higher education is highly dependent on federal, state, and municipal governments for financial assistance in numerous forms. Federal assistance to universities extends to all kinds of universities, public and private, and it comes in the form of various grants and allocations. The total amount of state and federal dollars that are being injected into the higher education system is over \$140 billion annually. Furthermore, universities are designated as non-profit organizations and, as such, are exempt from taxation on a number of levels, further bolstering the public's contribution to higher education.

7. Because Americans, both individually and through public financing, invest heavily in higher education, colleges and universities have a contractual understanding with the public that teaching and research are to be free of politics and propaganda.

Academic freedom requires, not opposition to the larger society, as so often happens when free speech is invoked on campus, but rather

a contract with society for honest and unbiased teaching and research. This distinction seems mainly forgotten, and under the banner of free speech, universities increasingly define themselves by their independence from, and often adversarial relationship with, authorities of all sorts, including the government, the private sector, and even the communities that support them and in which they flourish. If they see their primary purpose as bastions of free speech, they must feel particularly beleaguered when the outside world requests accountability. In their self-conceived role as havens for otherwise persecuted or unpopular points of view, universities see themselves as counterweights, watchdogs, and dissenters from established norms, rather than as primary contributors to and shapers of those norms. Ideology is characterized as the goal of the university, and objectivity is deemed unnecessary or unachievable. While these contrarian roles are sometimes appropriate, they are only part of the picture, a fact largely forgotten on campus. As a result, universities have become, in many ways, obstructionist rather than facilitating entities, promoting political ideologies and propaganda.

8. Jewish students report being intimidated, both inside and outside the classroom, and being intellectually and socially threatened for what they believe.

In a civil university, no group is singled out for slander, no democratic nation is declared illegitimate, no political ideology warps the pursuit of truth: The process of learning supercedes personal biases. In such a univer-

sity, bigotry is unacceptable, because the protection of pluralism and civil rights is part of the campus ideal, reflecting the laws and norms of the general society. The campus should serve as a model, both in what it teaches in the classroom and through everyday campus life, for embracing pluralism and the protection of civil rights. In a civil university, everyone protects each other against bias and hatred. In many universities that otherwise consider themselves to be models of civility, anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism are not only tolerated but allowed to flourish.

9. The university has the necessary structural mechanisms and procedures that unfortunately are not fully deployed in the case of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism.

Formal systems include peer review, evaluation of scholarship and teaching, committees for hearing student complaints, and disciplinary measures for inappropriate faculty or student behavior. Self-regulation is part of the agreement that universities have with the public sector.

10. Both federal and state governments have the legal and moral authority and necessary means to address anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on campus.

This includes protecting the civil rights of Jewish students through appropriate complaint procedures and legislation that sets guidelines for colleges and universities that accept federal and state funds.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

1. More research is necessary to document systemic anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism in higher education.

Additional research, documentation, and exposure are necessary to show how anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism affect students, how many students experience discrimination and how university stakeholders have responded or failed to take appropriate action. Research about faculty, trustees, and donors is also essential.

2. Expose anti-Semitism disguised as legitimate criticism of Israel.

Seminars, workshops, symposia, lectures, and other campus activities are needed to educate the campus community about anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism. This subject also should be integrated into appropriate curricula, courses, and syllabi.

3. Political beliefs should not be considered in the hiring and promotion of faculty.

Colleges and universities should ensure that political beliefs are not subtly reinforcing an ideological orthodoxy. The ideological make-up of faculty should not be self-perpetuating as a result of an operative bias in higher education employment practices.

4. University stakeholders need to reclaim their rightful roles and responsibilities to ensure checks and balances in university processes.

University trustees should become more involved on a number of levels. First, they need to take more responsibility when granting tenure. Trustees, in deference to academic freedom, do not exercise their fiduciary obligations when they rubber-stamp tenure decisions made by the faculty and administration. Lifetime contracts should not be awarded without more trustee consideration.

Corporate and NGO boards are being challenged to be more responsible in their oversight duties. College trustees should not be excused from this national trend. They also need to be more informed and attentive to what is being taught on campus. Trustees should not be intimidated into believing that they are interfering with academic freedom if they behave like a real board and less like the adjunct fundraising department (their only purpose being to give and solicit donations).

Donors and alumni need to demand more accountability when they make gifts to higher education, both to help make them be more efficiently managed organizations, and to help guide the educational mission. Donor intent is a key element in the American philanthropic system. Part of the contract between philanthropists and recipient institutions is that donors have something to say about how their money is used. Donations also give philanthropists the right to have a say in the operation of the organizations, especially for those who give large gifts. Higher education is perhaps the only NGO system where donors are told that their giv-

ing offers them no right to fundamentally influence the institution: write the check and keep quiet. Hands-off (in the name of academic freedom) is the general guideline. Naming chairs or designating dollars for a particular program provide the illusion of donor control, but most monies are fungible. In a system built around “budget relief,” resources are moved around as needed: more resources in one area frees up money for some other purpose. Collectively, donors should hold both faculty and administrators accountable for dealing with the issue of anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on campus.

5. Academic freedom and free speech should be responsibly defined within the boundaries of civil discourse.

The cultural norms of the campus need to change over time, so that anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism are as unacceptable as other forms of prejudice on campus. This requires moral leadership, especially from university presidents, chancellors, and others in positions of moral authority. They need to speak out firmly, consistently, and passionately about this bigotry. Few have followed the lead of President Lawrence Summers of Harvard University or President Robert Corrigan of San Francisco State University in doing so.

University funds should not be used to sponsor racist speakers or events through student organizations, events, newspapers, or any activity subsidized with university dollars. Appropriate administrative and faculty oversight of student organizations is required, and, if necessary, administrative oversight of faculty who, for example, restrict their class enrollment to like-minded students. If stu-

dent organizations sponsor inappropriate speakers or events, they should be put on probation, have their funds restricted, or be disbanded if they persist.

6. The public sector should continue to press for accountability in higher education.

Federal and state lawmakers should consider enacting legislation withholding funding to any university that violates the civil rights of any student, including those of Jewish students based on their religion or ethnic identity, until the violation has been corrected.

The Solomon Amendment is an excellent example. Congress was correct to pass the Solomon Amendment to halt all federal funding to colleges and universities that prohibit military recruiters from coming to their campuses. It is absurd for the grantee (higher education) to tell the grantor (the federal government) what policies must be followed by the armed services in order for universities to take the money that they are given. Whether one agrees or not with the “don't ask, don't tell” policy of the military is irrelevant. Congress has the right to set conditions on dollars it allocates to higher education. Universities have the right to refuse the funds if they do not agree with the conditions. They cannot take the funds and simultaneously set the conditions for taking them.

7. More internal review of Middle East Studies departments, centers, and institutes is critical.

Committees of scholars should be established, to review the level of scholarship, quality of teaching, and objectivity of this discipline. This process should be ongoing until

it is clear that these departments and institutes conform to norms of quality and honest scholarship and teaching. All tenure decisions for this field should be made outside the departments. At the same time, appropriate public sector oversight of these federally funded programs should be instituted in the same ways that the National Science Foundation, the National Institutes of Health, and other public grant-making institutions operate.

8. Colleges and universities, as part of the public trust, have a special obligation to fight discrimination and provide equal protection for all groups including those defined by race, color, religion, sex, age, disability or national origin.

Faculty who harass, intimidate, or discriminate against students because they are Jewish, Israeli, or supporters of Israel should be disciplined. Reprimand, censure, removal from teaching duties, and terminating employment are all appropriate, depending on the seriousness of the breach of academic conduct, and the frequency of its re-occurrence from any particular faculty member. Because bigotry should have zero tolerance, repeat breaches of this basic pillar of academic integrity are grounds for firing both untenured and tenured faculty members. Indeed, such discrimination should be identified in faculty handbooks as legal cause for removing a tenured faculty member. In the meantime, Jewish students who are subject to harassment and discrimination should file complaints with the Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education, as students at the University of California, Irvine, have already done.

9. Colleges should establish and enforce appropriate rules about civil discourse, including the protection of Jewish students and other supporters of Israel.

Civil discourse excludes advocating physical harm or even murder because of someone's racial, ethnic, or national background. These codes of conduct should be well publicized and included in student and faculty handbooks. Breach of conduct should require reprimand, suspension, expulsion and termination for students and faculty. We are not suggesting that students do not have the right to advocate for support of Palestinian causes, or to protest Israeli government policies. But they must do so within the established norms of racial and ethnic discourse on campus.

Or, conversely, if campuses want to abandon speech codes, and stop regulating hate speech and promoting consciousness and sensitivity about race, gender, ethnicity, and nationality, then let a thousand diatribes, insults, and demeaning interactions bloom. If free speech is so valued, then let it be free. But universities cannot regulate speech through both formal structures and informal norms while selectively ignoring anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism.

10. If higher education does not adequately address anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on campus, then federal and state governments should bring the full power of their financial, legal, and moral authority to bear on colleges and universities.

If university faculty and administrators do not curb anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism (or

any form of prejudice), then governments at all levels should take corrective measures. Government should not have to intervene to insure the moral behavior of colleges and universities. On the other hand, the public sector would be abdicating its fiduciary and moral responsibility to allow anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism to continue unchecked.

Anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism in higher education fall squarely within the purview of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education. Given the pervasiveness of these ideologies on college campuses, government agencies should not only be actively fielding complaints of civil rights violations against Jewish students and supporters of Israel but should consider a system-wide investigation.

EXAMPLES OF ANTI-SEMITISM & ANTI-ISRAELISM ON CAMPUS

Kent State University, Campus Newspaper, April 15, 2002

At Kent State University, associate professor of history Julio Cesar Pino wrote a poem in the *Kent Stater* on April 15, 2002, titled, "Singing out prayer for a youth martyr," in which he praised a female suicide bomber.

You are not a terrorist, Ayat. The real terrorists are those who some 100 years ago hijacked a beautiful religion and transformed it into a real estate venture.

Glancing around the world, they saw in Palestine "a land without a people, for a people without a land," as their spokesmen and women chant ad nauseam. The Zion of the concertina wire, F-16 bomber death planes and tank crews collecting skulls and shedding martyrs' blood. The birthplace of your ancestor, and mine, the Palestinian pacifist Joshua ben Josef, is now a battle zone-with Christians, Muslims and peace-loving Jews trapped inside Bethlehem. [...]

Your last cry, by gesture rather than the spoken word, was "Stop, thief! This is not your land and we are a people." I can assure you, Ayat, that the whole world stopped to listen. Even the numbskull who parades as president of the United States heard you, and, following the text written for him by his handlers, expressed astonishment at how a teenager could perpetrate such an act. Simply, it is pronounced "justice" and spelled C-O-U-R-A-G-E.¹

University of Massachusetts, Campus Newspaper, Spring 1995

In the University of Massachusetts student newspaper the *Daily Collegian*, a letter was published by emeritus professor of mathematics Helen Cullen, who wrote, "Judaism and the Jewish identity are offensive to most human beings and will always cause trouble between the Jews and the rest of the human race."²

University of Illinois, Campus Newspaper, January 22, 2002

The University of Illinois student paper, the *Daily Illini*, printed an opinion piece by Washington resident Ariel Sinovsky titled, "Jews Manipulate America." Sinovsky wrote:

The Jews, master salesmen that they are, have been able to persuade Americans that it is in American interests to support Israeli oppression of Palestinians. [...] Too often defective foreign policy has been promoted as something in the interest of American people while in reality it was done to satisfy the desires of Jewish oligarchs. [...] The President should act immediately to deal with this threat. First, separate Jews from all government advisory positions and give them one year fully paid sabbatical. [...] Jewish ability to promote their desires, disguised, as being in the interest of the American people, one day will evaporate. Then the Jews might face another Holocaust.³

The outrage of this article lies not only in the content but also in the headline, which was likely created by the editor.

Columbia University, Student Interview 2004

Columbia student "LS" reported, "I took a class with [Professor] George Saliba [as we discussed the Palestinian-Israeli conflict, he] sort of drew me outside the classroom and told me to walk with him on his way out.[...] He said, 'You have no voice in this debate.[...] See, you have green eyes,' he said, 'You're not a Semite.[...] You have no claim to the land of Israel.'"⁴ (Saliba has denied ever making the statement.)

Columbia University, Protest/Rally Statements, April 2002

Professor of Latino Studies at Columbia University Nicholas De Genova proclaimed at a rally that "the heritage of the Holocaust belongs to the Palestinian people. The State of Israel has no claim to the heritage of the Holocaust."⁵

Georgetown University, Faculty Publications and Statements, November 2002

Georgetown Professor Hisham Sharabi was quoted in the Lebanese *Daily Star* saying to Balamand University students and faculty that "Jews are getting ready to take control of us and the Americans have entered the region to possess the oil resources and redraw the geopolitical map of the Arab world."⁶

Various Universities, Vandalism, 2002-2005

At the University of Chicago, in a campus dorm, a Jewish student put up a sign publicizing a pro-Israel rally on campus. It was defaced with the words, "F**k Zionists, F**k the Israeli pigs."⁷ In 2002, at the University of

Colorado, swastikas were drawn on a religious structure utilized by Jewish student groups.⁸ At the University of Wisconsin, Madison, someone scrawled the messages, "Kill the Jews" and "Make it snow Jewish ash" in a classroom.⁹

Central Connecticut State University, Faculty Publications and Statements, 1999

Professor Norton Mezvinsky, of Central Connecticut State University, has been quoted stating that Jews believe "the blood of non-Jews has no intrinsic value," and that this allows Jews to consider that the killing of non-Jews does "not constitute murder according to the Jewish religion." In addition, he is quoted stating that, "the killing of innocent Arabs for reasons of revenge is a Jewish virtue."¹⁰

University of California, Los Angeles, Conferences, 2001

In 2001, at a Muslim Student Association conference at the University of California, Los Angeles, cleric Muhammad-al-Asi stated, "Israel is as racist as apartheid could ever be ... you can take a Jew out of the ghetto, but you can't take the ghetto out of the Jew."¹¹

University of Georgia, Campus Newspaper, October 1, 2001

University of Georgia student Adam Gobin wrote in the *Red and Black* about Jewish influence in America, "Not only does the Israeli lobby control legislation [...] but it also controls the media giants."¹²

Northeastern University, Faculty Publications and Statements, December 12-18, 2004

Professor M Shahid Alam wrote in the Egyptian weekly, *Al-Ahram*, that Israel, “could only emerge as the bastard child of imperialist powers, and it could only come into existence by displacing the greater part of the Palestinian population, by incorporating them into an apartheid state, or through some combination of the two. In addition, once created, Israel could only survive as a militarist, expansionist, and hegemonic state, constantly at war with its neighbors.” He then explained that, “Jews, as junior partners of the imperialist powers, would seek to deepen the Orientalist project in the service of Western power.” The current landscape of Middle East Studies is now divided, Alam explained, into “one camp, consisting mostly of Christians and Muslims, [which] has laboured to bring greater objectivity to their study of Islam and Islamic societies. [...] The second camp, now led mostly by Jews, has reverted to Orientalism’s original mission of subordinating knowledge to Western power, now filtered through the prism of Zionist interests.” These Jews “work to incite a civilizational war between Islam and the West.”¹³

Santa Rosa Junior College, Campus Newspaper, March 18, 2003

In 2003, Santa Rosa Junior College’s student newspaper, *The Oak Leaf*, published an opinion article by civil engineering student Kevin McGuire titled, “Is Anti-Semitism Ever the Result of Jewish Behavior?” McGuire wrote:

Israel is the largest and most dangerous terrorist organization in the world. [...]

The Zionist Jews believe they are the “chosen people” of god and that the world was given to them and is their possession. The Zionist Jews want to establish a Jewish holy land with no non-Jews present. [...] This attitude of racial hatred and genocide is also reflected in the Torah. [...] In closing, A [sic] 1998 quote from Osama Bin Laden: “So we tell the Americans as people, and we tell the mothers of soldiers and American mothers in general that if they value their lives and the lives of their children, to find a nationalist government that will look after their interests and not the interests of the Jews.”¹⁴

This piece asserts what anti-Semites have always contended—Jews bring it on themselves. This charge is typical of bigots and racists—the victimized group is somehow responsible for those who hate them. Such clear anti-Semitism immediately set off a rancorous debate about how and why such an article was printed. The ensuing turmoil led to some campus and community anger directed at the newspaper editor who was culpable, and even more so the faculty advisor who failed to inform the editor of her right to refuse opinion articles that contained hateful language. The faculty advisor refused to publicly discuss the incident. However, this is not the first problem for *The Oak Leaf*. The college paid a \$45,000 settlement over claims of sexual harassment that arose when male students posted anatomically explicit and derogatory remarks about two women on campus on a men-only bulletin board created by the journalism department.¹⁵

New York University, University List-serve Propaganda, November 2001

While serving as President of Arab Students United, New York University student Nadeen Aljijakli distributed, via email, an article by former Ku Klux Klan member David Duke claiming that the primary reason we are suffering from terrorism in the U.S. is because our government policy is completely subordinated to a foreign power: "Israel and the efforts of worldwide Jewish Supremacism." Aljijakli, when informed of the author's racist history, suggested that she would not have chosen the article had she known, but nevertheless agreed with the arguments put forth.¹⁶

San Francisco State University, Mob Protest/Threats, May 2002

Professor Laurie Zoloth of San Francisco State University, after having witnessed a mob protest against a Jewish student peace rally, was appalled by the absence of faculty speaking out against such bigotry. She wrote, "Counter demonstrators poured into the plaza, screaming at the Jews to 'Get out or we will kill you' and 'Hitler did not finish the job.' I turned to the police and to every administrator I could find and asked them to remove the counter demonstrators from the plaza, to maintain the separation of 100 feet that we had been promised. The police told me that they had been told not to arrest anyone." She lamented the fact that "the police could do nothing more than surround the Jewish students and community members who were now trapped in a corner of the plaza, grouped under the flags of Israel, while an angry, out of control mob, literally chanting for our deaths, surrounded us. [...] There was no safe way out of the Plaza. We

had to be marched back to the Hillel House under armed San Francisco police guard, and we had to have a police guard remain outside Hillel."¹⁷ After attempting to shed light on what she regarded as a hostile environment for Jews at San Francisco State University, she moved to Northwestern University.¹⁸ San Francisco State University president Robert Corrigan has condemned anti-Semitism on his campus.

San Francisco State University, Flyers/Handouts, 2002

At San Francisco State University, the Muslim Student Union circulated flyers depicting a can labeled "Palestinian Baby Meat." (See following section) Written across the can was the phrase, "Manufactured in Israel under U.S. license." This is a restatement of the ancient blood libel that first arose in Europe. Like so much of European anti-Semitism, it is now proliferating in the Middle East. The root lies in an accusation that Jews bake bread with the blood of gentile children, a lie created to justify the persecution and murder of Jews. Surprising to some, it has now arrived at North American universities.

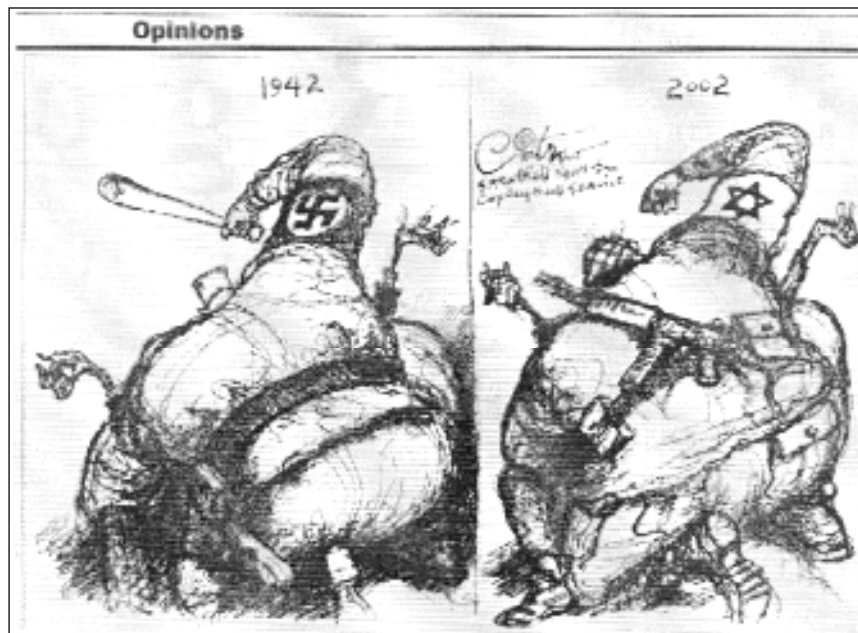
University of California, Berkeley, Violence, 2001-2003

A spate of harassment and violence erupted at the University of California, Berkeley, in 2001. In December of that year, a member of Chabad, a Jewish religious group, was assaulted on campus on the way to the Chabad house.¹⁹ Then during spring break of 2002, the Hillel window was smashed and graffiti stating, "F**k the Jews," was painted on the building.²⁰ Later, during a Simchat Torah celebration, a Jewish participant was

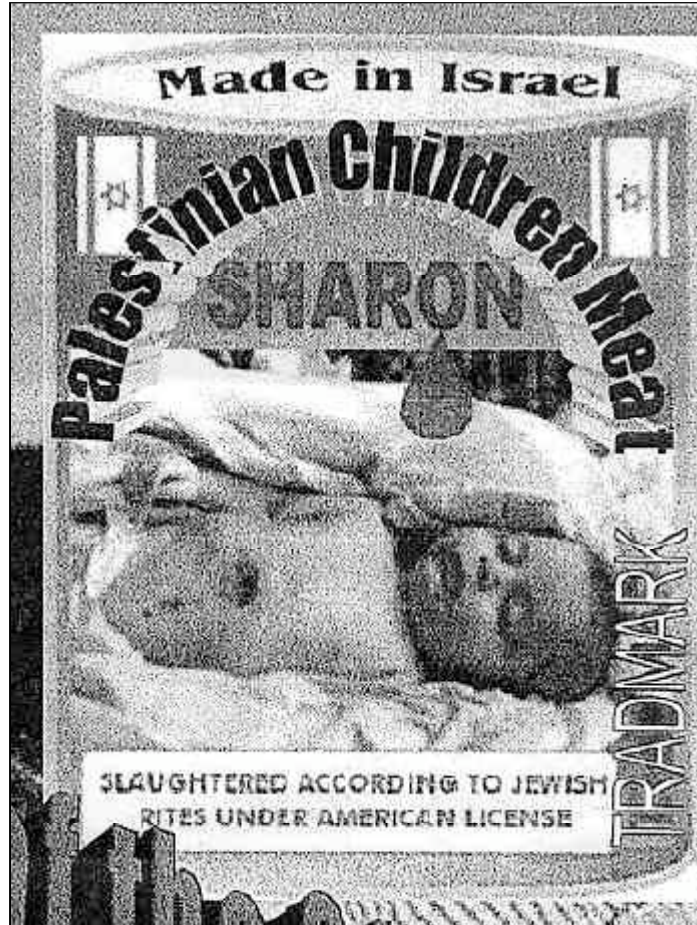
assaulted close to campus.²¹ These incidents all happened on one campus, over the course of a short period of time, highlighting how quickly campuses transform from verbal to physical hostility.



In the Brown University Daily Herald, the student artist who created this satire of American ignorance of the "other" invoked the classic anti-Semitic blood libel, perhaps unaware that the anti-Israel campaign uses the same charges to de-legitimate both the Jewish people and the state of Israel.



Anti-Israel propaganda often likens Jews to Nazis, as in this cartoon from Texas A&M University, which juxtaposes a Nazi officer with an Israeli soldier by replacing the swastika with the Star of David.



A flyer created by Muslim student groups and funded by the Associated Students of San Francisco State University dredges up the medieval anti-Semitic blood libel of Jews slaughtering children—this time Palestinian children—for ritual purposes.

Time frame

The Institute for Jewish & Community Research conducted research on anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism in American educational systems from 2002 through 2005. We used a number of methods and sources, which are discussed below.

Student interviews

The Institute conducted over 50 personal interviews with students from a variety of campuses. Interviewees included anti-Israel protesters, Jewish students, student leaders, and student “observers,” those who were not part of the Israel debate. Our interviews focused on anti-Israel protest, anti-Semitism, intellectual freedom, the conflict in the Middle East, Middle East Studies, and student safety, among other subjects.

Key informant interviews

The Institute conducted over 40 key informant interviews with Jewish organizational leaders to assess the Jewish communal response to anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on campus. Some of these organizations are listed below:

- Aish Ha-Torah (student leadership training program)
- American Israel Public Affairs Committee
- American Jewish Committee
- American Jewish Congress
- Anti-Defamation League
- Caravan for Democracy (the campus division of the Jewish National Fund)
- Chicago Jewish Community Relations Council

- Connecticut Jewish Community Relations Council
- Hadassah Curriculum Watch
- Hamagshimim (helps foster Jewish student groups)
- Hillel (national office and campus divisions)
- San Francisco Federation Israel Center
- San Francisco Jewish Community Relations Council

Campus literature

The Institute completed a content analysis of hundreds of anti-Israel materials distributed on college campuses or designed for student protest. These include divestment literature, divestment petitions, flyers, pamphlets, posters, rally announcements, and other materials. We collected these materials by visiting campuses and gathering them from the tables of anti-Israel student groups, anti-Israel protesters, posted materials, and so on. We also used the Internet, examining activist websites such as electronicintifada.net, internationalanswer.org, and palestinecampaign.org, and we downloaded materials for students such as checkpoint flyers, divestment strategies, and ways to fend off accusations of anti-Semitism. In addition, we conducted extensive content analysis of banners, posters, signs, and sloganeering of anti-Israel protesters by attending rallies and examining photos taken at rallies. We paid special attention to anti-Semitic stereotypes, Holocaust imagery, historical inaccuracies, incitement, misrepresentations, negative slogans, and provocative language.

Newspapers, magazines, internet newswires and websites

We monitored twenty-five major news outlets on a daily basis, collecting news and opinion articles pertaining to anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism. Most prominent among them were *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, *The Christian Science Monitor*, *Haaretz* (Israel), *The Jerusalem Post* (Israel), *National Review Online*, *New York Post*, *The New York Times*, *San Francisco Chronicle*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Washington Post*. The Institute also monitored weekly news outlets such as *Al-Ahram Weekly* (Egypt), *Education Week*, *Newsweek*, *Time*, and others. We analyzed articles on anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism for newsworthy incidents, relevant quotes from experts, and for the emergence of general trends.

We systematically read Jewish community periodicals and news services including, the *Forward*, the *J.*, and the *Jewish Week*. When an incident of anti-Semitism and/or anti-Israelism arose on a campus, the local community newspaper also was consulted.

Websites

The Institute regularly analyzed the content found on over 30 websites. The types of websites varied and included anti-divestment drives, divestment petitions, faculty organizations, pro-Israel advocacy, pro-Palestinian/anti-Israel student and other groups, socialist movement groups, university information, university organizations/departments/centers, and others.

Anti-Israel groups' websites provided information on anti-Israel campaign goals, links to other anti-Israel organizations, literature and propaganda, and past and upcoming events. Divestment petition websites, as well as anti-

divestment websites, were examined as they were created. We searched university websites for administrative responses to anti-Semitism and anti-Israelism on campus. University department websites were examined when they were involved in sponsoring a Middle East forum or teach-in on campus. We reviewed faculty organization websites if their field was related to the Middle East, or if they issued a statement regarding the Middle East in their capacity as professors.

E-mail newsletters

The Institute regularly received, reviewed, and analyzed five relevant e-mail newsletters from Jewish organizations, including the American Israel Public Affairs Committee and the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs, as well as grassroots pro-Israel organizations such as Stand With Us. We analyzed these newsletters for recent events and incidents on campus.

College and university student newspapers

The Institute systematically investigated fifteen campus newspapers (and other campus sources) selected by geography, campus size, public or private, and other factors. We examined over 1,500 articles, advertisements, and other materials. These universities include:

California

- University of California, Berkeley (*The Daily Californian*)
- University of California, Irvine (*The New University*)
- University of California, Los Angeles (*The Daily Bruin*)
- University of California, San Diego (*The Guardian*)

Michigan

- University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (*The Michigan Daily*)
- Wayne State University (*The South End*)

Texas

- University of Houston (*The Daily Cougar*)
- University of Texas, Austin (*The Daily Texan*)

Colorado

- University of Colorado, Boulder (*The Colorado Daily*)
- University of Colorado, Denver (*The UCD Advocate*)

New York

- New York University (*Washington Square News*)

Illinois

- University of Chicago (*The Chicago Maroon*)

Georgia

- Emory University (*The Emory Wheel*)
- University of Georgia (*The Red & Black*)

New Hampshire

- Dartmouth University (*The Dartmouth*)

In addition to these fifteen campuses, the Institute used campus media at colleges and universities throughout the country. We analyzed the media content for several themes, including:

- Anti-Israel voices (e.g., opinion articles, speakers, and statements)
- Anti-Israel events (e.g., rallies, street theater, conferences, lectures, and courses)
- Anti-Semitism (e.g., graffiti, vandalism,

vocal threats, libelous accusations, discrimination, and physical attacks)

- Divestment/apartheid accusations (e.g., examples of campus rhetoric and introductions of divestment campaign)

We also evaluated news content for bias and accuracy when it pertained to the Middle East or related events on campus. We analyzed editorial boards' writings as well as their decisions as to what submissions to feature on the opinion page. The Institute collected opinion articles and evaluated them for egregious anti-Semitic and anti-Israel content. We also identified, collected, and monitored contributions to student media from outside the university environment.

Participant Observation

Institute staff members attended Jewish community meetings with campus administrators and were included in discussion groups for campus task forces about these issues. Researchers observed pro-Israel and anti-Israel demonstrations on college campuses, attended teach-ins, lectures, and conferences addressing the Middle East conflict.

Institute for Jewish & Community Research

Institute for Jewish & Community Research, San Francisco, is an independent non-profit dedicated to the growth and security of the Jewish community. The Institute serves as a national and international think tank providing policy research for the Jewish community and society in general. The Institute designs and develops initiatives that help build a more vibrant and secure Jewish community. It also educates both the public and opinion leaders through publications and conferences in four areas: demography and religious identity, prejudice and the security of the Jewish Community, and philanthropy.

Gary A. Tobin

The late Gary A. Tobin, Ph.D. was the founder and president of the Institute for Jewish & Community Research. He was the director of the Center for Modern Jewish Studies at Brandeis University for fourteen years, after spending eleven years on faculty at Washington University, St. Louis. He edited two volumes about race in America, *What Happened to the Urban Crisis?* and *Divided Neighborhoods*. His books include *Jewish Perceptions of Antisemitism*; *Rabbis Talk About Inter-marriage*; *Opening The Gates: How Proactive Conversion Can Revitalize The Jewish Community*; *In Every Tongue: The Racial & Ethnic Diversity of the Jewish People* and *The Trouble with Textbooks*.

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Jenna Ferer

Jenna Ferer was a research associate at the Institute for Jewish & Community Research. Ms. Ferer formerly lived in Jerusalem, where she worked as a news, feature, and photo-journalist for *The Media Line*. She was an editor and writer for the *College Campus Initiative E-News* and *Information Brief* for the Jewish Federation of Los Angeles.

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