

Israel and the Campus: The Real Story

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Executive Summary

The college campus has long been the one place where anti-Israel activity and anti-Semitism have been tolerated, and colleges remain shockingly ambivalent toward the complaints of students and others about the hostility expressed by students, faculty and visitors toward Jews and their homeland.

Much of the Jewish community's attention has been directed toward fighting the "new" delegitimization campaign, but the truth is there is little new about it. Israel's detractors have sought to stigmatize Israel and erode its image since the 1950s.

Some have argued that there is a well-funded and organized network promoting the delegitimization of Israel. The evidence we have found, however, is that this is not true. Two groups are responsible for most of the anti-Israel activity -- the Muslim Students Association (MSA) and Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) -- with the MSA less active than in the past.

Unlike pro-Israel groups, most anti-Israel groups are student-led with little or no professional assistance. Still, at least one anti-Israel student group has a presence at approximately 330 universities out of roughly 4,000 in the U.S. By comparison, Hillel is on 363 campuses and 273 universities have a representative from at least one national pro-Israel organization.

We tracked 674 unique anti-Israel events at no fewer than 108 universities in the United States (and 25 universities in Canada). These incidents were confined to fewer than 3% of all U.S. colleges and most took place during a two-month period when 49 American campuses held Israel hate fests. For most of the year, few campuses had any anti-Israel activity.

One-third of the incidents occurred on just 10 campuses, 4 of which were from the University of California system. Several of these campuses, however, have very strong pro-Israel groups and cannot be characterized as hostile toward to Israel.

Despite fears of a growing boycott, divestment, sanctions (BDS) movement, our research found that fewer than 10 percent of the events were BDS-related. Two American universities did adopt divestment resolutions, but several others were defeated or deterred from being brought to the student government. Moreover, no U.S. university has divested from Israel and many presidents have made clear they would oppose such a move. BDS efforts are likely to continue, however, with a greater emphasis on selective boycotts.

Rather than weaken the relationship between U.S. colleges and Israel, the BDS movement has largely backfired and ties are stronger than ever and continue to grow.

A shocking percentage of Jewish students report experiencing anti-Semitism on campus and administrators have shown far less sensitivity to these incidents than persecution of other minorities or women on campus. Still, we see no evidence that Jewish students are afraid or that any campuses are hotbeds of anti-Semitism.

The most serious problem on campus is not from student activities, but from faculty. Faculty, unlike students have both power and presumed knowledge and therefore what they transmit in their classrooms carries far more weight than a random lecturer passing through campus or a student protest. Moreover, faculty often can influence the overall climate on campus. Though it is important to monitor and publicize academic malpractice, it is difficult to do anything about professors who abuse their positions for political purposes because they are allowed to hide behind the shield of academic freedom.

In the last decade, more emphasis has been given to building up the field of Israel Studies to offer students the opportunity to study with authorities on Israeli history, politics and culture. AICE has contributed to the growth of the field by sponsoring more than 100 visiting Israeli scholars at more than 50 universities, placing postdoctoral fellows in Israel Studies with mentors at major universities and building a cadre of young scholars to fill new positions through the Schusterman Scholar Award program.

AICE and The Israel Project conducted a survey of students in 2011 and found that most students know little about the Middle East and are unsure of their views. Support for Israel is lower than in the general public, but students do not support the Palestinians. For Jewish students, the more active they have been in Jewish and pro-Israel activities, the more pro-Israel their views. And, counter to the claims of people like Peter Beinart, young Jews are not disenchanted with Israel; in fact, they have a very strong commitment to the Jewish homeland.

While many activists would like to respond to every detractor on campus, we believe in a more sophisticated approach that bases the response on the level of threat. Furthermore, we believe local stakeholders are in the best position to determine the severity of the threat and the appropriate response.

The most serious impact detractors have had on campus has been to erode Israel's image through a repetition of attacks on Israel, which are reinforced by biased media coverage of the Middle East. The antidote is to create our own drumbeat of positive messages about Israel and Israelis. By adopting the Israel Calendar, for example, students can structure their programming around positive themes, set the campus agenda and help their classmates get a better understanding of Israel and its people.

This report concludes with a series of recommendations for pre-collegiate education, for the promotion of Israel Studies, for continued monitoring and research, for improvements to Birthright Israel, for holding universities accountable, and other steps to create a climate on campus where Jewish students feel comfortable and the discussion of Israel is civil, fair and incorporates rigorous scholarship.

The Broader Campus Context

For decades, the pro-Israel community has lamented how Israel has been treated on college campuses. As early as the 1950s, alarms were sounded about the danger to the future of the U.S.-Israel relationship created by detractors on campuses working to convince students that Israel is the root of all evil in the Middle East and that the United States should abandon its alliance with Israel. Eleanor Roosevelt noted in 1955 that “Arab propoganda on American college campuses across the country is beyond the wildest imagination.”¹

In the United States, at least, the college campus has long been the one place where anti-Israel activity and anti-Semitism have been tolerated. Today the internet has supplanted the campus as the most active source of both; however, colleges remain shockingly ambivalent toward the complaints of students and others about the hostility expressed by students, faculty and visitors toward Jews and their homeland.

While the Jewish community is now investing significant resources to fight the “new” delegitimization campaign, the truth is there is little new about it. Take this analysis from the **1969 edition** of AIPAC’s *Near East Report*:²

The new propoganda line attempts to stigmatize Israel as the embodiment of racism, colonialism and imperialism.... Arab campus propogandists are attempting to rework the image of Israel by repeated accusations of unspeakable brutality.

AIPAC warned:

To most American students, the Middle East is far away; it does not arouse their interest or passion. Nevertheless, the impact of Arab propoganda at these institutions cannot be minimized on the basis of the size of the available evidence. Dissenting activist minorities have weight and influence disproportionate to their size. Thus, Arab appeals which cater to the active left present a critical problem today. The Arabs have found a wave length....**Many Jewish students, startled by Arab attacks, are not equipped to enter into the controversy because they are not sufficiently versed in Middle East history to distinguish between truth and falsehood and to reply to the latter.**

Though left-wing politics on campus today is very different than what it was in the 1960s, campuses remain the most visible home of ideologues of the radical left in America. And to the extent these leftists are anti-Israel, universities offer them their highest profile platform.

Forty years ago, Arab propagandists also understood the need to be careful about how they attack Israel. Detractors, AIPAC noted, became “increasingly sensitive to charges of anti-Semitism” and they made an effort to “draw a distinction between anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism.”

The AIPAC analysis was sound and, in many ways, as applicable today as it was then. If anything, AIPAC may have underestimated the danger as Arab states have subsequently poured hundreds of millions of dollars into college campuses. Still, if the goal of the detractors was to inspire the next generation of leaders as well as the general public to turn against Israel and become avid supporters of the Palestinian cause, they have failed miserably. If we look at the most important measures of the health of the U.S.-Israel relationship – public opinion, bilateral relations, Congressional support and trade – it is evident that the U.S.-Israel alliance has only grown closer over the years. Still, the fear persists that the erosion of Israel’s image among young people may yet lead to changes in public attitudes and American sympathy toward Israel.

We see some indications of this in polls where younger people, liberals, women and Democrats are less supportive of Israel than other groups; however, the evidence, especially relating to age, is that views change with time and that young people are likely to have pro-Israel attitudes similar to those of the elders when they reach the same age.

As Prof. Sam Edelman has written, however, the detractors are emulating the approach of Nazi Jew-baiter and propagandist Julius Streicher, who would routinely publish libelous articles about German Jews in his newspaper *Der Sturmer*. Those libeled would often sue and win, but Streicher didn’t care because his attitude was that “something always sticks.” So he believed he won even if he lost.

The delegitimizers have adopted Nazi Julius Streicher’s strategy of throwing mud at Israel in the expectation that some of it will stick, and to some degree they have succeeded by creating a general sense that Israel is engaged in some wrongdoing and that its behavior toward Israeli Arabs and Palestinians is problematic.

Israel’s Principal Detractors

Today, some have argued that there is a well-funded and organized network promoting the delegitimization of Israel. The evidence we have found, however, is that this is not true and, if anything, the detractors have less money and are more disorganized than the pro-Arab groups of past decades, which were organized on a national basis and had the financial and political backing of the Arab League. Again, consider the AIPAC report of 1969:

The principal Arab group operating on American college campuses today is the Organization of Arab Students (OAS). It has 1,000 national members who pay \$7.00 a year to the national organization, which has its headquarters on Broadway in New York. Some 7,000 more belong to the 100 chapters in the United States and Canada....The Arab governments were quick to realize the value of a student organization supporting Arab goals and they contributed funds, speakers, literature and indoctrination. The primary mission of OAS is to influence U.S. opinion.

Today, the efforts are usually led by a handful of students, are poorly organized, and take place haphazardly on a small percentage of America's campuses. The Arab students are not organized as they were in the past and do not have government backing. The most prevalent anti-Israel groups today are the Muslim Students Association (MSA) and Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP).

The MSAs present an interesting case study. Affiliated with Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood, the MSA, institutionally, has historically been hostile toward Israel and Jews. These groups were more monolithic in the past, however, and now are much more idiosyncratic from campus to campus. While radical Muslim students (most Muslims on campus don't join the MSA) have long been leading detractors on campuses around the country, we found their involvement in anti-Israel activities far less prevalent in 2011-12 than in the past. This may be in part related to events at UC Irvine where the MSA held virulently anti-Israel events over a period of several years and a group of MSA members disrupted a speech by Israeli Ambassador Michael Oren in 2010. Eleven of the students involved were subsequently arrested and charged with one misdemeanor count of conspiracy to disturb a meeting and one misdemeanor count of disturbing a meeting. Ten were convicted and sentenced to three years' probation and ordered to complete 56 hours of community service. At the same time, the MSA was briefly suspended on the UCI campus.

Though the vigorous action taken against the MSA may have deterred other campus groups from engaging in similar behavior, the main reason MSAs seemed to be less involved in anti-Israel activities was that they were directing their attention more inward and focused on Islam.

Two other factors have influenced the MSA's behavior. One is the difference in leadership from campus to campus. On some campuses, especially those where the MSA's have leaders from outside the Middle East, relations with Jewish student groups are often positive. Muslim organizations in the U.S. are also undergoing a crisis prompted by the empowerment of women who reject the male-dominated interpretations of Islamic practice and political control over institutions such as MSAs. At the University of Florida, MSA dissolved and a more inclusive "Islam on Campus" group was formed with many women involved. Jewish students have had more friendly relations with this group than with the former MSA.

Jewish students across the country are constantly seeking out relationships with Muslim students in an effort to build personal relationships and mutual understanding with mixed results. Interestingly, this mirrors the situation in Israel where Israeli Jews typically are the instigators of coexistence programs with Israeli Arabs.

The Leading Detractors

The SJP has become the dominant anti-Israel voice on most of the 133 U.S. campuses where it has a presence. In 2011, the group held its first national conference, but it remains a locally-based group. Though the number of campuses where SJP has chapters may sound impressive, the truth is that most have few members, limited resources and are largely inactive. As described below, exceptions exist on a number of campuses where SJPs have promoted BDS campaigns, brought anti-Israel speakers and films to campus, created a negative environment for Jewish students and were responsible for an uncivil discourse about Israel.

The role of Jews in the SJPs is not surprising. Jewish students are often among the vocal critics of Israel on campus, but they generally operated in the past within Jewish organizations that occasionally collaborated with the other detractors. Today, there are some anti-Israel Jewish organizations, notably Jewish Voices for Peace (which has only about 5 campus chapters), but anti-Israel Jews are more likely to join with other detractors in the SJP.

Another important distinction between Israel's detractors and the pro-Israel groups is that the latter are backed by professional organizations whereas the former are student-led with little or no professional assistance. In addition, though they may be present on a large number of campuses, we're finding that many of these groups are not active, have few members, and little or no funding.

Altogether, one or more anti-Israel student groups (MSA, SJP or JVP) have a presence at approximately 330 universities. Coincidentally, this figure is nearly the same as the number of Hillels (363). In addition to Hillel, a total of 273 universities have a representative from at least one national pro-Israel organization (e.g., AICE, AIPAC, SPME, The David Project, StandWithUs, CUFI, or Hasbara Fellowships).ⁱ

A distinguishing feature of the Students for Justice in Palestine groups is that Jews are often members and sometimes even leaders, creating the ironic situation that today the most virulent anti-Israel campus groups use Jews to claim to be representative of Jewish opinion.



ⁱ We did not include J Street, which now claims to have nearly 40 chapters, in either category.

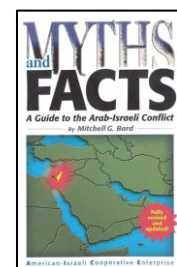
At 77 universities (see Appendix 1), there is at least one anti-Israel group and no pro-Israel organization or Hillel presence. Of those 77 universities, most have an MSA as their only "anti-Israel" group (as noted earlier, in the case of MSA, many did not engage in anti-Israel activity last year). Many of these are small colleges, some are community colleges and several are private Christian colleges. Still, the mere presence of an SJP or MSA does not mean the campus has a problem. In fact, Benedictine University is the only school in this group that had more than five anti-Israel events.

The Impact of the International Context

Israel's detractors on campus have always had a problem because of the fractured nature of the Arab/Muslim world. The rivalries among the different countries often played out on campus. This is true today as well, in particular with regard to the split between Hamas and Fatah. Some student groups support one or the other and have tense relations as a result. In 2011, when the Palestinians attempted to achieve a unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) recognizing "Palestine" at the UN, the expectation was that the SJPs and MSAs would launch campus campaigns in support of the initiative. Instead, the MSAs ignored it, apparently because it coincided with the observance of Ramadan, and Muslim students focused their attention inward on theology. The SJPs, meanwhile, were deeply divided and the more radical students actually opposed the UDI in part out of concern that it would undermine the demand that Palestinian refugees be allowed to live in Israel.

Israel's detractors also had more difficulty attracting attention given the lower profile of the Palestinian issue internationally. After the UDI campaign fizzled, almost all attention was on the turmoil in the Arab world and the nuclear threat posed by Iran. Interestingly, though hardly surprising, pro-Arab and human rights groups on campus did not rally to support democracy in Egypt, protest the slaughter in Syria or focus on issues besides Israel. The apathy of students in general, as well as specifically toward the Palestinian issue, also probably contributed to the calm on all but a handful of campuses.

One other factor has been the growth and increased activity of pro-Israel groups on campus, several of which were founded in response to the perception that campuses were on fire with anti-Israel sentiment during the second intifada. It was at this time, for example, that AICE was asked to publish a new edition of *Myths and Facts*, because it was seen as a vital resource for students needing answers to the criticism of Israel they were hearing again on campus.

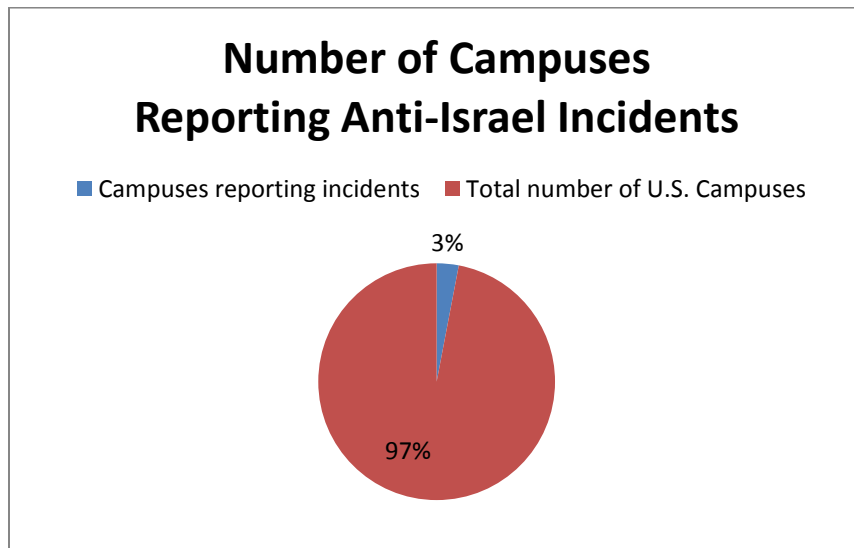


Campus Incidents in 2011-2012

AICE closely monitored the activities of Israel's detractors and maintained a calendar of their events. Though it may not reflect everything that occurred on campus in 2011-12 (for example, tabling by anti-Israel groups on campus), we believe the following data accurately describes the majority of what took place. In some cases, gross numbers may look alarming, but when placed

in the broader context we believe the situation was disturbing but not as grave as some people have suggested.³

First, it is important to keep in mind that the United States has approximately 4,000 colleges and universities. We tracked 674 unique anti-Israel events at no fewer than 108 universities in the United States (and 25 universities in Canada). At first blush, this does indeed sound problematic, but consider that the number of affected campuses represent less than 3% of the total. Thus, we did not hear of any incidents on more than 97% of U.S. campuses.



The raw figures appear to indicate that each of the 108 campuses had an average or more than 6 incidents. That is actually not the case as we can see when we look at the data further. Nearly 45% of the anti-Israel events occurred in February and March when many campuses hold their Palestinian Awareness Weeks and Israel hate fests. Furthermore, those events are concentrated on a handful of campuses. In 2011-12, 49 universities in the U.S., and 17 universities in Canada, put on these often weeklong attacks on Israel. This means about 300 of the 674 anti-Israel events occurred on 66 campuses (an average of 5 per campus) in a concentrated period of a week or two, with little or no anti-Israel incidents during the other 7½ months of the academic year. Incidentally, while some of the themes are different, these events are not new either; AIPAC noted in 1969 that “Palestine Weeks” had already become “standard propaganda fare on campus for several years.”

If a campus has a week of anti-Israel events, does that make it a hostile campus? From the reports we received from most of these campuses, the hate weeks were largely ignored. On some campuses they have become so regular that they no longer attract any attention. For example, a delegation of young Israelis sent to speak on campuses happened to be at Berkeley the day the anti-Israel students put a wall up on campus. The 19 Israelis outnumbered the detractors at the wall. When asked if any other students were paying attention to the wall or the discussion, one of the Israelis observed that none of the other students showed any interest. This, again, is consistent with our poll data and observations. We don't believe that students see a wall or some other form of guerrilla theater and stop and say, "Gee, now I understand what those terrible Israelis are doing to the Palestinians." Students are more likely to ask why protestors are getting in their way of going to class.

The SJP at Florida Atlantic University only has about eight members, but they are active and loud. In 2012, they delivered mock eviction notices to more than 200 students in the dorms to "show residents how Palestinians experience eviction from their homes by the Israeli government." The anger generated by their action gave SJP media attention, but the plan ultimately backfired with the administration condemning this intimidation tactic.

Based on experience, campus professionals advise students to ignore many anti-Israel events because they are ineffective. They also do not want to give the detractors the publicity they seek; consequently, many of the anti-Israel events transpire unnoticed. When pro-Israel students or outsiders protest these events they often attract notoriety and allow the detractors to disseminate their message to a broader audience.

In the past, efforts were made to counter or in some way respond to the hate weeks, but given the limited exposure they get, and the few students who participate, most campuses now focus on pro-Israel programming unrelated to these events. In fact, for the last three years, a number of campuses (75 in North America in 2011-12) have staged Israel Peace Weeks and drawn large crowds for programs with a positive message about Israel and the promotion of peace, a stark contrast to the negative, vitriol-filled events of the detractors.

In fact, pro-Israel events and conferences go on throughout the year and typically have much higher attendance than the anti-Israel events. Participation in hate weeks and other anti-Israel events pales in comparison, for example, to the more than 1,000 students who attend AIPAC's annual policy conference, which now attracts not only Jewish student leaders but many non-Jews, including dozens of student body presidents.

Anti-Israel speakers also seem to have little or no impact and reach few students. The most frequently invited speaker last year was probably Norman Finkelstein and he appeared on just 16 campuses. Most of the 385 lectures we tracked were given by students, professors, or relative unknowns. Often, a single lecture or film is the only anti-Israel manifestation on a campus. Even in the cases of the handful of campuses with multiple events, the incidents represent a small part

of the school calendar. Some of the usual suspects regularly tour campuses spouting their venom, and have been doing so for years, but there's no evidence they've had the slightest impact on the U.S.-Israel relationship, though it is possible they may have influenced individual students who graduated and became critics of Israel in journalism, the State Department or other professions.

The incidents we tracked were concentrated not only in time but geography. One-third of the incidents (225) occurred on just 10 campuses, so the other two-thirds (449) were spread across 98. Of those top 10 campuses, 4 were from the University of California system.

Universities with the most anti-Israel events for 2011-2012

- 1) University of New Mexico: 39
- 2) Harvard: 34
- 3) UCLA/UC Berkeley: 26
- 4) Florida State University: 18
- 5) University of Maryland: 18
- 6) University of Pittsburgh: 17
- 7) Columbia University: 16
- 8) UC San Diego: 16
- 9) UC Riverside: 15

Some of the schools that had multiple anti-Israel events, such as UCLA and Berkeley, are large and diverse and have always had strong groups of detractors. Does this mean that those campuses that had the most incidents are hostile toward Israel? If we look beyond the numbers, for most, the answer is certainly no. UCLA and Maryland, for example, are campuses with very large Jewish student populations and are known for having strong pro-Israel student groups. Berkeley alone has 13 Jewish student organizations representing a range of political and cultural interests.

The statistics are also misleading because they don't take into account the positive programming that takes place across the country or the impact of the relatively new Israel Studies programs at campuses such as UCLA and Maryland. For example, since the establishment of its program in

Israel Studies roughly two years ago, Berkeley has had more programs about Israel (other than those attacking Israel) than were held in perhaps the entire history of the university.

Often, if an event or multiple events attract publicity (which often is stimulated by pro-Israel advocates' responses), a campus is tarred as hostile to Israel or even anti-Semitic. This is certainly what happened at UC Irvine following the protests against Ambassador Oren and other anti-Israel events. Campuses are dynamic, however, and change as students come and go and new policies and programs are implemented. At UCI, for example, the last year was very quiet and the campus environment changed



dramatically, in part because the MSA was chastened by the arrest of the Oren protestors, in part because of the pro-Israel advocacy of students and the support of the community and, in part, because of the presence of a Schusterman Visiting Israeli Professor. Subsequently, the chancellor of UCI went to Israel and signed a series of agreements with Israeli universities that strengthened UCI's ties with Israel, another example of how the detractors' efforts have often backfired. In 2012-13, UCI will host a Schusterman Visiting Israeli Professor, a Schusterman Visiting Postdoctoral Fellow in Israel Studies and a Schusterman Visiting Artist.

Despite fears of a growing BDS movement, our research found that fewer than 10 percent of the events were BDS-related. It is possible that this is an underestimate because some events that may have advocated BDS did not say so explicitly in the description of their events; nevertheless, 57 BDS-related events (most of which were concentrated during the Israel hate weeks) do not reflect a widespread campaign across the country.

Furthermore, the overall number of incidents does not reflect a powerful, organized, well-funded network. On the contrary, most of the events are ad hoc, with limited funding that appears to come primarily from student funds rather than outside sources involved in the global delegitimization campaign. Most of the speakers also appear for small honoraria (usually about \$500 compared to thousands paid to top pro-Israel speakers) that make it possible for student groups to host them with limited budgets.

Anti-Semitism on Campus

Criticism of Israel on campus is as legitimate as criticism of Israel off campus; however, the same tests apply in determining whether the critic has crossed the line and become anti-Semitic.

When the denigration becomes so severe that it creates a hostile environment for Jewish students, it has reached an unacceptable level. Past examples include expressions of support for terrorism, a call for the end of the Jewish state and the evocation of Nazi analogies.

The AICE/TIP survey found a shocking 78% of Jewish students reported witnessing (66%) or personally being subjected (46%) to anti-Semitism. We found this figure inconsistent with what is reported from the campuses. In addition, the Institute for Jewish & Community Research

(IJCR) survey found that 43% of Jewish students perceive anti-Semitism as a problem on campus. This is significantly lower, but still a disturbing figure. The IJCR study noted only 11% of non-Jewish students believed that anti-Semitism was a problem. When IJCR asked more specifically about their anti-Semitic experience, the highest percentage -- 69% -- said that they had heard offensive jokes, 63% said they heard comments about Jewish greed, 51% said they heard general derogatory remarks and 43% reported general anti-Semitism. Interestingly, none of these responses suggested that physical attacks on Jews or verbal criticism of Israel were a problem. It is also questionable whether one could define students who hear an offensive joke or comment as being subject to a hostile environment unless such incidents are ongoing.

Still, a double-standard has long existed on campus in the treatment of attacks on Jews and Israel and those on other campus minorities. Universities have a zero tolerance policy toward any activities that offend gays, Hispanics, African Americans or women. Failure by administrators to take quick action against offenders typically provokes protests that do not end until the offended minority is placated. In the case of Jews, however, administrators have been far more reticent to act, and since Jews are also less likely to mount protests in the way other minorities do, the university often feels no pressure to take measures against those targeting Jews.

In the last two years, this has changed somewhat as Jewish students have begun to speak out more against the intolerance they experience on campus and outside organizations and donors have started to insist on action. The fight for the rights of Jewish students was also bolstered by the decision in October 2010 by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR) to extend the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to protect Jewish students from harassment, intimidation and discrimination at federally funded schools.

The OCR has several pending investigations but has not yet taken action against any universities for tolerating a climate hostile to Jews. In truth, Jews at very few schools report that they feel so uncomfortable with their surroundings. The legal standard applied by the OCR, however, is not confined to the overall campus environment. If a Jewish student(s) were to be subjected to harassment, for example, in a laboratory, classroom, dormitory or other situation on campus, there may grounds for a complaint. If you look at the top 10 schools with the most anti-Israel incidents last year, it is unlikely any would meet the OCR standard for triggering an investigation of the environment on the entire campus; in fact, several of the schools on this list have very active pro-Israel groups and academic programs in Israel Studies. However, the individual incidents may be actionable if they were found to occur in a hostile environment.

“Apartheid walls” and other guerilla theater appeared on a handful of campuses, and a few especially ugly incidents (notably a death threat in 2010 against one pro-Israel activist at Hampshire College who contacted AICE for help) occurred over the last couple of years, but most campuses have not reported any anti-Israel activity whatsoever. Rather than hotbeds of anti-Semitism, if anything, universities are bastions of apathy. The campuses where Jewish students reported discomfort tended to be small liberal arts schools. For example, students have

complained about conditions at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana (Jewish enrollment is approximately 130 of 1,200 students) and Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington (Jewish enrollment is approximately 90 out of 4,500 undergraduates).

Our findings of problems at UC schools was reinforced by a July 2012 report for the UC President’s Advisory Council on Campus Climate, Culture, and Inclusion, which summarized the situation on UC campuses, but also reflects the situation at several other campuses around the country.⁴ The report said Jewish students do not feel physically unsafe; however, “Jewish students are confronting significant and difficult climate issues as a result of activities on campus which focus specifically on Israel, its right to exist and its treatment of Palestinians. The anti-Zionism and Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) movements and other manifestations of anti-Israel sentiment and activity create significant issues through themes and language which portray Israel and, many times, Jews in ways which project hostility, engender a feeling of isolation and undermine Jewish students’ sense of belonging and engagement with outside communities.”

The UC report noted that “Jewish students at all campuses were clear that the most pervasive negative issue impacting their daily experiences on campus were intergroup challenges related to political disagreements about the State of Israel and Palestine. Students indicated that while generally the campuses are thriving environments supportive of Jewish student life, fear and intimidation were an annual occurrence around student events such as Palestinian and Israel/Jewish awareness and activism weeks.”

Jewish students do not feel physically unsafe; however, “Jewish students are confronting significant and difficult climate issues as a result of activities on campus which focus specifically on Israel, its right to exist and its treatment of Palestinians.”

According to the UC report: “Most often students expressed the perception of a double standard, insensitivity, and a lack of understanding on the part of faculty and administrators regarding the depth of what Jewish students experience as a result of a movement that is directed at the Jewish state using imagery and accusations evocative of historical campaigns against the Jews.”

Jewish students who are interested in dialogue often find themselves silenced. The UC report gave examples of a student who was told the Star of David is a symbol of hate; another who had served in the IDF was called a “baby killer” and a third who said that it was impossible to have a discussion with classmates who believed that Israel has no right to exist.

Shortly after the report was released, the California State Assembly adopted a non-binding resolution asking campus leaders to take action to address the anti-Semitism on their campuses. "California schools need to recognize that anti-Semitism is still a very real issue on college campuses around the state -- it did not disappear with the end of World War II," said resolution sponsor Linda Halderman. "This is a problem requiring serious attention on both a campus and system-wide basis. No student should be victimized on campus because he or she practices the Jewish faith." The resolution called on California universities "to take additional actions to confront anti-Semitism on its campuses, with due respect to the First Amendment..." It also says that campaigns to force the UC system to divest from Israel are anti-Semitic, and praised university leaders for their refusal to consider it.⁵



Both the UC report and the Assembly resolution provoked protests from groups that claimed that free speech and academic freedom would be endangered if the recommendations of the report and resolution were adopted. Not surprisingly, many of the most vocal opponents were groups that regularly engage in the behavior that provoked these recommendations.

The BDS Campaign

Pro-Israel groups prepared in 2011-12 for a possible onslaught of student government resolutions calling for divestment from Israeli companies or U.S. companies doing business with Israel. Calls for divestment first began to intensify in 2002 after British academics launched an effort to boycott Israel. This came on the heels of the 2001 Israel-bashing UN conference in Durban, South Africa, which established an action plan—the "Durban Strategy"—promoting "a policy of complete and total isolation of Israel... the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions and embargoes, and the full cessation of all links (diplomatic, economic, social, aid, military cooperation and training) between all states and Israel."


By October 2002, more than 50 campuses were circulating divestment petitions. "Profoundly anti-Israel views are increasingly finding support in progressive intellectual communities," said Harvard president Larry Summers. "Serious and thoughtful people are advocating and taking actions that are anti-Semitic in their effect, if not their intent."⁶

Ten years later, a handful of divestment resolutions were introduced; however, most BDS efforts were deterred by a record of failure that was due in large measure to the determined efforts of the pro-Israel community. A good example was UC San Diego where SJP tried for a fourth straight year to pass a resolution calling on the school to divest itself of any holdings in General Electric and Northrop Grumman. Hillel worked closely with students from the pro-Israel student group, Tritons for Israel, who lobbied the student government and defeated the resolution.

According to a May 2011 study by the *Forward*, the supposedly mighty (BDS) network managed to mount boycott or divestment campaigns on a total of just 14 campuses since 2005.⁷

In 2011-12, BDS supporters did succeed, however, in convincing student governments to adopt divestment bills at Arizona State University (a surprise initiative put forward on the last day of school, which the incoming student body president said he would ignore) and the University of Massachusetts in the U.S., as well as the University of Regina and Carleton University in Canada. These are not the first such resolutions to be adopted, but like previous resolutions these will have no practical effect as the administrations at the four universities have indicated they will not act on them. To illustrate how pitiful BDS efforts have become, some of their most visible campaigns involved failed efforts to ban Israeli-made hummus from DePaul and Princeton.

In fact, not a single university has divested from Israel. Again, this is partly a testament to administrators who understand the anti-Semitic implications of singling Israel out for opprobrium as well as the increased vigilance and quick response of the pro-Israel community, which has not allowed the delegitimizers any meaningful victories on which to build momentum.



The anti-Israel activists are failing due to their unconvincing arguments, the distaste of students for their militant tactics, their hypocrisy in singling Israel out for opprobrium, and their lack of interest in peace.

One reason the campus campaign against Israel is so unsuccessful is that many of the leaders are Jews who represent no one but themselves. Jews have sought to undermine Israel from the days preceding partition so the phenomenon is not new. Then as now, they serve primarily as “useful idiots” to Israel’s enemies who exploit them to say, “Look, even Jews agree with us.” Most Jews do not support these radical views, however, as reflected by a statement opposing the BDS movement signed by 61 international Jewish organizations representing the broad spectrum of the community (see Appendix 2).

While detractors often trot out people like Bishop Desmond Tutu to try to give some moral weight to the castigation of Israel, others have launched devastating critiques of Tutu and other prominent figures that attack Israel. For example, Jewish studies faculty at Michigan State wrote, “Archbishop Tutu’s contemporary position on Israel, which rests on a false analysis of the Israel-Palestinian conflict, is antagonistic to academic freedom and the values of the university, and is counterproductive in the search for an end to occupation and the establishment of peace.”⁸ This letter and other responses can be found in the BDS Cookbook (Stopbds.com). The Cookbook also has a copy of the letter circulated by Scholars for Peace in the Middle East signed by 41 Nobel laureates opposing BDS.⁹

The Network Defeating the Non-Network

The BDS campaign has backfired because it has failed to achieve its goals while simultaneously galvanizing the pro-Israel community. The delegitimization effort has stimulated millions of dollars of new investment in making Israel's case on and off campus. It is the pro-Israel students who are now being better trained, organized and funded. For example, the BDS Cookbook (Stopbds.com) was created to provide students with recipes for taking proactive measures to create a pro-Israel atmosphere on campus as well as a guide for preempting and defeating BDS measures and "Master Chefs" were sent to help teach students how to effectively use the Cookbook's recipes.

The divestment movement at Berkeley – which failed – was a catalyst for the creation of a new academic program in Israel Studies that is already changing the atmosphere on that campus by introducing scholarship about Israel to a place long considered ground zero for anti-Israel activity. This is just one of a number of new academic programs being created to give students an opportunity to study Israel's politics, history and culture. Rather



than being forced to view Israel solely through the prism of the Arab-Israeli conflict, being limited to spoon-fed propaganda by anti-Israel faculty, and being misinformed by distorted media reporting, Israel Studies programs are presenting Israel in the broad, contextual way other countries are studied.

As noted above, fewer than 10 percent of anti-Israel events on campus were BDS-related and, more important, while these occasional divestment fights attract attention, many universities continue to quietly strengthen their ties with Israeli researchers and universities. In fact, rather than distancing from Israel, universities are reaffirming their commitment to invest in Israel and broadening academic exchanges with Israel, which include joint research projects by Israeli and American scholars at more than 100 universities each year.

The Fight Continues

One reason the BDS effort did not spread was because the pro-Israel community invested in preparing students to counter delegitimization and students proved they could fight and defeat BDS proponents. Students reject the BDS movement and show no signs of supporting the delegitimization campaign against Israel. What we do see, reflected in the poll data presented below, however, is the impact of the repetition of anti-Israel attacks.

Unfortunately, the BDS threat is not likely to disappear; instead, it may take a different form in an effort to seem more palatable to students. Rather than target Israel as a whole, we have indications the campaign may shift its focus to selective boycotts against companies doing

business in the territories or goods from settlements. The detractors have been aided by people like Peter Beinart and some Israelis who oppose settlements and have proposed such selective boycotts. The adoption of even limited sanctions against Israel will allow the activists to claim victory and argue that they have the support of students. This is why it is vital to oppose selective boycotts by even well-meaning Jews because their positions are misused by Israel's enemies whose interest is not the evacuation of settlements but the destruction of Israel.

Politicization of the Classroom by Faculty

It has become increasingly apparent in the last decade (though the AIPAC report noted faculty problems decades ago) that the most serious problem faced on campus is not from student activities, but from faculty. While the pro-Israel community has focused on incidents outside the classroom, anti-Israel faculty have assumed dominant roles in Middle East studies departments throughout the country. These professors, along with like-minded faculty in other disciplines, habitually abuse their academic freedom and have turned their classrooms into bully pulpits to advance the Arab lobby agenda.

Students come and go and when a particular detractor graduates the climate outside the campus often changes dramatically. By contrast, tenured professors are like Supreme Court justices who are permanent fixtures who can poison a campus atmosphere. Faculty, unlike students have both power and presumed knowledge and therefore what they transmit in their classrooms carries far more weight than a random lecturer passing through campus or a student protest.

Israel is not the only political issue on campus and the attitudes toward the Jewish state are often a reflection of the broader ideological characteristics of many faculties, which are often heavily influenced by postmodernism, relativism and communism. Many senior faculty today are products of the 1960s who have never grown out of their earlier radical views. On a visit to the University of Vermont a few years ago students told AICE's Executive Director Mitchell Bard that their campus was the Berkeley of the East. Having gone to Berkeley, Dr. Bard was curious what this meant. They said the campus was very anti-Israel. "Does the campus have many Arab students," Bard asked. "No, they replied, the problem is the Marxists."

On many campuses, the problem is simply that few courses are offered related to Israel and even fewer professors are qualified to teach them. A study of the top 17 political science departments, for example, found that six had no tenured or tenure track faculty members with a specialty in the Middle East and only five had a faculty member whose principal specialization was the Middle East. Five of the 17 departments offered no courses on the Middle East and no department offered more than four courses. The situation is even worse when you look more

specifically at courses related to Israel across all departments. A study in 2006 found that 53% of the major universities offered zero courses on Israel and 77 percent offered zero or one. Moreover, few Jewish professors, who were assumed to be pro-Israel, actually were politically engaged, and those who were tended to be unsympathetic.¹⁰

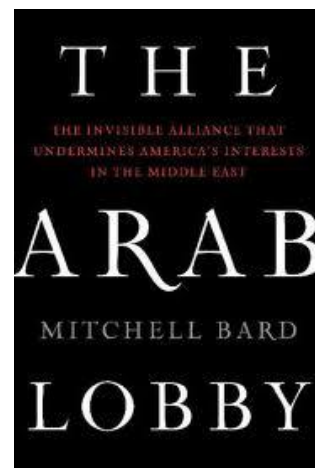
As Mitchell Bard explained in *The Arab Lobby*,¹¹ Universities were not always anti-Israel propaganda machines. Originally, Middle East scholars, or “orientalists” as they were often called, were dispassionate scholars who immersed themselves in the history and culture of the region and studied original texts written in the languages of the region.” The situation began to change in the late 1960s, however when Middle East studies professors began to reject Jewish historical and religious claims to the land of Israel and characterized early Zionist settlement as immoral. From this point on, many professors no longer subscribed to the tradition of keeping their personal views out of the classroom and academic writing and began to increasingly use both to advance political agendas.

Princeton’s Bernard Lewis observed that the study of Islam and Islamic values achieved a level of immunity from criticism that “Christianity has lost and Judaism never had.” Middle East studies programs, he said, have been distorted by “a degree of thought control and limitations of freedom of expression without parallel in the Western world since the 18th century.”

The Gulf Arabs, in particular, recognized the value of using American universities for their own purposes. Colonel William Eddy, an American intelligence operative, Aramco adviser and State Department representative to Saudi Arabia reported that the oil consortium ARAMCO started funding programs as early as the 1950s. In 1956, he wrote to his son:

ARAMCO contributes to institutions like Princeton, the Middle East Institute, at [sic] Washington, and the American University of Beirut not only because these centers prepare future employees, but because they also equip men to come out to the Near East in the Foreign Service, or in teaching or in other capacities, which strengthens the small band of Americans who know the Arabs and understand them.

Arab governments and individuals began to make large gifts to universities to create chairs and centers in Arab, Middle Eastern and Islamic studies starting in the mid-70s. That funding grew exponentially following 9/11 as Arab states have invested nearly \$300 million in American universities. While Jewish donors have little or no control over who a university hires with their donations, and history has shown that some schools choose professors whose views are not consistent with the pro-Israel views of the investors, Arab donors have little to worry about. They know the positions they fund will be given to academics who share their world view and



who invariably are anti-Israel and content to present a one-sided, sanitized version of Islamic and Middle Eastern history.

“Unlike Arab governments, Israel does not fund chairs or centers in the United States,” Bard noted in *The Arab Lobby*. “Some pro-Israel philanthropists do invest in academic positions, but the emphasis is on academic scholarship and credibility rather than politics, and visiting Israeli professors are the first to say they are not interested in being advocates for Israel. Even those who chafe at the politicization of the campus and oppose the demonization of Israel prefer to cling to an idealized Ivory Tower standard of scholarly detachment.”

One reason that our survey showed little evidence of bias in the classroom may be because students rarely complain. They fear that speaking out could negatively impact their grades and their careers. A few years ago, the Israel on Campus Coalition created a hotline for students to report problems in their classrooms, but it was shut down after it became apparent no students were using it. The UC report on the state of those campuses, however, found that students raised questions about faculty members’ objectivity regarding the Arab-Israeli conflict and described cases of “overt hostility toward Jewish or other students who try to express contrary viewpoints on the subject.”

According to the report:

One of the most significant issues expressed by Jewish students, faculty and community members is their difficulty with sponsorship by university departments, campus organizations and others of events which are clearly designed to promote themes which are biased and unbalanced in their portrayal of Zionism and Israel.

These problems are not unique to the UC system and are frequent sources of complaints about Middle East programs around the country.

Usually, we only hear of these biases when political extremists publish their views in mainstream and social media or participate in public forums. Other faculty are typically reluctant to take them to task for academic malpractice because the offending party immediately retreats behind the shield of academic freedom, claims to be a victim and castigates the critics as McCarthyites.

Not only have Israel’s faculty detractors failed to find support for a boycott, but academic cooperation between American and Israeli scholars has grown and flourished. Still, dozens of professors support BDS and often bolster the efforts of students.

Though they often complain of being silenced by “smear campaigns,” none of the professors engaged in slandering Israel are prevented from speaking. In fact, many are tenured and received

lifetime employment despite controversies surrounding their work, and are regularly invited to lecture at campuses around the world. Many of these same professors, however, are the ones calling for the boycotting of Israeli universities and the silencing of Israeli colleagues.

In addition to the immediate impact politicized faculty may have on college students, they may have an even more nefarious impact on teachers and students at the pre-collegiate level. Many of these professors belong to Middle East Studies Centers such as those at Harvard and Georgetown, which have extensive outreach programs that allow them to spread their versions of Middle East affairs to a much larger population.

In Great Britain, faculty members have been very public advocates for the Palestinians and critics of Israel. Their union has called for an academic boycott of Israel. In 2007, more than 400 American university presidents denounced the British boycott in a statement that said, “In seeking to quarantine Israeli universities and scholars, this vote threatens every university committed to fostering scholarly and cultural exchanges that lead to enlightenment, empathy, and a much-needed international marketplace of ideas.”¹² In January 2009, U.S. faculty circulated a boycott petition but the movement never gained any serious support.

As the problem of academic malpractice has received more publicity, professors have circled their wagons and cloaked themselves in the mantle of academic freedom. In effect, though, they have taken the “academic” out of “academic freedom.” No one questions the right of a professor to stand across the street from campus and say whatever they want; however, what they say on campus is presumed to have some scholarly basis, but this fundamental principle has been lost in the bunker mentality that has evolved among faculty.

Furthermore, faculty members arrogate the right to determine what constitutes acceptable speech – the proverbial wolves guarding the hen house. They reject the notion that donors, citizens, legislators, students and others have any say over what may be said or taught on college campuses.

The nonprofit American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise (AICE) has brought more than 100 visiting Israeli professors to teach at more than 50 universities, including many of the top 50.

Only a handful of exceptions exist in which tenured faculty malfeasance can actually be punished in some way. Typically, a faculty member would have to offend one of the protected minority groups on campus, engage in sexual misbehavior or commit a crime.

Given the lack of accountability, and the inability to take action against faculty who commit academic malpractice, the best alternative to change the climate on campus and counter politics and propaganda inside and outside the classroom is to offer students an alternative, scholarly education about Israel.

Just as philanthropists helped fund the creation and growth of Jewish Studies, a small number of generous individuals and foundations have understood the importance of classroom education and helped fuel the development of Israel Studies.

AICE's visiting Israeli scholars have been a catalyst for the creation of many new chairs, programs and centers in Israel Studies, including those at UCLA, Berkeley, Ohio State, Maryland, San Francisco State, and American University. Other programs have been established at Brandeis, NYU, Yeshiva University, Wisconsin, Michigan State and Emory. Still, many of America's elite schools either have critics of Israel teach courses or no permanent scholars educating students about Israel.

As noted earlier, in 2006, 53% of the leading universities had zero courses on Israel and 77% had zero or one. Four years later, after the creation of some of the new centers, the growth of the Brandeis Summer Institute (which trains faculty to teach courses on Israel) and the expansion of AICE's visiting scholar program, a Brandeis study found a 69% growth in courses that focus specifically on Israel in the same 246 institutions surveyed earlier.¹³

Furthermore, while Middle East Studies programs, with few exceptions, have become motivated more by ideology and politics to Israel's detriment, other departments are very hospitable to Israel. For example, business schools, law schools and scientists who focus on non-political research have robust relations with Israel, hosting Israeli scholars and engaging in collaborative research.

To give just two examples of business-related programs, the University of Maryland's Dingman Center for Entrepreneurship runs a 10-week fellowship program for full-time MBA students to work with the Technion Seed Incubator. The U.S. and Israeli students work together to develop a feasibility study and commercialization plan for Technion-owned intellectual property. The Darden School of Business at the University of Virginia runs a three-week course that spends half the time in Israel meeting with government officials and industry leaders and working on projects with Israeli startup companies. The class was so popular it had to be limited to 30 students, making it one of the top two most popular global field trips in Darden. In 2011, the class worked on six different projects in the areas of clean tech, biotech, and high-tech.

In addition, U.S.-Israel binational foundations support basic science (BSF) and agricultural research (BARD), and hundreds of thousands of dollars flow into dozens of universities each year for joint projects that benefit both countries and often lead to discoveries and innovations

that benefit the world.

What Do Students Think?

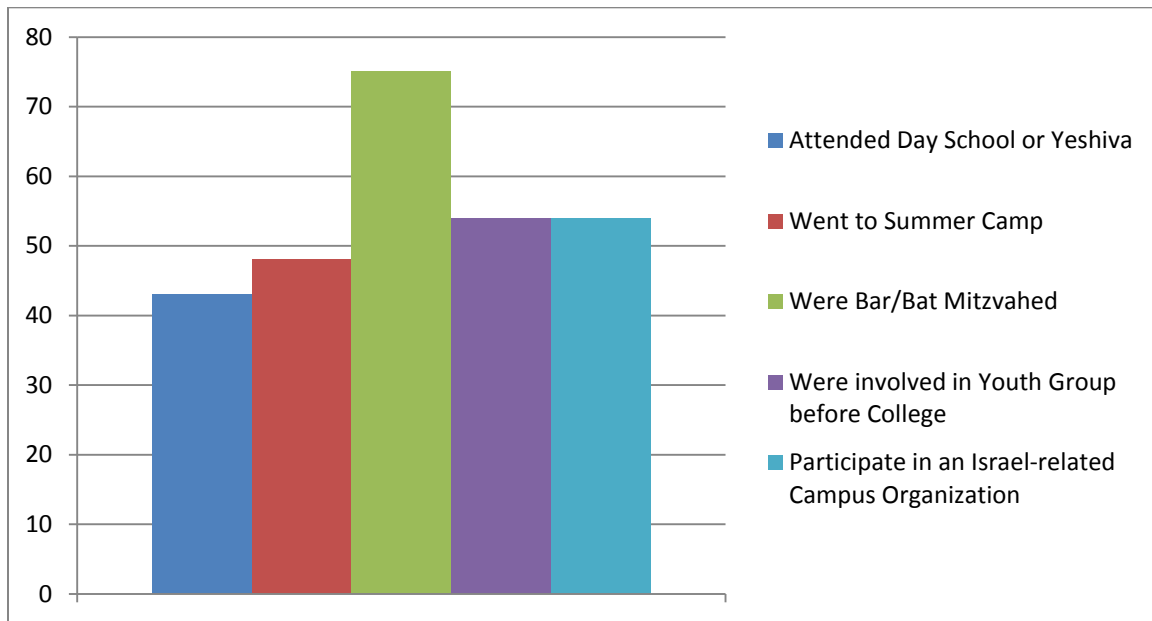
On behalf of AICE and The Israel Project, Public Opinion Strategies conducted a nationwide survey of 800 college students. The survey was administered online and was conducted October 28-November 8, 2011. The survey has a margin of error of +3.46%. In addition, POS conducted an oversample of 400 Jewish college students, for October 28- November 20, 2011. The margin of error is +4.9%

One general finding is that most students have little knowledge and are unsure about Middle East questions. Even given choices, on most issues about one-third or more would say they didn't know or were unsure of the answer. Another characteristic of students is they are often reluctant to choose sides and therefore will often choose "both" or "neither" when asked to pick between the Israeli and Palestinian positions.

Jewish Experience Makes a Big Difference

Not surprisingly, on every question, the Jewish students who had gone to a Jewish school or camp, were involved in Jewish youth groups, had a Bar/Bat Mitzvah, were involved in a campus organization or went to Israel were more pro-Israel.

- 43% attended a day school or yeshiva.
- 48% went to summer camp.
- 75% were Bar/Bat Mitzvahed.
- 54% were involved in youth group before college.
- 54% of Jews participate in an Israel-related campus organization.



- Note that the team found some of these results, especially the day school/yeshiva figure, surprisingly high, but it is possible that students in after school or other Hebrew programs chose this answer. In addition, a survey a decade earlier found that 29% of students 6-17 were enrolled in day school/yeshiva. Assuming that number has increased and, given the 5 point margin of error, the figure our survey result is less surprising. Regardless, this one result is not a reason to question the survey results. Jews identifying themselves as Orthodox (15%), conservatives (18%), and Republicans (10%) also were more pro-Israel.

Shocking Figure for Anti-Semitism

- 78% of Jewish students report witnessing (66%) or personally being subjected (46%) to anti-Semitism. By comparison the figure in the UK's study earlier in the year was 42% (we used their question wording for comparison).
- Relatively small numbers of all students believe questioning Israel's right to exist is a problem -- 37% consider this anti-Israel and 27% anti-Semitic compared to 69% and 56% of Jews, respectively.

The consensus of our team was that the 78% figure seemed unrealistically high. We do not know how students defined anti-Semitism -- beyond the second question's result that a majority believes questioning Israel's right to exist is anti-Semitic -- and this undoubtedly influenced the result. The question also does not specifically ask if they had this experience on campus so it is possible they are referring to an experience off campus or at some other time in their life. A study by the Institute for Jewish & Community Research in 2011 found that 43% of Jewish students perceive anti-Semitism on their campus, which they defined as offensive jokes and other derogatory remarks or general anti-Semitism. Without trend data we do not know if the problem is growing better or worse, but the combined data certainly indicates a large number of Jewish students experience some form of anti-Semitism in college.

Young Jews Do Care About Israel – The Beinart Fallacy

Peter Beinart, J Street and others have suggested that young Jews are alienated from Israel in large measure because of their disagreement with Israeli policies. Beinart et al. argue they represent the silent majority of Jews who are disenchanted with Israel, disenfranchised by the Jewish establishment and somehow silenced by an out of touch conservative Jewish minority.



National data shows otherwise, as do our results:

- 90% agree that Israel is the spiritual center of the Jewish people.
- 83% said caring about Israel is an important part of being Jewish.
- 73% said American and Israeli Jews share a common destiny.
- 89% of young Jews feel warm/favorable toward Israel.
- 78% sympathize with Israel.

- 84% think America should support Israel.
- 66% say they feel close (26% very close) to Israel.ⁱⁱ

Jewish students also have positive associations with Israel. When asked for a word to describe Israel, they chose words such as “Homeland,” “Jewish,” “Home,” “Strong,” “Beautiful.”

Jewish Students Believe the U.S. and Israel Share Values

When asked why America should stand with Israel, the top four reasons were:

- 43% believe the U.S. and Israel share values.
- 37% believe Israel is America’s most important ally.
- 27% believe Israel is a partner in the fight against terror.
- 23% believe Israel is working for peace.

Nearly Half of the Jewish Students Have Been to Israel – Two-Thirds Plan to Go

- A surprisingly high number of Jewish students (47%) have already been to Israel (23% with family, 16% on Birthright, 13% on a teen trip).
- 73% plan to visit - the main obstacles are safety (45%), cost (23%) and lack of interest (18%). Surprisingly, non-Jews are far less worried about safety (15%); their main reasons for not going are lack of interest (41%) and cost (31%).

Jewish Students Do Not Support the Palestinians

- 15% of Jews feel warm/favorable toward Palestinians; 2% sympathize with them and only 1% think America should side with the Palestinians.
- 54% *oppose* a Palestinian state (27% support).
- 62% say Jerusalem should stay under Israeli control; only 11% favor dividing the city.
- 47% favor dismantling some or all of the settlements; however, more Jews say no settlements should be dismantled (32%) than favor dismantling all of them (6%).

When asked what word describes Palestinians, Jews said: “Terrorists,” “Greedy,” “Angry,” “Muslim,” and “Violent.”

Jewish Students Do Not Support Public Criticism of Israel

- 58% agreed that criticism by Israelis of their government doesn’t justify criticism by American Jews.
- 45% agreed American Jews should support Israel and the policies of the government and that disagreements should be expressed in private.

ⁱⁱ The American Jewish Committee’s national poll result was similar 68% felt close -- 31% very close.

- 37% said American Jews should speak out publicly against policies they disagree with.

Jews Are Sensitive To Criticism of Israel

- 43% are aware of anti-Israel groups compared to 13% of all students.
- 71% think criticism of Israel they hear is generally anti-Israel or anti-Semitic.

Jews are much more sensitive to criticism that crosses the line from legitimate political debate to anti-Israel hostility and anti-Semitism. Non-Jews see criticism of Jewish individuals and demonization of Israel as most troubling.

BDS Has No Support

- There is virtually no support for BDS (14% national/5% Jews).
- Only 11% support an academic boycott.
- Once hearing more about BDS, nearly half say they would be personally opposed.
- Virtually no one believes it advances the cause of peace; one-third (29% of Jews) think it has no impact and one-fourth believe it makes peace less likely (47% of Jews).

Top three reasons to oppose BDS

1. Both sides share some blame and it's not fair to only blame one (57%).
2. There are better ways to express concern about Israeli policies that encourage dialogue rather than division (53%).
3. It is a tool designed to win a propaganda war, not help bring real peace (50%).

Top three reasons Jewish students oppose BDS

1. There are better ways to express concern about Israeli policies that encourage dialogue rather than division (74%).
2. It is a tool designed to win a propaganda war, not help bring real peace (73%).
3. BDS is hypocritical because it doesn't express concern about abuses in non-democratic countries like Syria and Iran (63%).

More than half of Jewish students participate in pro-Israel student groups

- 54% of Jews participate in an Israel-related campus organization.
- Most participate in Hillel (48%) with only small percentages participating in other groups (AIPAC is next highest at 7%; rest are 3% or less).
- Only 2% say they are involved with J Street and 56% say they rarely participate.

- Students say they are most active in the David Project, Hasbarah Fellowships and ZOA.

These results are somewhat at odds with our observations. In fact, over the years Dr. Bard developed the “Rule of 20,” which states that no matter what size the campus, or how many Jewish students; you rarely get more than 20 students to become Israel advocates. Very few students have the time, energy and passion to devote their scarce college time to advocacy for Israel. Those who do get involved are often the best and the brightest, and will become community leaders at some point, but no one has found the silver bullet to motivate larger numbers of students to become involved.

Pro-Israel Events Win Converts

- Only 20% of all students (73% of Jews) are aware of pro-Israel groups.
- Of the aware group, almost half (48%) of Jewish students said they attended pro-Israel events (20% for all students).
- 63% of all students (60% of Jews) were more supportive of Israel after attending a pro-Israel group’s event.
- Given the percentage that said they were more supportive of Israel, it is strange that 40% of all students (5% of Jews) said they were more supportive of the Palestinians after the event (19% said less supportive).

Anti-Israel Events Don’t

- 13% of all students are aware of groups critical of Israel compared to 43% of Jews.
- Of those who were aware, only 14% (17% of Jews) attended an event.
- 54% of Jews who attended anti-Israel events said they were *more supportive of Israel* after the event and 46% were less supportive of the Palestinians.
- The impact on non-Jews was different – 24% said they were *less* supportive of Israel; only 14% said they were more supportive while 61% said it made no difference.
- Nearly as many students said an anti-Israel event made them less supportive of the Palestinians (25%) as said they became more supportive (27%).

Given the probability that students attending these events are likely to be more open to the anti-Israel message, these results suggest the anti-Israel groups are having a marginal impact.

Jewish Students Consider Themselves Informed

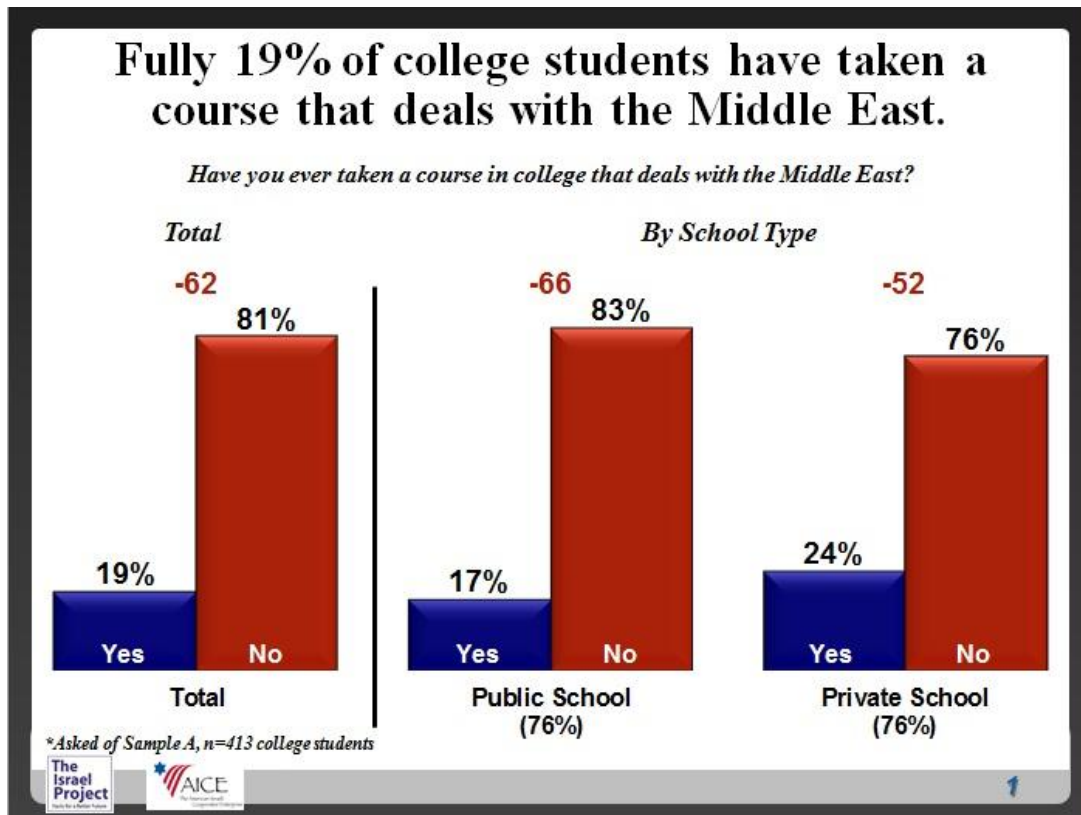
- A surprisingly large number (70%) of Jewish students consider themselves informed about Israel, especially those who have been to Israel (83%).
- Jewish students talk a lot about Israel with their family (78%) and Jewish friends (74%), but not so much with non-Jews (44%).

- Most students get their information about the Middle East from TV (41%), the Internet (39%) and family and friends. Jews rank family and friends first (42%) and TV, Internet and their own religious beliefs next (31%)

Bias in the Classroom

A surprisingly low number of Jewish and non-Jewish students reported bias in the classroom. This may be because the sample contained few IR/Political Science majors and students reported taking, on average, only one Middle East course, which most likely would be a survey course. Also, the results show that only one student per school took a course and the schools where they took them were, with only a couple of exceptions, not schools known to have problematic faculty.

- 19% of students (27% of Jews) have taken a course on the Middle East
- Most have taken only one course (69% national/51% Jewish); less than one-third have taken two courses.
- Most students feel the courses were unbiased (83% national/65% Jews).
- Those who thought there were a bias were nearly evenly split over whether bias was toward Israel or the Palestinians – All students: 7% toward Israel/4% toward Palestinians – Jews: 10% toward Israel/14% toward Palestinians.



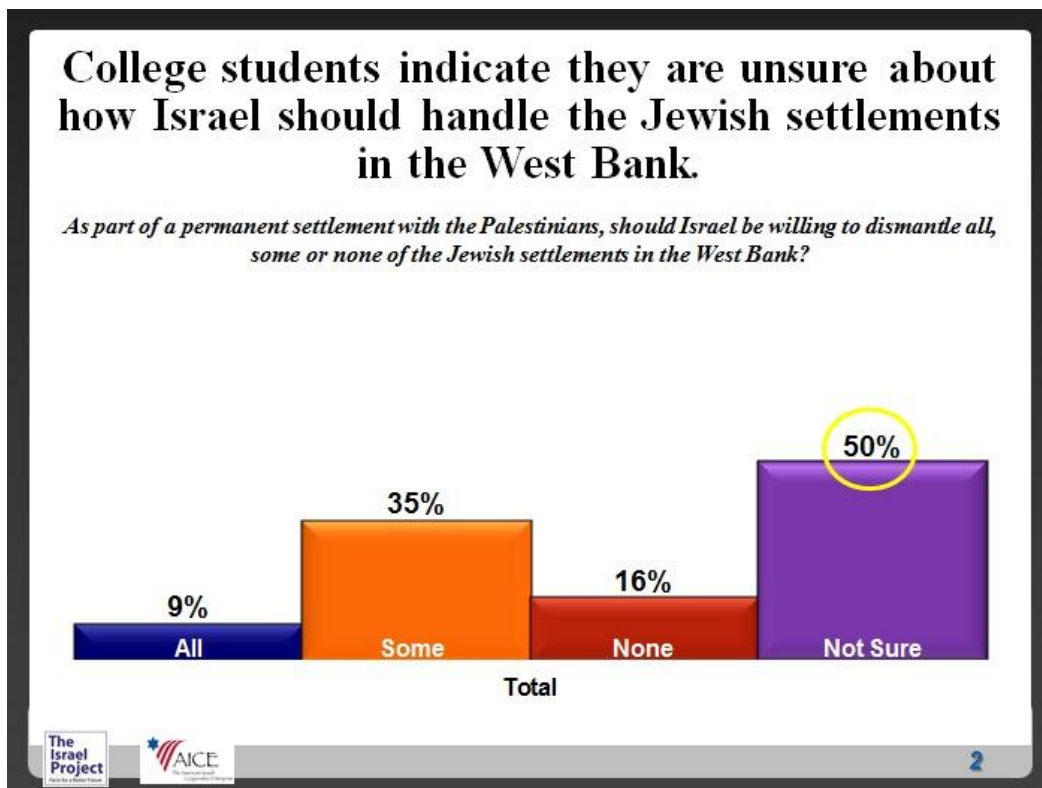
Our suspicion that these results do not accurately reflect the problem in the classroom is based on anecdotal evidence, which was reinforced by a study by the Institute for Jewish & Community Research which surveyed 1,400 students nationally. That study found that 41% of Jewish students had heard anti-Israel remarks made in a class by a professor.¹⁴ In addition, the report on the campus climate at the UC system found that classroom bias was a significant problem. The findings of these studies are more consistent with our experience as well.

Demographics

- As expected, Jews say they are liberal (49% vs. 18% conservative) and few are Republicans (10%).
- Surprisingly, only 28% say they are Democrats (by comparison, the last American Jewish Committee poll found 45% of all Jews are Democrats and 16% Republican). This is consistent with a broader trend of young people choosing not to affiliate with a party.

The Myth of Support for the Palestinians

- Only 22% of all students have a warm/favorable opinion of the Palestinian Authority, just ahead of Iran (18%) and Syria (16%). By comparison, 41% had a warm/favorable opinion toward Israel.
- On the question of whether students sympathize more with Israel or the Palestinians, only 6% support the Palestinians.
- There is no support for cutting aid to Israel.



There is very little support for a Palestinian state or the idea that Israel should dismantle settlements.

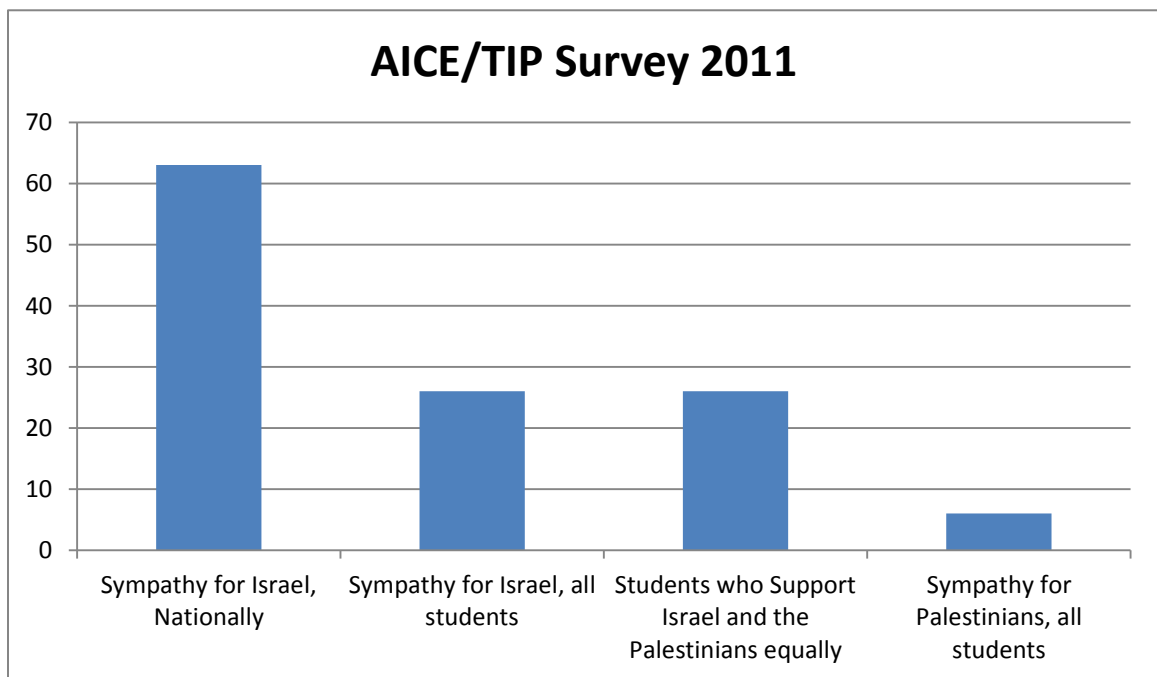
- Only 29% support a Palestinian state (21% oppose, 50% not sure).
- Only about 1/3 believes Israel should dismantle settlements, allow Palestinians a capital in Jerusalem or expect Israel to withdraw to the 67 borders.
- About 1/3 believe some settlements should be dismantled; only 9% believe all settlements should be dismantled; a larger percentage (16%) actually say no settlements should be dismantled.

Students Don't Think Criticism of Israel is Fair

- Only 16% of the total sample, and 12% of Jews, think criticism of Israel is fair.
- One-third of students think the criticism is anti-Israel or anti-Semitic (71% of Jews think so, which may help explain the number of Jews who reported experiencing or witnessing anti-Semitism).

Areas of Concern

- Nationally, sympathy for Israel was 63%, but only 26% of students sympathized with Israel. Another 26% supported Israel and the Palestinians equally.



Students are more likely to say they support neither side. Note that in national surveys, the

neither/both options are usually volunteered rather than offered as an option, so respondents tend to choose one or the other. Had we done this, support for Israel would likely have been higher. As it is, the roughly 4 to 1 ratio of students that support Israel vs. the Palestinians -- 26%-6% -- is similar to the national result of 63%-15%.

Still, other results are troubling:

- 37% think the U.S. should support neither Israel nor the Palestinians. The good news is that those who choose a side, pick Israel (32%) over the Palestinians (6%).
- Israel's image is on a par with Egypt (pre-Arab spring fall out).
- There was no particular negative association with Israel, but 70% see it as conflict related.
- When asked for one word to describe Israel, students said, "Jewish," "Religious," "Holy," "Conflict," or "War."
- 25% say Israeli policies damage U.S. interests. This is actually lower than the national figure (33%), but the percentage nationally who believe Israeli policies help the U.S. is 43% compared to 19% on campus.

As we see nationally, women, liberals, and Democrats are less supportive of Israel. Minorities are less supportive on some questions but not across the board.

We also found no strong reason to support U.S.-Israel ties and percentages that associate positive values with Israel are low. Nationally, the shared values argument is the most effective, but it had far less appeal to students. It was particularly shocking that even when given 10 different reasons to support Israel, 1/3 of students still were not sure.

- 40% say Israel sides with the U.S.
- 32% say Israel shares American values.
- 28% say Israel is democratic.
- 25% say Israel protects women's rights.
- 18% say Israel wants peace.
- 17% think Israel is morally right.

Note the low opinion of Israel on democracy, peace and human rights. These are precisely the issues the delegitimizers focus on to erode Israel's image.

Israel's positions on peace are not all shared by students:

- Though the percentage is low (21%), more students prefer an international conference than face to face talks (19%).
- Less than one-fourth of students believe Israel should control Jerusalem; 30% say Jerusalem should be international and 34% are not sure.
- Most students agreed the Palestinians should stop involvement in incitement and

recognize Israel as the Jewish homeland; 45% believed the refugees should go to Palestine. When asked what Israel should do for peace; however, the number one choice (54%) was to allow the refugees the choice of living in Israel or not.

Opportunities

- Most students are inclined to support Israel, but have little knowledge – we have an opportunity to fill empty heads.
- There is no need to respond to a lot of specific issues; students need very basic information about Israel, especially relating to Israeli democracy and the treatment of its citizens.
- We can't focus on one or two messages, students want more information.
- We need to show how the relationship with Israel benefits the United States.
- Settlements are a non-issue.
- BDS is not a winning strategy; students are inclined to oppose it when they know nothing and, when they learn more, opposition grows significantly.
- Israel gets consistently more support from Jews, Republicans, evangelicals and active Jews. These are groups to work with and build on their support.
- Jewish education, campus participation and visits to Israel make a big difference and need to be encouraged further.



The Response to Israel's Detractors

During the Cold War the U.S. military created a graduated system of readiness to prepare forces for varying degrees of threats. According to the DEFCON (defense readiness condition) system, the lowest state of readiness is DEFCON 1 and the highest is DEFCON 5 (nuclear war is imminent). For decades, the pro-Israel community reacted to most events as if the only response was DEFCON 4 (the next step to nuclear war) or 5. Professionals and activists believed that no attack on Israel should be permitted to go without a response.

Over the last 10 years, however, the pro-Israel community has become more sophisticated and adopted an approach more like that of the military; that is, students and campus professionals assess the threat posed by any given speaker or event and try to make a rational decision as to the level of response required. This evaluation involves asking questions such as:

How many people are likely to attend the event?

Will students be influenced (e.g., will they pay attention to a wall or will the people who

attend a lecture be undecided students or the already converted)? Our survey found most students are not influenced by anti-Israel events.

Will protesting or taking other steps to counter the event give it more publicity and turn a non-event into a publicity coup for the detractors?

Thus, for example:

- A minor event that is not likely to attract a large audience or anyone who is not already convinced can be ignored.
- A speaker, event or op-ed that is likely to generate controversy and attract student attention may require either a direct riposte or counterprogramming. Groups might be challenged to sign a statement agreeing that they support a two-state solution, oppose terror and support Israel's right to exist. This was done several years ago when a group put on an anti-Israel conference at Duke and the refusal of organizers to sign the pledge exposed their radicalism.
- If professors abuse their classroom authority or engage in anti-Israel activity outside the classroom, students, faculty, administrators and outside stakeholders may need to intervene to ensure that the professor is held accountable according to university norms and academic propriety.

Much time and energy is devoted to responding to the canard linking Israel and South Africa, and too often Israel's defenders play into the delegitimizers' hands by repeating their language. The anti-Semites want Israel to be linked with the A-word and every time we say Israel is not an A state, we remind people that Israel and the A-word are somehow associated. It is time that pro-Israel activists banish the A- word from their vocabulary.

- Events that include inflammatory hate speech cannot be ignored. Students should build a coalition of groups to denounce the hate speech and faculty and administrators should make statements condemning it.
- Questions should be raised about the propriety of anti-Israel events without any academic rationale being held on university grounds.
- Threats to student safety, the adoption of a BDS resolution by the students and endorsement by the administration, or a failure to respond in a timely and sufficient way to grievances posed by Jewish students require a more severe reaction. Responses might include legal action, donor boycotts, and media campaigns. We have also had success

defeating BDS resolutions with letters signed by Nobel Prize winners, international Jewish organizations, faculty and trustees opposing BDS (available at Stopbds.com).

Case Study

Students for Justice in Palestine at Florida International University planned a walkout protest at Ambassador Haim Waxman's lecture. When AICE and its network discovered their plans, we immediately alerted campus security, the provost's office and the general counsel. A number of steps were then taken to ensure any disruption of the event would be minimized:

- 1) The Institute delayed opening the doors by ten minutes and reserved the first two rows exclusively for community members who supported the speaker.**
- 2) A prominent sign was posted that no signs would be permitted in the theater (SJP's plan was to place signs on their chests). By the time the SJP showed up for actual entry, no secreted or covered signs were in evidence.**
- 3) Campus security wanded every attendee (airport-style) and searched for duct or masking tape and secreted signs.**
- 5) FIU's general counsel attended and a member of the administration announced before the speech the rules of conduct for the event. The audience was told that any silent but coordinated protest involving signs, duct tape over protestors' mouths or loud exiting of the room would be considered a disruption. The specific disciplinary and legal response the university would take in the event of any forms of disruption were also detailed. Anyone who wished to protest was asked to withdraw to an area outside the building where they could peaceably express their views.**

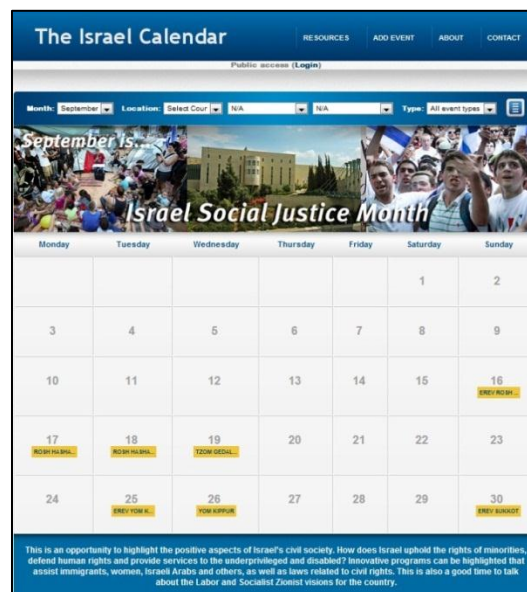
About 20 protesters sat together in the back of the hall. At the first mention of Palestine by Ambassador Waxman, a coordinated walkout took place. As a result of the measures taken, the protest was a ten-second distraction rather than a YouTube sensation.

The hope is always that a campus can either ignore minor irritants or react with a response that does not exacerbate the situation. We believe it is best left to the campus professionals, students and local community to decide what level of response is appropriate since they know the campus best and have to live with the consequences of any actions, some of which may have lasting repercussions on the campus. Often national organizations, and other well-meaning activists, parachute onto a campus and escalate the response beyond that recommended by the local stakeholders. This cannot always be avoided, but experience has shown that failure to communicate and coordinate with the campus tends to be counterproductive.

Offense is better than Defense

For years the pro-Israel community has focused on defending Israel and demonizing the other side rather than making a positive case for Israel. The ISCON approach is defensive and reactive. We have found that it is far more effective for students and faculty to be proactive and positive in presenting information about Israel. As noted above, the limited success of the delegitimization campaign is largely based on years of repetition of anti-Israel (and often anti-Semitic) tropes. Restoring Israel's image requires a more determined effort to spend the coming years educating students, faculty and administrators about Israel and Israelis.

Pro-Israel students should literally plant the Israeli flag (along with an American flag) on the campus and sustain a drumbeat of activity related to Israel, from lectures to concerts to bagel noshes. AICE's Israel Calendar (IsraelCalendar.org) was created to help students structure their programming around specific themes that tell the story of Israel and its people.



Even positive events can sometimes backfire as some pro-Israel speakers are seen as lightning rods and may attract more negative attention or promote a backlash. Pro-Israel groups should not be intimidated by this possibility but should take it into account in determining whether an event is going to achieve student objectives. For example, inviting Israel's ambassador to speak may provoke protests but is not necessarily a reason to refuse to invite him.

In addition to large, often expensive events, it is often possible to make an impact with smaller, more intimate events such as Shabbat dinners, coffee house meetings and one-on-one conversations.

A key element to going on offense is also building coalitions. National organizations have increasingly emphasized the importance of this strategy, which, after all, is the way the pro-Israel community operates outside the campus. Many student groups may not want to be involved in a

politically controversial issue, may be more inclined to side with the “underdog” Palestinians or see no gain for themselves in supporting pro-Israel groups. Similarly, many Jewish students are uncomfortable with the views of some of their potential partners, such as evangelical Christians; nevertheless, given that Jews are a minority on campus, as in the public at large, it behooves students to seek out allies. At the start of the school year, if not before, an organization chart should be constructed for the school with all the key points of contact among faculty, administrators and trustees, potential campus allies, media and local Jewish organizations. The names of the key leaders should be updated each year and the chart kept by the Hillel director for use by the various pro-Israel groups. A sample is in Appendix 3.

Evaluation

How can we assess whether we are winning the battle on campus for the hearts and minds of the next generation?

Well, as noted earlier, the fact that the U.S.-Israel relationship is closer than it has ever been, that Congress is nearly unanimous in its support for Israel, that trade is flourishing, that thousands of U.S. companies do business in or with Israel and that a web of relations at the federal, state and local level have grown stronger over the years represents strong empirical evidence that the campus war has not had an adverse impact to date on the special relationship.

In looking at our efforts today, we could count the number of anti-Israel incidents and try to assess the trend, however, that would be of limited value. The ability of detractors simply to put on events is not an indication that they are having an impact. As our poll data indicated, anti-Israel events are not changing many student minds. Qualitatively, we can judge our impact by a general sense of the campus climate from one of hostility or discomfort to passivity or sympathy. We may also find some quantitative measures such as the growth of courses on Israel and enrollment in them.

Conclusion

Almost every anti-Israel activity of concern today has been part of the detractors’ agenda for nearly half a century. Israel is the only country in the world that is routinely attacked by faculty and students on college campuses. The campaign against Israel is often vitriolic and sometimes crosses the line from legitimate criticism to outright anti-Semitism. On too many campuses, faculty, administrators and trustees are silent in the face of these attacks; some defend them on spurious academic freedom grounds, while others deny the harmful impact on pro-Israel students and the overall climate on the campus.

As the UC report observed, “for many Jewish students, their Jewish cultural and religious identity cannot be separated from their identity with Israel. Therefore, pro-Zionist students see an attack on the State of Israel as an attack on the individual and personal identity.”

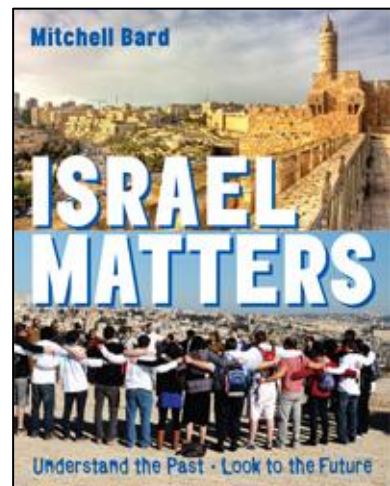
The fact that nearly half of the Jewish students surveyed heard derogatory remarks about Jews does not in itself indicate that a campus is hostile to Jews or has a climate of anti-Semitism. When combined with perceptions of anti-Israel bias in the classroom, the ongoing criticism of Israel in the media and delegitimization campaigns by hostile student organizations and other detractors, however, it is clear that serious problems do exist on a minority of campuses.

The evidence shows that media criticism and the actions of detractors are not attracting the support of students for the Palestinian cause or the Arabs in general. What it has done is created questions in the minds of students who are mostly unsure and uninformed about the Middle East. The barrage of negative messages about Israel and Israelis could lead to a reduction in support for Israel in the future because the country is being portrayed as suffering from severe flaws, particularly in terms of human rights, religious pluralism and the treatment of minorities, especially the Palestinians.

Recommendations

A) Pre-Collegiate Education

By the time Jewish students reach college it's not too late to learn about Israel, but it's very late. For more than 40 years, the pro-Israel community has lamented the fact that young Jews are ill-prepared for what they often face on college campuses. In the last few years, educators, advocates and philanthropists have finally recognized the need to make Israel education a part of pre-collegiate education. Much more needs to be done, however, to equip young Jews with the information and tools they require to understand Israel and to build an identity with Israel that will lead them to a lifelong love and commitment to their homeland. Here are some of the essential steps forward:



1) Provide every Jewish student with an Israel toolkit that helps students develop a connection to Israel at an emotional level, teaches students the Aleph-Bet of Israeli political, social and cultural history (in 2012 Behrman published the first textbook aimed at high school students – *Israel Matters: Understand the Past - Look to the Future*) and trains students how to effectively communicate their knowledge.

2) Teach “Mature Zionism.” Today’s youth do not want to be given a rose-colored picture of Israel; they want to learn about Israel, warts and all. Before they can understand the blemishes, however, they must know the basic facts. Given the background, students can discuss the complexities of Israeli life. This will prepare them for answering critics and strengthen their identification with Israel so they do not feel the need to turn on Israel because it is imperfect.

3) Israel education must be integrated in an age-appropriate manner from K-12. Even the best program will not succeed in creating the personal connection to Israel, and the knowledge base we ultimately hope students will have, in a year or two. If Israel is a part of the student's life and education from the first years in school, it will lead to better educated, more committed young Zionists. Since this is an all-encompassing approach to Israel education, it will take some time to develop; therefore, the top priority should be to educate high school students who will soon be on the front-lines of the campus battles.

4) Birthright trips should be created for high school students. The AICE/Israel Project survey of college students showed that students who have been to Israel are more active and pro-Israel in college. Visiting Israel will build an immediate connection to Israel while the K-12 program is being developed. Once Israel is integrated into the educational system, the trip to Israel will help reinforce the lessons they've learned. When teens return from Israel, they can become role models in their high schools and hit the ground running when they get to college.

5) Outreach to public schools. Most Jews do not go to day schools, so they will not be reached by the K-12 curriculum on Israel. Public schools need to be approached to teach units about Israel. Textbooks also need to be monitored and corrected since the history books used in most high schools are rife with errors of commission and omission regarding Jewish and Israeli history.

6) Outreach to teachers. Many day school teachers do not know enough about Israel to teach their students. Public school teachers know even less. It is vital that programs be developed and expanded to teach the instructors. Today, Middle East centers, often funded by Arab states, and heavily biased against Israel, are doing the principal outreach to teachers. The new centers of Israel Studies should offer teachers accurate information about the Middle East.

7) Integrate Israel education into Jewish summer camps. Camps have a captive audience of young Jews, most from public schools, and are ideal places to make learning about Israel fun. Some camps have been doing this for years, but many have not. Israeli staff can make a big difference not only through formal teaching but by virtue of campers getting to know Israelis as people. Other staff should be trained to engage campers in Israel education. New programs along these lines have been newly created and should be expanded.

8) Building long-distance learning programs between American Jews and Israelis. All sorts of projects can be done jointly via the Internet or Skype, whether it is a course taught from Israel or a collaborative experiment or investigation conducted by students in both locations, and some other interchange. It is no longer necessary for Israelis and Americans to be in the same place to have meaningful interactions.

B) Promote Israel Studies

1) Encourage universities to offer more courses on modern Israel. This can be driven by student demand as well as faculty and donor initiative.

2) Use the Brandeis Summer Institute model to create at least one similar program on the West Coast to increase the number of faculty from other disciplines trained to teach courses on Israel. The Brandeis program has been a boon in many ways, including increasing the number of teachers and courses, bringing Israel Studies to many schools that never had it before and empowering faculty who can build programs and facilitate the AICE visiting Israeli professor program.

3) A related need is a program to instruct teachers how to teach Israel. Graduate students are not given this instruction. AICE has worked with Daniel Marom of the Mandel Leadership Institute to offer Schusterman Scholar Award winners and AICE visiting scholars workshops on pedagogy. AICE has proposed working with Dr. Marom to create a coaching program to provide regular instruction on pedagogy in general and the teaching of Israel specifically.

4) Encourage philanthropists to work in consultation with AICE and experienced investors in Israel Studies to expand the number of Israel Studies programs, centers, visiting scholars and chairs around the United States.



5) Encourage philanthropists to invest in the next generation of scholars in Israel Studies. We do not want to raid Israeli universities to fill positions in the U.S.; we'd prefer to have a "farm team" of young scholars who will form a scholarly community to normalize the study of Israel and reclaim its rightful place in Middle East studies. This requires support for graduate students in Israel-related fields and postdoctoral fellowships to help graduate students publish their initial research, get teaching experience and build their resumes for applying to tenure track positions.

6) Continue to invest in visiting Israeli professors. It does not make sense for every university to have a permanent position given the lack of qualified scholars and the cost of creating chairs and centers. We have seen, however, the dramatic impact that visiting scholars can make on a campus in as little as a semester, and the even more impressive changes they can effect if they stay for one or two years. AICE currently receives many more requests from universities than it can fund and far more Israeli applicants than it can place (e.g., 70 applicants for 20 positions for 2013-14).

7) Funding and encouragement has to be given to innovative programs such as those at Virginia and Maryland bringing business students to Israel. Any program that brings students to Israel, such as JINSA's program for military academy students, will have a long-term benefit in terms of helping students better understand Israel.

8) Similarly, more support needs to be given to programs that bring faculty to Israel for academic exchanges and create new cooperative ventures, which counter the boycott advocates and build bridges between Israeli and American scholars. Today, U.S.-Israel binational foundations fund joint research primarily in basic science and agriculture; a new foundation should be established to support research in social science and the humanities.

9) The U.S. government funds Middle East research and outreach through Middle East centers that are virtually all Arabist in orientation. A committee should be set up in the Department of Education made up of members of Association of Israel Studies to peer review proposals related to Israeli topics, and centers should be directed to include Israel Studies as part of their outreach work.

10) Given the nefarious impact Middle East centers are having through their outreach to high school educators, it is essential that Israel Studies centers begin aggressive programs of outreach to provide education and training to help pre-collegiate educators teach units about Israel.

C) Spread Resources More Widely

As noted earlier, besides Hillel, pro-Israel groups are present on fewer than 300 campuses, meaning they are reaching less than 1% of American colleges and a tiny fraction of American students. Most effort is put into the top ranked schools that produce most of America's future leaders. Some schools certainly merit more resources than others, but the distribution of money, people and materials is leaving huge gaps across the country.

One question is how to gauge the importance of investing in these schools. Should we only help those with problems or should we ignore those unless they are major universities that produce leaders? Should we only help schools with significant Jewish student populations (which needs to be defined)?

Schools we believe merit consideration for the investment of resources include Nebraska, Portland State, New Mexico, Bard College, Chico State, New Orleans, Ohio University, Western Michigan and Toledo. Given funding limitations, strategic decisions still are required to ensure distribution to where the resources will have the greatest impact.

D) Continued Monitoring

1) Though BDS activities waned last year, they are going to continue and many of the related issues, such as selective boycotts and comparisons with South Africa, are going to challenge students. The BDS Cookbook provides useful responses to these and other issues as well as tactical information for addressing any BDS resolutions. The CB is reaching people through social media and traffic has come from a wide variety of campuses (85+), mostly from the U.S., but also from Israel, Canada, Australia and the UK.

2) AICE also maintains a calendar of anti-Israel events to help campuses prepare a response. This is an extremely time intensive activity that requires staff to mine a variety of sources of intelligence about the plans of detractors.

3) AICE works with a rapid response team comprised of international experts that is ready to provide resources and information to campuses that request help.

4) AICE is also investigating financing for anti-Israel groups to determine whether they are, as appears, mostly locally funded, or whether they have some large financial resources behind them coming from other sources.

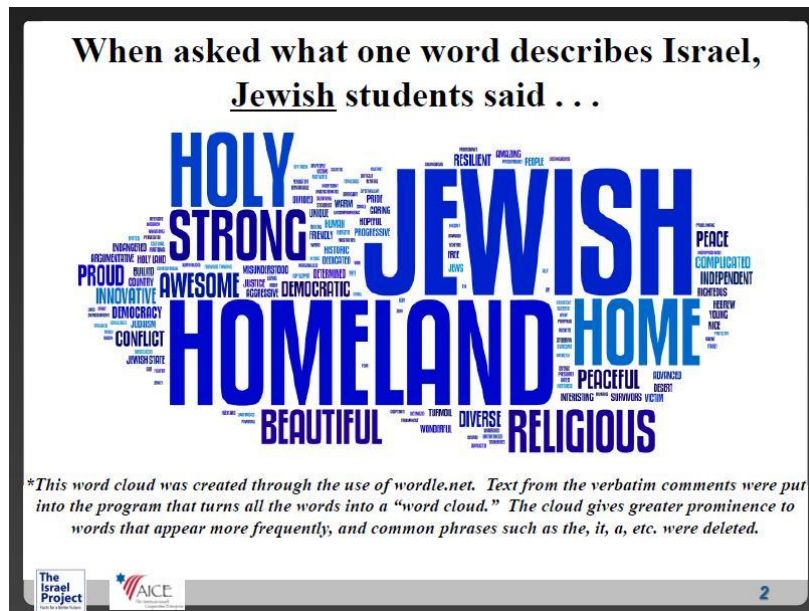
5) It is also important to monitor academic malpractice. AICE receives frequent reports about professors who have one-sided syllabi, engage in political propaganda in their classrooms or are engaging in anti-Israel activities outside the classroom. Many other organizations are also demanding that faculty uphold the standards of academia.

5) More community, public and donor oversight and pressure will also be needed at times to demand action against those engaged in academic malpractice as well as to ensure that universities are protecting the rights of Jewish and other pro-Israel students.

6) Some means of reviewing university funding and sponsorship for events and speakers that have no academic merit, or visitors who are known for their hate speech, needs to be developed.

E) Continue Survey Research

The AICE/TIP survey of college students provided valuable insights into the views of Jewish and non-Jewish students and should be repeated each year to evaluate any trends in student opinion and to test opinion on new topics that may arise.



F) Encourage Proactive Discussion about Israel

1) Adopt the Israel Calendar. By programming around positive themes about Israel, campuses can create a positive drumbeat about Israel and set the campus agenda from day one of the term. Having dozens of campuses around the country focusing each month on the same theme will also create momentum for the pro-Israel community and allow students to learn from each other about successful programs.

2) AICE launched a social media campaign, Joe’s Israel, which aims to engage the audience on the connection between the Jewish people & Israel; to counter delegitimization of the Jewish State and to give the Jewish audience confidence in expressing their connection to Israel. To join the discussion go to <http://joesisrael.com/>.

3) There is also a need for leadership training in addition to advocacy training for pro-Israel students so they can learn how to build and sustain organizations. Given that students come and go in four-year cycles, it is always difficult to ensure a continuity of leadership. Apathy, schoolwork and alternative distractions will always pose a challenge, but we need to do a better job of teaching organizational skills to help student groups sustain themselves from year to year.

G) Insist on University Accountability

1) Universities need to adopt a definition of anti-Semitism, such as the one approved by the European Union Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia, which explains when anti-Israel incidents become anti-Semitic (See Appendix 4). As suggested by the Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law, schools should follow the Ottawa Protocol of the International Inter-parliamentary Coalition to Combat Anti-Semitism recommendation that universities

“define anti-Semitism clearly, provide specific examples, and enforce conduct codes firmly, while ensuring compliance with freedom of speech and the principle of academic freedom.”¹⁵

2) Administrators need to swiftly denounce any threats against Jewish students or harassment of Israel’s supporters on campus. They should also make clear that they will not support boycotts of Israel or the divestment from companies doing business in or with Israel.

3) Universities should insist that programs on their campus and sponsored by academic units conform to a standard of academic discourse based on scholarly research. Academic freedom should not be allowed to shield those engaged in non-academic sophistry.

4) Universities must uphold the free speech rights of guest speakers and their audiences and the Brandeis Center suggests they take action against those who engage “in disorderly conduct, disturbance of the peace, disruption of university activities, possession of (factual or imitation firearms, and unlawful assembly.”

5) Universities, the Brandeis Center also recommends, should regulate “the time, place or manner of offensive speech, including insuring effective security to prevent heckling at university lectures.”

H) Restore all Study Abroad Programs in Israel

One of the ongoing travesties is the refusal of some campuses to allow their students to study in Israel or to make them jump through unnecessary hoops to do so. In the last few years, the University of California and California State University system finally reversed their bans on study in Israel. Other major universities, however, continue to hide behind State Department warnings (which apply only to the territories and not Israel) and phony liability concerns that most universities have either rejected or surmounted by having students sign waivers.

Administrators or risk assessment officials from schools still banning study in Israel should be invited to visit Israel to see for themselves that Israel is a safe place for students to study.

D) Make Birthright Israel Even Better

Birthright Israel is probably the most important and effective program created for building Jews’ identity with Israel, but it has also created a sense of entitlement. The program must do more to encourage participants to be accountable to the community and the campus.

1) Students should be encouraged to make at least a token voluntary contribution to their home Jewish federation. A case could be made for simply encouraging a donation to any charity, but there are good reasons to encourage a commitment to the federation. First, the federations have been partners in Birthright but they have gotten little from their contribution in the short-run. Linking students to federations, even if they move around and do not end up living near the one in their home community, will at least introduce them to the institution. It is also important for

students to learn the Jewish tradition of supporting local Jewish needs as well as Israel. Finally, it is useful to teach young Jews the obligation of tzedakah.

2) A second change Birthright should consider is its refusal to make the mailing list of participants readily available to Jewish organizations. The group is understandably protective of the privacy of students and sensitive to turning people off by having them return from Israel to be inundated by solicitations. The downside of this approach has been to significantly reduce the prospect for keeping students involved upon their return.

3) Applicants to Birthright should be told up-front about the expectation of a charitable commitment and the release of their names to Jewish organizations so they can decide whether they still want to participate. It's hard to imagine many students turning down a free trip to Israel because of these changes, but, even if some do, many more are on the waiting list to take their place.



4) The method for choosing participants should be modified. On college campuses, all prospective Birthright students should be required to attend an Israel 101 course. Ideally, a post-trip course should also be offered and students who attend all the meetings could be offered a subsidy toward a return trip.

5) It is also important to try to reach out to students who are interested in traveling, but don't necessarily want to go to Israel. Many students are more interested in seeing Europe than Israel. Trips should be developed that are Eurocentric with Israel as an add-on. If it is not done already, Birthright trips should also be offered to students on study abroad programs.

6) What students lack in knowledge they make up for in passion for making a difference in the world. Colleges are increasingly tapping into this fervor with alternative break trips that too often go everywhere but Israel. Service-related trips should be organized on a larger scale to Israel. We need to find ways to harness this positive energy for social justice and public service projects either in Israel or in third countries beside Israelis.

APPENDIX 1

Schools With One Or More Anti-Israel Groups And No Pro-Israel Resources*

Agnes Scott College, Decatur	Rochester Institute of Technology, Rochester
Auburn University Montgomery, Montgomery	Roxbury Community College, Roxbury Crossing
Augustana College, Rock Island	Russell Sage College, Troy
Austin College, Sherman	Saginaw Valley State University, University Center
Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson	Saint Francis College, New York City
Bay Path College, Longmeadow	Saint Lawrence University, Canton
Benedictine University, Lisle	Saint Louis University, St. Louis
Berea College, Berea	Saint Xavier University, Chicago
Bowling Green State University, Bowling Green	San Joaquin Delta College, Stockton
Brooklyn College, Brooklyn	Seton Hall University, New Jersey
Bucknell University, Lewisburg	Southern Methodist University, University Park
Buffalo State College, Buffalo	St. Cloud State University, St. Cloud
California Institute of Technology, Pasadena	State University of New York at Farmingdale, Farmingdale
California State University, San Bernardino	State University of New York at Geneseo, Geneseo
California State University, San Marcos	Stephen F. Austin University, Nacogdoches
Chaffey College, Rancho Cucamonga	Stevens Institute of Technology, Hoboken
Claremont Colleges, Los Angeles	Tennessee Tech University, Cookeville
Clarion University, Clarion	Texas A&M University of Corpus Christi, Corpus Christi
Clarkson University, Potsdam	Texas Christian University, Fort Worth
Clayton State University, Morrow	Texas Tech University, Lubbock
Clemson University, Clemson	The New School, New York City
College of DuPage, Glen Ellyn	Trinity College, Hartford
College of Wooster, Wooster	Truman State University, Kirksville
Community College of Philadelphia, Philadelphia	Tuskegee University, Tuskegee
Davidson College, Davidson	University of Akron, Akron
East Central University, Ada	University of Alabama at Huntsville, Huntsville
East West University, Chicago	University of Alaska at Fairbanks, Fairbanks
Emporia State University, Emporia	University of Baltimore, Baltimore
Georgia Southern University, Statesboro	University of Dayton, Dayton
Grinnell College, Grinnell	University of Kentucky, Lexington
Hamline University, Saint Paul	University of La Verne, La Verne
Henry Ford Community College, Dearborn	University of Louisville, Louisville
Illinois State University, Normal	University of Maine, Orono
Indiana University Northwest, Gary, Indiana	University of Memphis, Memphis
Iowa State University, Ames	University of Michigan, Flint
Joliet Junior College, Joliet	University of Mississippi, University

* Many of these schools have few, if any, Jewish students.

Kettering University, Flint	University of Missouri at Kansas City, Kansas City
Lamar University, Beaumont	University of Missouri at St. Louis, St. Louis
Lone Star College-Kingwood, Houston	University of Missouri, Columbia
Lorain County Community College, Elyria	University of Nebraska at Lincoln, Lincoln
Louisiana Tech University, Ruston	University of Nebraska at Omaha, Omaha
Loyola University New Orleans, New Orleans	University of New Hampshire, Durham
Macalester College, Saint Paul	University of New Mexico, Albuquerque
Manhattan College, New York City	University of New Orleans, New Orleans
Marquette University, Milwaukee	University of North Florida, Jacksonville
Marshall University, Huntington	University of Northern Iowa, Cedar Falls
Maryville University, St. Louis	University of Rhode Island, Kingston
Massachusetts College of Pharmacy and Health Sciences, Boston	University of South Alabama, Mobile
Mercer University, Macon	University of Tennessee at Knoxville, Knoxville
Michigan Technological University, Houghton	University of Tennessee, Martin
Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro	University of Texas at Arlington, Arlington
Mississippi State University, Mississippi State	University of the Sciences in Philadelphia, Philadelphia
Monroe Community College, Rochester	University of Toledo, Toledo
New Jersey Institute of Technology, Newark	University of Tulsa, Tulsa
New Mexico State University, Las Cruces	University of Utah, Salt Lake City
New York Institute of Technology, New York City	University of West Florida, Pensacola
North Seattle Community College, Seattle	University of Wisconsin at Eau Claire, Eau Claire
Northampton Community College, Bethlehem	University of Wisconsin at La Crosse, La Crosse
Ohio University, Athens	University of Wyoming, Laramie
Oklahoma State University, Stillwater	Ursinus College, Collegeville
Oregon State University, Corvallis	Valencia College, Orlando
Parkland College, Champaign	Villanova University, Villanova
Passaic County Community College, Paterson	Virginia Commonwealth University, Richmond
Polytechnic University of Puerto Rico, San Juan	Washburn University, Topeka
Portland State University, Portland	Weber State University, Ogden
Prairie View A&M University, Prairie View	Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo
Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy	Wichita State University, Wichita
Richard Stockton College of New Jersey, Galloway Township	Wilbur Wright College, Chicago
	William Paterson University of New Jersey, Wayne

APPENDIX 2

Statement of Jewish Organizations on Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Campaigns Against Israel

February 2011

Believing that academic, cultural and commercial boycotts, divestments and sanctions of Israel are:

- Counterproductive to the goal of peace,
- Antithetical to freedom of speech,
- Part of a greater effort to undermine the Jewish people's right to self-determination in their homeland, Israel.

We, the undersigned members of the Jewish community, stand united in our condemnation of calls and campaigns for boycotting, divestment and sanctions of Israeli academic institutions, professors, products and companies that do business with Israel.

We recognize and accept that individuals and groups may have legitimate criticism of Israeli policies. Criticism becomes anti-Semitism, however, when it demonizes Israel or its leaders, denies Israel the right to defend its citizens or seeks to denigrate Israel's right to exist.

The BDS movement is antithetical to principles of academic freedom and discourages freedom of speech. The movement silences voices from across the Israeli political spectrum. By pursuing delegitimization campaigns on campus, proponents have provoked deep divisions among students and have created an atmosphere of intolerance and hatred.

We oppose the extremist rhetoric of the delegitimization movement and reject calls for boycotting, divestment or sanctions against Israel. We call upon students, faculty, administrators and other campus stakeholders to uphold the academic and democratic values of a free and civil discourse that promotes peace and tolerance.

Natalie Menaged
Aish HaTorah

Andy Borans
Alpha Epsilon Pi Fraternity

Dr. Mitchell Bard
*American-Israeli Cooperative Enterprise
(AICE)*

Gerald Platt
American Friend of Likud

Howard Kohr
*The American Israeli Public Affairs
Committee (AIPAC)*

David Harris
American Jewish Committee (AJC)

Karen J. Rubinstein
American Zionist Movement (AZM)

Abraham H. Foxman
Anti-Defamation League (ADL)

Rabbi Robert Orkand
*Association of Reform Zionists of America
(ARZA)*

Dr. Colin Rubenstein, Jeremy Jones
Australia/Israel and Jewish Affairs Council

Daniel S. Mariaschin
B'nai B'rith International

George W. Schaeffer
Bnai Zion

Mr. Vivian Wineman
The Board of Deputies of British Jews

Fred Taub
Boycott Watch

Mauricio Lulka
*Central Committee of the Jewish Community
of Mexico*

Dr. J. Klener
Central Jewish Consistory of Belgium

Malcolm Hoenlein
*Conference of Presidents of Major Jewish
Organizations*

David Bernstein
The David Project

Mindy Stein
Emunah of America

Danny Lamm
Executive Council of Australia

Brain Kerner
The Fair Play Campaign Group (UK)

Akiva Tendler
*The Fellowship for Campus Safety and
Integrity*

Nancy Falchuk
Hadassah

Oded Feuer
*Hagshama – The Department for Diaspora
Activities of the World Zionist Organization*

Natalie Menaged
Hasbara Fellowships

Wayne Firestone
*Hillel: The Foundation for Jewish Campus
Life*

Adv. Irit Kohn
*The International Association of Jewish
Lawyers and Jurists*

Steve Kuperberg
Israel on Campus Coalition (ICC)

Jennifer Laszlo Mizrahi
The Israel Project (TIP)

Dr. Misha Galperin
Jewish Agency for Israel (JAFI)

Conrad Giles, Rabbi Steve Gutow
Jewish Council for Public Affairs (JCPA)

William Daroff
The Jewish Federations of North America

Thomas Neumann
*Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs
(JINSA)*

Martin M. Schwartz
Jewish Labor Committee

Jeremy Newmark
Jewish Leadership Council

Rabbi Eric M. Lankin
Jewish National Fund (JNF)

Dov H. Maimon
Jewish People Policy Institute (JPPI)

Claudio Epelman
Latin American Jewish Congress

Ron Carner
Maccabi USA/Sports For Israel

Avi Rubel
Masa Israel Journey

Janet Tobin, Rabbi Robert R. Golub
MERCAZ USA

Elizabeth Raider
NA'AMAT USA

Mark Levin
*National Conference on Soviet Jewry
(NCSJ)*

David A. Harris
*National Jewish Democratic Council
(NJDC)*

Rabbi Steven Weil
Orthodox Union (OU)

Rabbi Julie Schonfeld
Rabbinical Assembly

Rabbi Yosef Blau
Religious Zionists of America

Matt Brooks
Republican Jewish Committee (RJC)

Leland Manders
Sigma Alpha Mu Fraternity

Amy Krouse
Sigma Delta Tau Sorority

Rabbi Aron Heir
Simon Wiesenthal Center

Roz Rothstein
StandWithUs

Rabbi Yoffie, David Saperstein
Union for Reform Judaism (URJ)

Richard Skolnik, Rabbi Steven C. Wernick
United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism

Rabbi Elyse Winick
*United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism
and campus division KOACH*

Sarrae G Crane
Women's League for Conservative Judaism

Shelley Lindauer
Women of Reform Judaism

Betty Ehrenberg
World Jewish Congress, North America

Oliver Worth
World Union of Jewish Students (WUJS)

Laurence A. Bolotin
Zeta Beta Tau Fraternity

Morton A. Klein
Zionist Organization of America (ZOA)

APPENDIX 3

University Organizational Chart – Who Students Should Know

Administration/Faculty

Trustees/Board

President/Chancellor

Provost

Deans

Dept. of Student Affairs

Grievance Committee

Key Faculty Advisors

Faculty Senate

Department Chair

Scholars for Peace in the Middle East Chapter

Jewish/Israel Studies faculty

Visiting Faculty on Select Campuses

AICE (or other) Visiting Israeli Professor

AICE Visiting Israeli Postdoc

Schusterman Visiting Israeli Artist

Student Government

President/members

Committees (e.g. (allocation))

Jewish Student Organizations

Hillel Board

Hillel Faculty Advisor

Hillel Director

Hillel (Israel) Program Director

Israel Fellows

Jewish Student Union

Pro-Israel student group(s)

Israel cultural group

National Pro-Israel Organizations

StandWithUs (Emerson Fellows)

The David Project (DP Fellows)

American Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)

Committee for Accuracy in Middle East Reporting in America (CAMERA)
(Fellow)

Christians United For Israel

Grinspoon Foundation Intern

Hasbara Fellow

MASA Intern

Zionist Organization of America

University Student Division of the World Zionist Organization Hagshama (Intern)

Jewish National Fund - Caravan for Democracy

Non-Jewish Student Groups:

Asian

Christian

College Democrats

College Republicans

Hindu

Muslim Students Association

Fraternities/Sororities

Arab

Indian

Hispanic

African-American

LGBT

Environmental

Human Rights

Cultural

Student Media:

Newspapers

Radio

Internet

Community Resources

Jewish Federation Director

Jewish Community Relations Council (JCRC or CRC)

Anti-Defamation League

American Jewish Committee

Synagogues

Chabad

Israeli Consulates/Embassy in Washington

APPENDIX 4

European Monitoring Centre On Racism And Xenophobia Working Definition Of Antisemitism

The purpose of this document is to provide a practical guide for identifying incidents, collecting data, and supporting the implementation and enforcement of legislation dealing with antisemitism.

Working definition: **“Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.”**

In addition, such manifestations could also target the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity. Antisemitism frequently charges Jews with conspiring to harm humanity, and it is often used to blame Jews for “why things go wrong.” It is expressed in speech, writing, visual forms and action, and employs sinister stereotypes and negative character traits.

Contemporary examples of antisemitism in public life, the media, schools, the workplace, and in the religious sphere could, taking into account the overall context, include, but are not limited to:

- Calling for, aiding, or justifying the killing or harming of Jews in the name of a radical ideology or an extremist view of religion.
- Making mendacious, dehumanizing, demonizing, or stereotypical allegations about Jews as such or the power of Jews as collective — such as, especially but not exclusively, the myth about a world Jewish conspiracy or of Jews controlling the media, economy, government or other societal institutions.
- Accusing Jews as a people of being responsible for real or imagined wrongdoing committed by a single Jewish person or group, or even for acts committed by non-Jews.
- Denying the fact, scope, mechanisms (e.g. gas chambers) or intentionality of the genocide of the Jewish people at the hands of National Socialist Germany and its supporters and accomplices during World War II (the Holocaust).
- Accusing the Jews as a people, or Israel as a state, of inventing or exaggerating the Holocaust.
- Accusing Jewish citizens of being more loyal to Israel, or to the alleged priorities of Jews worldwide, than to the interests of their own nations.

Examples of the ways in which antisemitism manifests itself with regard to the State of Israel taking into account the overall context could include:

- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g., by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.

- Using the symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.
- Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

However, criticism of Israel similar to that leveled against any other country cannot be regarded as antisemitic.

Antisemitic acts are criminal when they are so defined by law (for example, denial of the Holocaust or distribution of antisemitic materials in some countries).

Criminal acts are antisemitic when the targets of attacks, whether they are people or property – such as buildings, schools, places of worship and cemeteries – are selected because they are, or are perceived to be, Jewish or linked to Jews.

Antisemitic discrimination is the denial to Jews of opportunities or services available to others and is illegal in many countries.

Source: <http://fra.europa.eu/fraWebsite/material/pub/AS/AS-WorkingDefinition-draft.pdf>

¹ *Near East Report*, August 5, 1983.

² “The Arab Propaganda Campaign on the Campus,” *Near East Report*, (October 29, 1969).

³ See, for example, Charles Jacobs, “Why the Jews are Losing the Battle for the Campus,” *The Jewish Advocate*, (February 24, 2011).

⁴ Richard “Rick” D. Barton and Alice Huffman, “University of California Jewish Student Campus Climate Fact-Finding Team Report & Recommendations,” (California: President’s Advisory Council on Campus Climate, Culture, & Inclusion, July 9, 2012).

⁵ Hannah Dreier, “Calif Lawmakers Denounce Anti-Semitism in Colleges,” Associated Press, (August 29, 2012). Resolution at http://leginfo.ca.gov/pub/11-12/bill/asm/ab_0001-0050/hr_35_bill_20120823_amended_asm_v98.html.

⁶ Address at morning prayers, Memorial Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts, (September 17, 2002), Office of the President, Harvard University.

⁷ Josh Nathan-Kazis, “Survey of Campus BDS Finds Few Serious Cases,” *Forward*, (May 4, 2011).

Read more: <http://forward.com/articles/137518/survey-of-campus-bds-finds-few-serious-cases/#ixzz265AsGujF>

⁸ “Michigan State University Jewish Studies Department Statement on BDS,” (May 2009); http://www.stopbds.com/?page_id=623.

⁹ Roger Kornberg and Steven Weinberg, “Statement Of Nobel Laureates On Academic BDS Actions Against Israeli Academics, Israeli Academic Institutions And Academic Centers And Institutes Of Research And Training With Affiliations In Israel,” (October 28, 2010).

¹⁰ Joel Beinin, “Middle East Studies After September 11,” 2002 MESA Presidential Address, *MESA Bulletin*, (Summer 2003); “In Search of Israel Studies: A Survey of Israel Studies On American College Campuses,” DC: Israel on Campus Coalition, (2006).

¹¹ Mitchell Bard, *The Arab Lobby: The Invisible Alliance that Undermines America’s Interests in the Middle East*,” (HarperCollins, 2010); See chapters 14 and 15.

¹² “More College Presidents Joining Statement on British Boycott,” Press Release, American Jewish Committee, (September 25, 2007).

¹³ Annette Koren and Emily Einhorn, “Searching for the Study of Israel: A Report on the Teaching of Israel on U.S. College Campuses 2008-09,” Brandeis University, (January 2010).

¹⁴ Aryeh Weinberg, “Alone on the Quad: Understanding Jewish Isolation on the Campus,” Institute For Jewish & Community Research, (2011); <http://jewishresearch.org/quad/12-11/Alone%20on%20the%20Quad.pdf>.

¹⁵ Kenneth Marcus, “Best Practices Guide for Combating Campus Anti-Semitism and Anti-Israelism,” The Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law, 2012.