

**FROM IVORY TOWERS TO DARK CORNERS:
INVESTIGATING THE NEXUS BETWEEN
ANTISEMITISM, TAX-EXEMPT UNIVERSITIES, AND
TERROR FINANCING**

HEARING
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED EIGHTEENTH CONGRESS
FIRST SESSION

NOVEMBER 15, 2023

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United States House Committee on
Ways & Means
CHAIRMAN JASON SMITH

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
November 8, 2023
No. FC-18

CONTACT: 202-225-3625

**Chairman Smith Announces Hearing: From Ivory Towers to Dark Corners:
Investigating the Nexus Between Antisemitism, Tax-Exempt Universities,
and Terror Financing**

House Committee on Ways and Means Chairman Jason Smith (MO-08) announced today that the Committee will hold a hearing on the rise of antisemitic protests and violence against Jewish students on college campuses; the lackluster response from many Universities; and concerns about the potential role of U.S. charities providing material support for terrorism abroad, including Hamas. The hearing will take place on **Wednesday, November 15, 2023, at 2:00 PM in 1100 Longworth House Office Building.**

Members of the public may view the hearing via live webcast available at <https://waysandmeans.house.gov>. The webcast will not be available until the hearing starts.

In view of the limited time available to hear the witnesses, oral testimony at this hearing will be from invited witnesses only. However, any individual or organization not scheduled for an oral appearance may submit a written statement for consideration by the Committee and for inclusion in the printed record of the hearing.

DETAILS FOR SUBMISSION OF WRITTEN COMMENTS:

Please Note: Any person(s) and/or organization(s) wishing to submit written comments for the hearing record can do so here: WMSubmission@mail.house.gov.

Please ATTACH your submission as a Microsoft Word document in compliance with the formatting requirements listed below, **by the close of business on Wednesday, November 29, 2023**. For questions, or if you encounter technical problems, please call (202) 225-3625.

FORMATTING REQUIREMENTS:

The Committee relies on electronic submissions for printing the official hearing record. As always, submissions will be included in the record according to the discretion of the Committee. The Committee will not alter the content of your submission but reserves the right to format it according to guidelines. Any submission provided to the Committee by a witness, any materials submitted for the printed record, and any written comments in response to a request for written comments must conform to the guidelines listed below. Any submission not in compliance with these guidelines will not be printed but will be maintained in the Committee files for review and use by the Committee.

All submissions and supplementary materials must be submitted in a single document via email, provided in Word format and must not exceed a total of 10 pages. Please indicate the title of the hearing as the subject line in your submission. Witnesses and submitters are advised that the Committee relies on electronic submissions for printing the official hearing record. All submissions must include a list of all clients, persons and/or organizations on whose behalf the witness appears. The name, company, address, telephone, and fax numbers of each witness must be included in the body of the email. Please exclude any personal identifiable information in the attached submission.

Failure to follow the formatting requirements may result in the exclusion of a submission. All submissions for the record are final.

ACCOMMODATIONS:

The Committee seeks to make its facilities accessible to persons with disabilities. If you require accommodations, please call 202-225-3625 or request via email to WMSubmission@mail.house.gov in advance of the event (four business days' notice is requested). Questions regarding accommodation needs in general (including availability of Committee materials in alternative formats) may be directed to the Committee as noted above.

Note: All Committee advisories and news releases are available on the Committee website at <http://www.waysandmeans.house.gov/>.

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**FROM IVORY TOWERS TO DARK CORNERS:
INVESTIGATING THE NEXUS BETWEEN
ANTISEMITISM, TAX-EXEMPT
UNIVERSITIES, AND TERROR FINANCING**

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 2023

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS,
Washington, DC.

The Committee met, pursuant to call, at 2:11 p.m. in Room 1100, Longworth House Office Building, Hon. Jason T. Smith [Chairman of the Committee] presiding.

Chairman SMITH. The committee will come to order.

Good afternoon, everyone. I want to, before we start, recognize two members who have decided that they want to leave us in Congress, Mr. Brad Wenstrup and Brian Higgins. Since the last time that we met, the news came out with both of them.

Brad has devoted his life to service whether it was in the Army, whether it was as a doctor, or also in Congress. And Brian has been a tireless advocate for western New York, dating all the way back to his time on the Buffalo City Council.

We all wish you both well in your next endeavors, and we will miss you, but we are still going to have some fun time ahead.

So the October—oh, Richie, yes.

Mr. NEAL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Let me also say some really fine things about the two people that you have just referenced.

Brian Higgins would have shared many of the same traditions that I did coming along on the city council on the way up, but a stellar member of this committee in all forms.

And Brad Wenstrup, I am delighted to have met. What a terrific human being. And we are going to miss him, a really fine guy.

And you know, the time that I have been here, they also have something else in common. They both knew how to make their point, but they were never malicious. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. The October 7 terrorist attack by Hamas was barbaric and horrifying. Civilians were targeted, tortured, raped, murdered, and kidnaped. Approximately 240 people are being held hostage in Gaza right now. They range in age from 9 months to 85 years old, and come from over 33 countries, including the United States. The families of these hostages are living in anguish, hoping and praying their loved ones are alive and will come home.

We stand with these families and Israel. We affirm Israel's right to fully defend itself against terrorists. While we stand with the

Jewish people, what makes this moment worse is that many have responded by blaming Israel. Unfortunately, the hateful beliefs behind the attack are not isolated to the Middle East. This committee has jurisdiction over the tax code and must address two related issues that have been laid bare in the aftermath of October 7.

First, tax-exempt charities operating in the United States are providing support, encouragement, and potential financing to Hamas and Hamas-affiliated groups. This concern is not theoretical. In the early 2000s, the U.S. Government identified and shut down the Holy Land Foundation in the United States. That foundation funneled 12.4 million from Americans to Hamas. Shockingly, a 500(c)(3) entity called American Muslims for Palestine and its related (c)(4) have been sued in Federal court for operating as an alter ego of the Holy Land Foundation. The two groups have many of the same leaders and may be continuing the same efforts to support Hamas.

Second, the eruption of hatred towards Jewish students on college campuses after the October 7 attack has been disturbing to watch, but the organization around it is not some organic movement. It has been carefully built over years, in part by American Muslims for Palestine. They helped build, shape, and train a group called Students for Justice in Palestine, or SJP. Many SJP events have involved pro-Hamas slogans and have led to intimidation, harassment, and violence against Jewish students.

Unfortunately, an absence of leadership on college campuses has allowed hostility toward Jewish students to escalate since October 7, and too many university presidents have sought to placate the most radical voices on their campuses. University presidents were quick and forceful in issuing statements supporting numerous social justice matters. They haven't shied away from commenting on other events affecting their students, but, when it comes to the bloodiest day for Jews since the Holocaust, they couldn't find their voices.

Cornell's president had to clarify her initial vague statement to let people know she does think Hamas's attack was terrorism.

Harvard's president waited days to comment, allowing student groups condemning Israel to implicitly speak for the university.

At the same time, we have seen pro-Palestinian protest become a means of intimidation and threats of violence. When they fail to act, universities claim it is about free speech rights. But that is laughable. These universities have a track record of failing to protect free speech rights, while instead protecting preferred speech.

In fact, colleges are actively suppressing speech protected by the First Amendment. For example, the Foundation for Individual Rights and Education, or FIRE, rates universities on their commitment to free speech on campuses. The University of Pennsylvania's latest rating is "very poor." This is likely due to multiple instances of professors being investigated and disciplined for expressing various opinions relating to race and gender.

Universities can and should protect free speech rights on campus for all voices, not just the ones that they prefer. This shouldn't be hard. Good people around the world have the moral clarity to call out evil as evil; terrorism as terrorism. We should have that same moral clarity as we proceed today.

Chairman SMITH. I am pleased to recognize the ranking member, Mr. Neal, for his opening statement.

Mr. NEAL. Thank you for calling this hearing, Mr. Chairman. And let there be no doubt that I, along with our colleagues on the Democratic side, as well, are here today to condemn anti-Semitism in all its forms, including the brutal attack that was launched by the terrorist organization Hamas on Israel on October 7. The last month has been heartbreaking. To all those who are affected by the ongoing war, to the students who are afraid, and to all those whose hearts are broken watching the devastation unfold, please know we are with you.

Over a month ago, Hamas unleashed evil, slaughtering 1,200 people and kidnaping hundreds, including Americans. This horrific event was the largest loss of Jewish life in a single day since the Holocaust. Meanwhile, there has been a sharp tick in anti-Semitism. These are not isolated incidents any longer. They are taking place on campuses across the country and communities, as well, and bringing back the pain and fear that Jewish people know all too well and they should not have to endure.

Our first priority must always be safety. Universities also have a responsibility to cultivate safe and supportive learning environments. Anti-Semitism is not innate; it is learned.

As Members of Congress, we must lead by example, requiring us not only to reject, but to condemn hate outright in all forms: racism, misogyny, xenophobia, Islamophobia. They have no place here and no place on our college campuses.

We know that those who spew hatred toward one group also target others. Combating anti-Semitism on campuses not only gives Jewish students the dignity, respect, and safety they deserve, but also builds on our broader efforts to counter bigotry and hate. Hate is an epidemic, and it must be combated comprehensively.

Recently, we have seen bombings on HBCU campuses, Asian students targeted in the wake of the pandemic, and rampant examples of White supremacy, all instances of hate-fueled discrimination, and we cannot be silent.

The Biden Administration has been dogged, launching new efforts to combat anti-Semitism on campuses back in May, and deepening that work over the last month. The Administration has quickly laid out a national security supplemental funding package to not only bolster the fight against Hamas terrorism, but also to deliver much-needed humanitarian aid for innocent people. There is bipartisan support for this funding, and the time is now to act.

The Department of Justice and Homeland Security are leading efforts to strengthen coordination between campus law enforcement and state and local law enforcement, as well, to keep these students safe while also providing cybersecurity experts to support universities in assessing online risks.

The Department of Education has taken several steps to address prohibited forms of anti-Semitic discrimination under title 6 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

This afternoon, there is an opportunity to listen, and I am grateful to our witnesses for taking the time to share their experiences and to let us know how Congress can best support you. Your ap-

pearance today is a profound act of courage and serves as a powerful reminder that we must always put people and free speech first.

Fighting anti-Semitism and all the hate must not be a dividing issue. But denouncing bigotry is an American value, and one that we all must carry forward from this day into the future.

Mr. NEAL. With that, I yield back the balance of my time.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you, Ranking Member Neal.

I am pleased to see such a large audience for our hearing today.

As a reminder, the chairman is responsible under the rules of the House and the rules of the committee to maintain order and preserve decorum in the committee room, and members of the audience are reminded that they must behave in an orderly fashion.

I will now introduce our witnesses.

Ms. Talia Dror is a student at Cornell University and vice president of finance for Cornellians for Israel.

Adam Lehman is president and CEO of Hillel International.

Jonathan Schanzer is senior vice president of research for the Foundation for Defense of Democracies.

And Noa Tishby is a best-selling author and Israel's former special envoy for combating anti-Semitism.

Jonathan Greenblatt is CEO and national director of the Anti-Defamation League.

Thank you all for joining us today. Your written statements will be made part of the hearing record, and you each have five minutes to deliver remarks.

Ms. Dror, you may begin when you are ready.

STATEMENT OF TALIA DROR, STUDENT AT CORNELL UNIVERSITY AND VICE PRESIDENT OF FINANCE, CORNELLIAN FOR ISRAEL

Ms. DROR. Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Neal, and members of the Ways and Means Committee, thank you for the invitation to testify today.

My name is Talia Dror, I am a student at Cornell studying industrial and labor relations with minors in business and legal policy. But beyond that, I am the embodiment of the American dream. I am the child of an immigrant who fled Iran after facing religious persecution, dreaming of an America where she could openly raise a Jewish family.

I grew up hearing the cautionary tales of blatant anti-Semitism, how my grandfather was stabbed for being a Jew, how my mother was called a dirty Jew on a daily basis, how my family had to pretend they weren't Jewish. But I never thought the horrific anti-Semitism they faced would follow us to the country we fled to for refuge.

Thirty-nine days ago, as I witnessed the mass rape, mutilation, and massacre committed by Hamas, my reality as a college student in the United States radically transformed. Students, professors, and administrators at Cornell celebrated the massacre of innocent civilians. Just five days after the heinous terror attacks, the student assembly introduced a resolution calling Hamas "an armed resistance," and placing full blame for the October 7 attacks on Israel.

At the hearing, I spoke about the fact that the very terrorists endorsed by that resolution called for a global Day of Rage the next day. I explained that, as a Jewish student leader, my community is terrified to walk around the school they pay to attend because they are afraid of getting threatened, assaulted, or killed.

Students at rallies chant genocidal phrases like, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free." This is a chant that calls for the elimination of the State of Israel and all seven million Jews inside of it. This is a chant that calls for a second Holocaust. Students scream, "Intifada Revolution," calling for deadly terror attacks on civilians.

A Cornell professor announced that he was exhilarated and energized by the Hamas attacks, by the murder of my family and friends.

On October 25, Cornell students woke up to a campus vandalized with graffiti that said, "Zionism equals genocide and New Intifada." That day, students walking into their classes stepped over calls for terror attacks and accusations of being genocidal for supporting the existence of the State of Israel.

Cornell's administration has made firm statements on everything from Supreme Court cases to the war in Ukraine to Black Lives Matter. But, in the wake of the deadliest day in Jewish history since the Holocaust, administrators have excused endorsements of terrorism under the guise of free speech. In their initial statement, they compared "the loss of life in the Middle East" to deaths caused by natural disasters. They allowed tensions to fester on campus, professors to use captive audiences to preach terrorist sympathies, and the targeting of Jewish students on their campus. They paved the perfect path for radicalized individuals to shift calls for the murder of Jews in Israel to calls for the extermination of Jews on campus.

On the morning of October 29, the provost, in an address to concerned Jewish parents, explained that while he understands concerns for their children's physical safety, that they shouldn't be worried. Not seven hours later, Jewish students on campus received threats that said, "If I see another Jew on campus, I will stab you and slit your throat. If I see another pig female Jew, I will drag you away, rape you, and throw you off a cliff. Jews are human animal and deserve pig's death. Liberation by any means, from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free." Quote, "Gonna shoot up 104 West," the kosher dining hall. "Glory to Hamas. Liberation by any means necessary."

That night, I sat in my locked house pondering my mortality. I knew that with my roommates and I being openly Jewish community leaders, our apartment would be one of the first targets for someone looking to actualize the threats. I thought back to the stories my mother told me growing up. I was a young child. I found so much comfort in having the privilege of being protected by a country built on a foundation of equal opportunity and individual liberty.

Two days later, I got news that the threats were made by a fellow student. This wasn't far away. It was at the same school I worked my whole life to get into, the school I invested my family's

hard-earned life savings to attend, the school that promised me they would uphold a community of belonging.

Universities have failed to uphold their self-proclaimed values of equity and belonging when it comes to Jewish students. The hypocrisy is glaring.

In light of horrific anti-Semitism, Jewish students on campus have been courageous and resilient, but we shouldn't need to be. American Jewish students on campus deserve better.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify.

[The statement of Ms. Dror follows:]

**Testimony of
Talía Dror**

**Committee on Ways and Means
U.S. House of Representatives**

November 15, 2023

**From Ivory Towers to Dark Corners: Investigating the Nexus Between
Antisemitism, Tax-Exempt Universities, and Terror Financing**

Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Neal, and Members of the Ways and Means Committee:

Thank you for your time and the invitation to testify today.

My name is Talía Dror. I'm a Junior at Cornell University studying Industrial and Labor Relations with minors in business and legal policy.

But beyond that, I am a human manifestation of the American dream. I am the child of an immigrant who fled Iran after facing religious persecution, dreaming of an America where she could openly raise a Jewish family. At the same time, I grew up hearing the cautionary tales of blatant antisemitism: how my grandfather was stabbed for being a Jew, how my mother was called a dirty Jew on a daily basis, how my family had to pretend they weren't Jewish. But I never thought the horrific antisemitism that they faced would follow us to the country they fled to for refuge.

Thirty nine days ago, as I witnessed the mass rape, mutilation, and massacre committed by Hamas, my own reality, as a college student in the United States, radically transformed.

Students, professors, and administrators on Cornell's campus, celebrating the brutal massacre of innocent civilians.

Just five days after the heinous terrorist attacks, the Cornell Student Assembly introduced a resolution justifying Hamas' actions and placing full blame on Israel.¹ At the hearing, I spoke about the fact that the terrorist organization endorsed by the resolution called for a global day of rage the very next day. I explained that as a Jewish student leader, my community is terrified to

¹ <https://cornellsun.com/2023/10/12/israel-palestine-supporters-discuss-proposed-sjp-resolution-at-student-assembly-meeting/>

walk around the school they pay to attend because they are afraid of getting threatened, assaulted, or killed.

Students at rallies chant genocidal phrases such as “from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.” This is a chant that calls for the elimination of the state of Israel and all 7 million Jews inside of it. This is a chant that calls for a second Holocaust. Students scream, “there is only one solution, intifada revolution,” which is a call for deadly terror attacks on civilians. A Cornell professor, announced that he was “exhilarated” and “energized” by the Hamas attacks.² By the murder of my family and friends.

On October 25th, Jewish students at Cornell woke up to a campus vandalized with graffiti that said “zionism = genocide” and “new intifada.”³ That day, Jewish students walking into their classes had to step over slogans that called for deadly attacks and accused them of being genocidal for supporting the existence of the state of Israel.

Historically, Cornell’s administration has made firm statements on everything from Supreme Court⁴ decisions to the war in Ukraine⁵ to Black Lives Matter.⁶ But in the wake of the darkest day in Jewish history since the Holocaust, administrators have excused endorsements of terrorism under the guise of free speech. In their initial statement, they compared the “loss of life in the middle east” to deaths caused by natural disasters. They allowed tensions to fester on campus, professors to use their captive audiences to preach terrorist sympathies, and the targeting of Jewish students on their campus.

They paved the perfect path for radicalized individuals to shift calls for the murder of Jews in Israel to calls for the elimination of Jews on campus.

On the morning of Sunday, October 29th, the provost of the university—in an address to concerned Jewish parents—explained that while he understands concerns for their children’s physical safety, they should not be worried.

Not 7 hours later, Jewish students on campus received threats that said:

“If I see another Jew on campus I will stab you and slit your throat. If I see another pig female jew i will drag you away, rape you, and throw you off a cliff. Jews are human

² <https://cornellsun.com/2023/10/16/cornell-professor-exhilarated-by-hamass-attack-defends-remark/>

³ <https://cornellsun.com/2023/10/27/anti-israel-graffiti-rally-for-palestine-jewish-community-gathering-week-roundup-of-campus-israel-palestine-demonstrations/>

⁴ <https://statements.cornell.edu/2023/20230629-supreme-court-decision.cfm>

⁵ <https://statements.cornell.edu/2022/20220302-ukraine.cfm>

⁶ <https://statements.cornell.edu/2020/20200529-oq5bv7-recent-killings.cfm>

animals and deserve pigs' death. Liberation by any means, from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free.”⁷

“Gonna shoot up 104 West, the kosher dining hall, glory to hamas, liberation by any means necessary.”

“Gonna bomb Jewish house in retaliation for the murder of 500 martyrs. You have been warned.”

That night, I sat in my locked house pondering my mortality. I knew that with my roommates and I being outspoken Jewish community leaders, having a mezuzah on our door, our apartment would be one of the first targets for someone looking to actualize these heinous threats. I thought back to the stories my mother told me as I grew up, how as a young child I found so much comfort in being an American, having the right of being protected by a country that was built on the foundation of equal opportunity and individual liberty.

For two days, I was petrified. How could I not be? I've opened my phone to texts from my friends at Ohio State about two of their Jewish friends who are in the hospital with a broken nose and jaw after getting punched for being Jewish?⁸ Or watching a video of Jewish student at Tulane who was sent to the hospital after getting bashed in the head with the pole of a Palestinian flag?⁹ Or the video of a student at Harvard who was mobbed by pro-Palestinian students just for wearing a Jewish headcovering?¹⁰

Two days later, I got news that the threats were made by a fellow student who lived down the street at the same school I have worked my whole life to get into. The school I invested my family's life savings to attend. The school that promised me that they would uphold a community of belonging.

When universities fail to recognize the inextricable link between antisemitism and anti-Israel activity, they reinforce the idea that violent threats against Jews are acceptable.

Today, college students, professors, and administrators are falsely equating Palestinian liberation with the massacre of innocent Israeli civilians. Their disguised language targets innocent Jews around the world.

⁷ <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/cornell-university-says-suspect-made-antisemitic-threats-police-custody-rcna123020>

⁸ <https://abcnews.go.com/US/ohio-state-antisemitic-incidents/story?id=104794723>

⁹ <https://www.nationalreview.com/news/tulane-student-criticizes-school-after-being-assaulted-while-preventing-israeli-flag-burning-just-unthinkable/>

¹⁰ <https://nypost.com/2023/11/01/news/harvard-student-mobbed-by-pro-palestinian-demonstrators-on-campus-video/>

Many universities are unfortunately failing their Jewish students. They have failed to uphold their self proclaimed values of equity and belonging when it comes to Jewish students. The hypocrisy is glaring. In light of the horrific antisemitism, students have been courageous and resilient. But we shouldn't need to be- American Jewish students on campus deserve better.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify.

[Applause.]

Chairman SMITH. Thank you for your brave testimony.
Mr. Lehman, you can now proceed.

**STATEMENT OF ADAM LEHMAN, PRESIDENT & CEO, HILLEL
INTERNATIONAL**

Mr. LEHMAN. Thank you, Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Neal, and distinguished members of the House Ways and Means Committee. I am here today on behalf of Hillel International, the largest Jewish student organization in the world with a presence on more than 700 campuses in the United States.

Our top priority in this fraught moment is addressing the frightening rise of anti-Semitism on college campuses. Really, telling the story you just heard from Talia that is playing out across the country.

Even before October 7, discrimination directed at Jewish students has been rising at a very concerning rate. However, since October 7, we have seen an unprecedented spike in harassment, intimidation, hate, and even violence directed at Jewish students. In the past five weeks, our Hillels have reported 398 anti-Semitic incidents, a figure that includes 28 physical assaults. This level of anti-Semitic activity represents more than a 700 percent increase—again, 700 percent increase—from the record level a year before in the same period.

In addition to the harrowing threats and issues that Talia just described at Cornell, at other campuses Jewish students—campuses from some of your own states—have been spit on, they have been beaten with a Palestinian flagpole, they have been physically assaulted for the crime of putting up a poster remembering Israeli hostages. They have been threatened by faculty members and subjected to an overwhelming onslaught of hate speech and intimidation.

While some of this hate speech is encoded within chants demonizing Israel and seeking its destruction that we have all become far too immune to, Jewish students have also faced calls to gas the Jews, kill the Jews, and that Jews are Nazis.

Let me be perfectly clear. We have no desire, as you all share, to see anyone's free speech rights curtailed or their academic freedom compromised. There should be space on campus to debate about the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and other geopolitical issues, including space for those advocating on behalf of both Israelis and Palestinians. But neither free speech nor academic freedom is a free pass for the targeted harassment, threats, discrimination, and violence being directed at Jewish and Israeli students.

Hillels across the country are doing all we can to provide additional security for their community spaces, wellness and mental health support, and advocacy on behalf of our students. And Jewish student leaders like Talia are displaying courage and resilience in representing their communities and in continuing to work to promote understanding and partnership with other communities across campus. But Hillel professionals, Chabad professionals, and student leaders cannot solve this problem alone. They need—and they deserve—the same attention and action from their univer-

sities that we would want for any students facing this level of harassment and discrimination.

Specifically, we are calling on university leaders to act firmly and swiftly in disciplining students, faculty, staff, and student groups like students for Justice in Palestine that are clearly violating university policies and, in many cases, violating the law. We are calling on them to ensure that their DEI departments address issues of anti-Semitism with the same focus and force that they do for other forms of discrimination; to regulate and rein in protest activities that are frequently spawning grounds for harassment, intimidation, and even violence; to invest in the added security protections that we need in this moment; and to partner with Hillel and other Jewish student organizations in ongoing efforts to eliminate the bias and hostility we are describing.

At a governmental level, we appreciate truly the moral clarity and expressions of support from both Congress and the Administration for Israel in its just war against Hamas and for Jewish Americans facing growing anti-Semitism.

That said, we respectfully request support in the following three areas.

Number one, security. We urge you to immediately and substantially expand the non-profit security grant program.

Number two, title 6 enforcement. We urge you to appropriate supplemental funding to the Office of Civil Rights at the Department of Education. We need them to have adequate resources to investigate and pursue title 6 claims.

And, finally, to support and fund implementation of the National Strategy to Counter Anti-Semitism.

Thank you for your consideration, and thank you for your time.
[The statement of Mr. Lehman follows:]



**Testimony of
Adam Lehman
President and CEO, Hillel International**

**Committee on Ways and Means
U.S. House of Representatives**

November 15, 2023

***From Ivory Towers to Dark Corners: Investigating the Nexus
Between Antisemitism, Tax-Exempt Universities, and Terror
Financing***



Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Neal, and Members of the House Ways and Means Committee:

On behalf of Hillel International, the largest Jewish campus organization in the U.S. and the world, with a presence on more than 700 campuses in the United States, our top priority in this fraught moment is addressing the frightening rise of antisemitism on college campuses and ensuring a positive campus environment for Jewish students. Hillel was founded 100 years ago to build the next generation of Jewish leaders by fostering vibrant Jewish life on college and university campuses. Today, at a time where we are experiencing the largest increase in campus antisemitism ever on record, and just five weeks after the gruesome terrorist attack on Israel, this hearing is both timely and critical.

Now more than ever, we need our partners in government and beyond to stand with Jewish students on campus to address the scourge of antisemitism. Today's hearing is an important step, and I appreciate the opportunity to testify today.

Introduction

Like all of us, Jewish students on college campuses woke up on Saturday, October 7, to learn of the most violent, depraved and murderous attack against the Jewish people since the Holocaust. Even in those first few hours during which the extent of Hamas's atrocities were still becoming known, students logged onto social media and saw fellow students posting a laudatory graphic of a Hamas terrorist on a paraglider — the same paragliders that were used in an attack to gun down more than 260 young people at a music festival in southern Israel. This shock, during a time when we were all processing what had happened, was hard enough.

But then, on top of that, as students left their dorm rooms to attend vigils across the country for the more than 1,200 Jews who were slaughtered and the 240 people taken hostage, their mourning and grief were interrupted by pro-Hamas protestors. They saw that a Hamas leader had called for "a global day of jihad" against Jews around the world. All within 72 hours of seeing graphic images of thousands of Israeli civilians — people to whom they feel connected or may even know — being slaughtered, raped, taken hostage, or maimed.

Through all of this, students were met with a baffling silence and indifference from many whom they — and we — expected to show empathy and to speak on their behalf, including faculty who lead classes and administrators who lead our country's colleges and universities.



Antisemitism On College Campuses

Even before October 7, 2023, hatred and bias directed at Jewish students had been rising at a concerning rate. From 2016 to 2021, Hillel tracked a threefold increase in antisemitic incidents on American college campuses, up from 109 annual reported incidents in 2016, to 244 in 2021. In 2022, 43% of Jewish students surveyed reported that they witnessed or experienced antisemitism on their campus. Despite this troubling trend, in our work with students, antisemitism did not define most of the day-to-day experience of being Jewish on campus.¹

However, since October 7, Jewish students on campuses across the United States have become a prime target for discrimination, harassment, and hate. Antisemitism now defines the daily experience for far too many Jewish students – many are afraid to be visibly Jewish, afraid of how faculty will treat them, afraid to walk through campus out of fear of being harassed or even physically assaulted, and afraid of demonstrations turning violent. **This understandable fear is now shaping and disrupting the everyday experience of a majority of Jewish college students.**

In just the five weeks since the October 7 attack, there have been 375 antisemitic incidents on campuses across the country reported to Hillel – representing a 700% increase compared with the same period last year.² These incidents have included 27 physical assaults, 23 Hillels vandalized or targeted, 155 incidents of hate speech, and 127 incidents of antisemitic vandalism or graffiti elsewhere on campus. Let me put that in context for you. Over the last four years, there have never been more than 50 incidents reported to Hillel in a comparable month. Of course, 50 antisemitic incidents in a month is a significant problem on its own. But to see it spike to 375 incidents should set off alarm bells for every member of this committee. These are your constituents. These are the young people of your communities. These are hardworking members of their campus communities who deserve the same safety, security, and respect we would want for all students. And yet Jewish students are being harassed, marginalized, and yes, assaulted. We are asking you to use your authority to help keep them safe and to restore our university campuses to places of learning and personal growth, not breeding grounds for hate and discrimination.

Let me give you a sense of what Jewish students have faced in just the last five weeks. While many of these incidents captured national headlines, some of these incidents never even made the

¹ The ADL-Hillel Campus Antisemitism Survey: 2021, Anti-Defamation League & Hillel International, October 26, 2021 <https://www.adl.org/resources/report/adl-hillel-campus-antisemitism-survey-2021>.

² This figure is based on reports collected through reportcampushate.org, and reports compiled by campus Hillel professionals.

news — which is troubling on its own — but were reported to Hillel International through our campus staff.

- At Cooper Union College in New York City, Jewish students had to shelter in the library as pro-Palestinian protesters banged on the doors and chanted antisemitic slogans.³
- At Cornell University, a student threatened to kill and injure Jewish students, commit acts of sexual violence against Jewish women, and “shoot up” a kosher dining hall on an online platform.⁴ And just a few weeks before that, Cornell Professor Russel Rickford called Hamas’s killing of more than 1,200 Jews “exhilarating” and “energizing.”⁵
- At UMass Amherst, a Jewish student was punched in the face while holding an Israeli flag.⁶
- A professor at UC Davis made online threats of violence against “zionist journalists,” saying that “they have kids, with addresses.” The university is investigating but, to date, has not taken any action.⁷
- At Ohio State University, two people entered the Hillel building and vandalized Israeli flags in the building, then shouted anti-Israel statements and threats. The next day, two students were physically assaulted in Columbus when their attackers asked them if they were Jewish, and they answered yes.⁸

³ “WATCH: Cooper Union Jewish Students Attacked by Pro-Palestinian Student Group,” *Jerusalem Post*, October 26, 2023, <https://www.jpost.com/breaking-news/article-770180>.

⁴ Elijah Westbrook, “FBI Investigating Antisemitic Threats Against Jewish Community at Cornell University,” CBS News, October 30, 2023, <https://www.cbsnews.com/newyork/news/fbi-investigating-antisemitic-threats-against-jewish-community-at-cornell-university/>.

⁵ Jesse O’Neill, “Cornell Students Call for Action Against Prof who was ‘Exhilarated’ by Hamas Attack,” *New York Post*, October 17, 2023, <https://nypost.com/2023/10/17/cornell-students-call-for-action-against-russell-rickford/>.

⁶ “UMass Amherst Student Allegedly Punched Jewish Student, Spit on Israeli Flag,” WBZ CBS News Boston, November 6, 2023, <https://www.cbsnews.com/boston/news/umass-amherst-student-punches-jewish-student-spit-israel-flag/>.

⁷ Jeremy Childs, “UC Davis condemns post apparently by professor threatening ‘zionist journalists,’” *Los Angeles Times*, October 21, 2023, <https://www.latimes.com/california/story/2023-10-21/uc-davis-condemns-post-apparently-by-professor-threatening-zionist-journalists>.

⁸ Emily Sanderson, “Ohio Gov. DeWine calls for extra patrols around OSU after students assaulted, Hillel vandalized,” WLWT5, November 10, 2023, <https://www.wlwt.com/article/ohio-state-university-attacks-antisemitic-hillel-vandalism/4580625>.

- At Stanford University, an instructor forced Jewish and Israeli students in a freshmen lecture class to identify themselves, then herded them into a corner of the room and separated them from their belongings, saying now they would know what it was like to be a Palestinian. In a later class, the same instructor asked each student to say what country they were from, and separated them into “colonizer” and “colonized”.⁹
- At Syracuse University, anti-Israel demonstrators accused university administrators, Hillel, Chabad, Jewish fraternities and sororities, and every other Jewish organization on campus of being complicit in genocide.¹⁰
- An Israeli student at Columbia University was physically beaten with a broomstick outside of the library.¹¹
- The Alpha Epsilon Pi fraternity house on Georgia Tech’s campus was vandalized.¹²
- A Jewish student at East Carolina University was bullied with hate speech and told that she “should have been finished in the oven like a slice of pizza.”
- At Drexel University, a swastika was painted on an academic building along with the words “f*** the Jews.”¹³
- Rallies on campuses across the country have included chants and signs featuring slogans such as, “the jews R Nazis”, “Zionism is genocide”, “Zionism is facism”, and “we don’t want no Jewish state, we want all of ‘48.” Many understand the last slogan as a call for a single Palestinian state — that is, the destruction of Israel.

⁹ Taylor Romine, Kelly McCleary and Cheri Mossburg, “A Stanford University Instructor Has Been Removed from the Classroom Amid Reports they Called Jewish Students Colonizers and Downplayed the Holocaust”, CNN <https://www.cnn.com/2023/10/13/us/stanford-instructor-jewish-holocaust-comments-regi/index.html>.

¹⁰ Max Bevington, “Syracuse University Investigating Incendiary, Antisemitic Remarks Made at Campus Demonstration,” LocalSyr.com, November 9, 2023, <https://www.localsyr.com/news/local-news/syracuse-university-investigating-incendiary-antisemitic-remarks-made-at-campus-demonstration/>.

¹¹ Amanda Woods and Olivia Land, “Israeli Student Attacked with a Stick Outside Columbia University Library: Cops” *NYP*Post, October 12, 2023 <https://nypost.com/2023/10/12/israeli-student-attacked-outside-columbia-university-library/>.

¹² Cody Alcorn, “Jewish Fraternity House Vandalized on Georgia Tech Campus”, *11Alive*.com, October 17, 2023, <https://www.11alive.com/article/news/local/jewish-fraternity-house-vandalized-georgia-tech/85-6ca3b011-7f2b-4f7b-94a4-ccc844febd96>.

¹³ Shreeya Gounder and Krishna Thaker, “Arson and antisemitic graffiti heighten fears of hate crime on Drexel campus,” *The Triangle*, October 20, 2023, <https://www.thetriangle.org/news/arson-and-antisemitic-graffiti-heighten-fears-of-hate-crime-on-drexel-campus/>.



- A Jewish student at Tulane University was struck repeatedly by a pro-Palestinian protester with a flagpole as the protester attempted to burn an Israeli flag, sending the student to the ER.

It's easy to understand why Jewish students are scared. In fact, based on our survey that we commissioned of Jewish college students conducted on October 18 and 19, more than half (56%) report being scared and isolated.

Worse yet, a quarter of Jewish students surveyed said violence or acts of hate have been committed on their campus since the October 7 Hamas attack. That's one in four students subjected to violence in the span of two weeks in what should be a space for learning.

Put yourself in the position of Jewish parents across the country concerned for their children. Every day brings a new and horrifying incident. This can't continue.

Let me be clear: we have no desire to see anyone's free speech rights curtailed or their academic freedom compromised. But neither free speech nor academic freedom is a free pass to allow, or worse, foster a hostile and discriminatory environment on campus for Jewish students. There should be space on campus to debate the conflict, including space for those advocating on behalf of Palestinian civilians, many of whom have suffered under Hamas's rule themselves. In fact, many Jewish students are taking part in that advocacy and sharing empathy for all innocent civilians impacted by the war, Israeli and Palestinian alike. But that's not the same as glorifying the terrorists who kidnapped, raped, and murdered innocent Jews. Legitimate, passionate advocacy certainly does not involve harassment and death threats. And while some colleges and universities are taking action to create a safe learning environment for Jewish students, too many others are not fulfilling that promise and mandate.

How We Got Here

One long-running concern relates to a group called Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), an organization that has long contributed to a hostile environment for Jewish and Zionist college students through their incessant campaigns to demonize Israel on campus. Since the terror attack against Israeli men, women, and children on October 7, SJP has consistently glorified the largest slaughter of Jews since the Holocaust, calling it, in one case, "a historic win."¹⁴ In public

¹⁴ Joseph Ax and Gabriella Borter, "U.S. Colleges Become Flashpoints for Protests over Israel-Hamas War," Reuters, October 13, 2023,



displays on numerous campuses, SJP has celebrated the atrocities perpetrated by Hamas and sought to justify those atrocities as “resistance”, in some cases explicitly calling for more violence against Jews. These SJP-sponsored activities have led to assaults and harassment of Jewish and Israeli students and vandalizing of Jewish institutions like Hillel and other campus property – and these acts of hate are increasing.

While we do believe that students should – and have every right to – come together to explore, debate, learn, and be politically active on any issue, we also believe that groups who support terrorists and incite violence against their fellow students should not be recognized and funded as official student organizations. To that end, we appreciate university leaders condemning any activities that glorify terrorism, harass, and threaten students, and violate clear and reasonable university policies. This includes removing support and recognition of SJP chapters, as we’ve started to see at both Brandeis University, which has revoked recognition of SJP’s campus chapter, and Columbia University, which has suspended SJP for the remainder of the semester.¹⁵

How Hillel Has Responded

While it’s a frightening and anxious time to be a Jewish student, our community is courageous and resilient, especially where we have strong partnerships with universities and leaders in government. I am incredibly proud of the work being done by campus Hillel professionals and student leaders across the country. Faced with their own pain and fear following the heinous terrorist attacks of October 7, they have mobilized to support their communities. Since October 7, campus Hillels have held hundreds of vigils, rallies, and other events to show solidarity with Israel, mourn the victims of the October 7 massacre, and highlight the ongoing plight of the 240 Israeli hostages still being held in Gaza. Hillels have also prioritized offering time, space, and mental health resources for Jewish students to gather and draw strength from one another, and ensure that Jewish college students are safe. As we always have and always will, Hillel believes that one

<https://www.reuters.com/world/us/us-colleges-become-flashpoints-protests-both-sides-israel-hamas-war-2023-10-13/>.

¹⁵ “Columbia University Suspends Student Groups Students for Justice in Palestine & Jewish Voice for Peace for Allegedly Violating School Policies,” CBS New York, November 10, 2023,

<https://www.cbsnews.com/newyork/news/columbia-university-student-groups-suspended-students-for-justice-in-palestine-jewish-voice-for-peace/>; Jericho Tran, “Brandeis University Bans Pro-Palestinian Student Group,” NBC Boston, November 7, 2023,

<https://www.nbcboston.com/news/local/brandeis-university-bans-pro-palestinian-student-group/3183990/>.



critical way to counter antisemitism is by building vibrant Jewish communities where Jewish students can express their Jewish identities fully, and by building relationships with other communities across campus to promote partnership and understanding. We remain steadfast in these commitments.

At the same time, we need campus leaders and public officials to play their critical and unique roles in addressing this frightening spike in antisemitism. Campus administrations must take steps consistent with the U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism to root out the underlying issues that contribute to the antisemitic rhetoric we are seeing on many campuses the past few weeks, and to ensure their compliance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act.¹⁶

Since our founding in 1923, Hillel has worked to be a constructive partner to college and university administrators seeking to address the scourge of antisemitism on their campuses. In this current period, we are collaborating with university leaders through our Campus Climate Initiative, a unique educational program that provides campus administrators with practical solutions for ensuring a safe and positive campus climate in which Jewish students feel comfortable expressing their identity and values, free from antisemitism, harassment, or marginalization.¹⁷ University leaders play an essential role in effecting broad-based educational and policy change on campus, and we know that partnerships between campus administrators and Hillels can catalyze positive changes that benefit Jewish students and all students. To date, more than 50 major colleges and universities have participated in the Campus Climate Initiative's 16-month in-depth program, and as just one measure of success, institutions that have participated issued quicker, stronger, unqualified statements after Hamas' attack on Israel.

Just last week, Hillel International hosted a convening at the University of Southern California with more than 250 higher education leaders from throughout the Western United States. The leaders in attendance, ranging from university presidents to DEI officials from 40 colleges and universities, discussed the urgent challenge of antisemitism facing Jewish students, and the many practical solutions universities can pursue in response. These remedies range from fully incorporating antisemitism education and response into their DEI initiatives; to improving their procedures for soliciting, investigating, and acting upon complaints of discrimination and bias directed at Jewish

¹⁶ White House, "The U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism: Key Actions by Pillar," June 2, 2023, <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefing-room/statements-releases/2023/06/02/the-u-s-national-strategy-to-counter-antisemitism-key-actions-by-pillar-2/>.

¹⁷ Hillel International, "Campus Climate Initiative," accessed November 11, 2023, <https://www.hillel.org/campus-climate-initiative/>.



students; to consistently disciplining students, faculty, staff, and student organizations that violate university policies; to better regulating and policing the protests that are in some cases creating mob-like conditions leading to targeting, harassment, and assaults on Jewish and Israeli students.

University Responses

Faced with the news that Hamas intentionally targeted civilians in such vile and brutal ways, committing numerous crimes against humanity, Jewish students need—and deserve—to have their university leaders and others on campus recognize the trauma that's been inflicted on them — less than 80 years since the Holocaust — and provide them with the space and support to process and to grieve for their families, friends, and loved ones. Instead, they have too often heard from those university leaders misplaced platitudes about cycles of violence and the need for unity and understanding, effectively gaslighting one of the most heinous acts of terrorism against civilians that the world has ever seen.

Some campuses are getting this right. Emory President Gregory Fennes denounced the war crimes committed by Hamas, and wrote, "The reality of Jews being senselessly murdered and taken as hostages will not soon leave my mind, and must be condemned in the strongest possible terms."¹⁸ President Ben Sasse at the University of Florida said, "I will not tiptoe around this simple fact: What Hamas did is evil and there is no defense for terrorism. This shouldn't be hard."¹⁹ And University of Miami President Julio Frenk noted the community's deep ties to Israel, and offered the full mental health support resources of the university to support all students experiencing anxiety or stress, including Jewish students.²⁰ Condemning terrorist atrocities and showing compassion for Jewish

¹⁸ Gregory L. Fennes (President, Emory University) to the Emory Community, October 11, 2023, <https://view.inspire.emory.edu/?qs=82b77784b0aa2bbc97e6d26f6ed1fada897f113409d52705e9d55fd6bad60d52b1394f8876d35d65815655d1660293c8f2bdqa159182627ef215fce06df6eb50f622cbb3d454961166ee546f1abf139e>.

¹⁹ Andrew Caplan, "UF President Ben Sasse Condemns Hamas Attacks, Ensures Student Safety after Stampede Vigil," *Gainesville Sun*, October 12, 2023, <https://www.gainesville.com/story/news/local/2023/10/12/ufs-ben-sasse-pens-letter-to-jewish-students-warns-of-protests/71154956007/>.

²⁰ Julio Frenk (President, University of Miami) to the University of Miami Community, October 9, 2023, <https://view.connect.miami.edu/?qs=35a912e9a90140520f6d325706d687f57c4c0b4609cc24fc5308b3d0413d0e0b98e8e74293d186ed82c7413a84be081eafae16132e5ddc8de41ba4636d4fe1926eef7f597f31b3ag>.



students in a statement as these universities have done should be the lowest common denominator for supporting the Jewish community.

Even with the efforts of those administrations that have spoken up about the initial Hamas atrocities and the subsequent spike in antisemitism, only 41% of the Jewish students we surveyed reported feeling satisfied with support from their university leaders.

Hillels around the world are doing all they can to provide additional security, community space, programming, wellness support and advocacy on behalf of Jewish students. However, Hillel professionals and student leaders can't solve this problem alone. They need — and Jewish students deserve — campus administrators to continue speaking up, showing up, and standing up for their Jewish student communities, which does not in any way preclude them from doing the same for Palestinian-Americans or other students being impacted by the war.

In particular, university administrations must address faculty and staff who use their platforms and resources to traffic in biased and discriminatory agitation that alienates, silences and marginalizes significant minority communities on their campuses. I understand the needs and protections for academic freedom and free speech, but those freedoms are not a license to create an environment of harassment, bullying, and threats for Jewish students, or for any students.

Even amid this degrading campus climate for Jewish students, there is a reason for hope. We've seen Jewish students and Hillel communities show up with courage and resilience in mourning for the victims of the October 7 massacre, and in showing compassion toward the continuing civilian victims of the war — both Israeli and Palestinian — even as they understand that it is Hamas who has put all of those victims in harm's way.

Our Requests for College and University Administrators

We are stronger when we stand together, and that's why we need sustained attention on this issue from the highest levels of government to strengthen our work.

That means ensuring that universities develop clear and transparent non-discrimination and anti-harassment policies that protect against the harassment or exclusion of Jewish, Israeli, and Zionist students; promoting clear and transparent mechanisms for students to report hate



incidents and acts of antisemitism to campus administrators; and ensuring clear and transparent communication from campus leadership regarding steps taken in response to reported incidents.

It will also require the urgent creation of cross-disciplinary task forces or advisory councils — in consultation with Hillel and other Jewish campus partners — to review, address, and improve Jewish student life on campus. Participating in programs like Hillel International's Campus Climate Initiative, which works directly with university administrators to educate them on the history and modern manifestations of antisemitism, is one of many critical steps.²¹

And it will require university leadership to remain nimble and proactive in responding to and preventing antisemitism, to keep open lines of communication with Jewish organizations on campus to respond to needs in real time, and to regularly evaluate whether additional proactive steps are needed to ensure a safe, inclusive, and equitable learning environment for all students, including Jewish students.

Our Requests from Congress and the Federal Government

Much of what is required to address campus antisemitism will depend on colleges and universities taking this issue seriously and responding with concrete changes in their policies and practices. And we appreciate the moral clarity and expressions of support for Israel in its war against Hamas and for Jewish Americans facing growing antisemitism from both Congress and the administration. That said, we would also request the following additional targeted areas of action to bolster our efforts and those of other Jewish organizations:

- **Security:** It is imperative that we strengthen the physical security of Jewish institutions on campus and other security protections for Jewish students. To that end, we urge Congress to immediately and substantially expand the Nonprofit Security Grant program so that our Hillels and other Jewish groups on campus can rapidly deploy security improvements and security personnel.
- **Title VI Enforcement:** Title VI of the Civil Rights Act has become a critical tool in holding universities accountable in addressing hostile and discriminatory environments for Jewish students that deprive them of equal access to education on their campuses. Unfortunately, there are a large and growing number of legitimate complaints from Jewish students, faculty, and staff that merit investigation and action. At the same time, the Office of Civil

²¹ Hillel International, "Campus Climate Initiative," accessed November 11, 2023, <https://www.hillel.org/campus-climate-initiative/>.



Rights at the Department of Education (OCR) does not have adequate resources to promptly pursue these investigations and Title VI actions. We urge Congress, with the support of this Committee, to appropriate supplemental funding to OCR for this critical purpose.

- **Antisemitism Prevention:** To reverse the trend toward growing antisemitism on campus and elsewhere in American society, we need to invest in education and policy change that can better inculcate Americans to the nature of contemporary antisemitism and promote greater understanding and tolerance between the Jewish community and other communities on campus and beyond. To that end, we would ask Congress to consider targeted funding to support non-profit organizations providing these educational and policy solutions, through public-private partnerships.

Conclusion

Jewish learning and tradition teaches us to bring light, even and especially into these darkest moments, and today's Jewish college students exemplify that tradition. While students have a role to play in repairing what's broken in their campus communities and in the broader world, that does not absolve the university administrators, faculty, staff, and our government from doing everything within their powers to ensure the well-being, safety and support for all of their students, including their Jewish students.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify today.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.
Dr. Schanzer, you are recognized.

STATEMENT OF JONATHAN SCHANZER, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT OF RESEARCH, FOUNDATION FOR DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACIES (FDD)

Mr. SCHANZER. Mr. Chairman, Mr. Ranking Member, distinguished committee members, Hamas is alive and well in America.

Over the last month, this country has seen an alarming number of rallies, both in major cities and on college campuses, expressing support for the terrorist organization. Much of this activity, which I detail in my written testimony, includes unabashed anti-Semitism, and even calls for genocide against Israel. And a lot of this can be traced to a handful of extremist groups, but two of them stand out in particular: American Muslims for Palestine, AMP, and Students for Justice in Palestine, SJP, a campus group that receives funding and guidance and support from AMP.

Mr. Chairman, I worked at the U.S. Treasury Department in the mid-2000s, and my colleagues and I disrupted several Hamas charities that were operating here in America. I am talking about the Holy Land Foundation, KindHearts, and the Islamic Association for Palestine, also known as IAP. The case against these groups, which provided financial and material support to Hamas, is by now well known. More than a half dozen individuals who previously worked for those Hamas charities now run American Muslims for Palestine.

In my written testimony, I delve more deeply into the network, but there are four figures that I would like to highlight here today.

First is Osama Abuirshaid, who was the former editor of IAP's newspaper. He is now AMP's executive director. He regularly publishes articles promoting Hamas, including communications with Hamas leaders. In 2014, Abuirshaid was featured on the website of Hamas's self-declared military wing, the al-Qassam Brigades.

Abdelbaset Hamayel, IAP's, former secretary general, is identified in IRS filings as the person who possesses the organization's books and records for AMP's fiscal sponsor, Americans for Justice in Palestine Educational Foundation. Today, he is active in AMP's Chicago chapter.

Salah Sarsour is a national AMP board member who previously raised funds for the Holy Land Foundation. Today, he is director of Americans for Justice in Palestine Educational Foundation, again, the 501(c)(3) that is the fiscal sponsor of AMP. In the 1990s, Sarsour spent eight months in an Israeli jail for Hamas activity. He used a bank account from his furniture store in Milwaukee to send money to a Hamas military leader. Sarsour today owns a Wisconsin furniture store that advertises and fundraises at AMP's annual conferences.

Finally, AMP's current chairman and SJP founder, Hatem Bazian, also helped raise money for KindHearts in 2004.

These and other AMP figures are promoting pro-Hamas sentiment across America today. AMP is lobbying legislators here on Capitol Hill. Those Members of Congress include and are not limited to Representatives Ilhan Omar, Rashida Tlaib, Jan Scha-

kowsky, Betty McCollum, Summer Lee, Bill Pascrell, Andre Carson, and others.

AMP has built a network of activists that are tormenting Jewish and pro-Israel students on college campuses nationwide. Students for Justice in Palestine rallies are not spontaneous expressions of student dissent. AMP's campus outreach coordinator, Taher Herzallah, provides guidance and support to SJP chapters and other extremist groups on campus.

Mr. Chairman, to summarize, the personnel, mission, goals, donors, and infrastructure of AMP share a striking resemblance to the Hamas charities that were dismantled here more than a decade ago. This was not lost on the family of David Boim, an American teenager killed by Hamas. The Boim family sued AMP, alleging that AMP is the alter-ego of the Islamic Association for Palestine. They say AMP is the same institution, fulfilling the same functions, with the same goals of IAP merely operating under a different name to avoid legal liabilities. I cannot predict the outcome of that case, but I believe AMP is a hate group with roots in Hamas fundraising organizations that were shuttered for a reason.

AMP student networks who practice hate speech and incite violence should not be allowed to operate on American college campuses. AMP's lobby should not be welcomed on Capitol Hill.

I must ask, are U.S. intelligence and law enforcement agencies working to answer the questions raised by the Boim lawsuit?

Is this network of individuals that formerly worked for Hamas-connected charities providing support for Hamas under a different name?

I first brought this issue to Congress seven years ago. It was around then that U.S. officials quietly conceded to me that certain Hamas networks were protected sources in the fight against ISIS. I sincerely hope this is no longer the case.

On behalf of Foundation for Defense of Democracies, thank you for the opportunity to testify.

[The statement of Mr. Schanzer follows:]

CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY: FOUNDATION FOR DEFENSE OF DEMOCRACIES

House Ways and Means Committee

From Ivory Towers to Dark Corners:

Investigating the Nexus Between
Antisemitism, Tax-Exempt Universities,
and Terror Financing

DR. JONATHAN SCHANZER

Senior Vice President for Research
Foundation for Defense of Democracies

Washington, DC
November 15, 2023



www.fdd.org

Chairman Smith, Ranking Member Neal, and members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to testify.

In the wake of the October 7 terrorist attack in Israel, the United States has seen a marked rise in rallies and protests, both on main street America and on college campuses, expressing support for the Hamas terrorist organization. Much of this troubling activity, which has included calls for violence, the unabashed articulation of antisemitism, and even calls for genocide against Israel, can be attributed to a constellation of extremist groups.

Two groups stand out in particular: American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) and Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), a campus group that receives funding and training from AMP.¹

Seven years ago, I testified before Congress on two separate occasions,² noting how AMP was spawned by individuals who previously worked for nonprofits that were shuttered by federal authorities or sued in civil court because they provided financial or material support to Hamas.

When I testified in 2016, legislators exhibited an interest. So did federal law enforcement. However, one official candidly told me that suspected Hamas activists in the United States were viewed then as protected sources in the fight against the Islamic State terrorist group.

¹ “Student Activism for Palestine is The Pride of Our Movement,” American Muslims for Palestine, March 31, 2023. (<https://www.ampalastine.org/media/blog/student-activism-palestine-pride-our-movement>); American Muslims for Palestine, Facebook, October 11, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/ampalastine/posts/pfbid0U5uyWJHkviRyJdZVipCrFmmJasqtf5AiksjJeTx36p68g2baeP2UXdkmePH5jv7l>); American Muslims for Palestine, Facebook, November 2, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/ampalastine/posts/pfbid0FxP9UiHcNTdM2f8ZQd4Hk84D1AFxQoPM2hE8kuPqDewtFDkDMALU181uZRTgq5X3l>); American Muslims for Palestine, Facebook, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/reel/1050856772921803>); American Muslims for Palestine, Facebook, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/reel/359782246478907>); Rick Sobey, “Tufts Students for Justice in Palestine group is ripped for ‘obscene’ comments about Hamas’ terrorist attacks on Israel,” *Boston Herald*, October 10, 2023. (<https://www.bostonherald.com/2023/10/10/tufts-students-for-justice-in-palestine-group-is-ripped-for-obscene-comments-about-hamas-terrorist-attacks-on-israel>); Haley Cohen, “Pro-Palestinian protesters assault several Jewish students at Tulane, witnesses say,” *Jewish Insider*, October 27, 2023. (<https://jewishinsider.com/2023/10/pro-palestinian-protesters-assault-several-jewish-students-at-tulane-2>); Joyce E. Kim and Nia L. Orakwue, “Harvard Alumni Condemn University Leadership Following Viral Video of Confrontation at Pro-Palestine Protest,” *The Harvard Crimson*, November 9, 2023. (<https://www.thecrimson.com/article/2023/11/9/die-in-confrontation-video>); Gabby Deutsch, “Harvard ‘perfect example’ of pro-Palestinian activism, speakers argue at Arab Conference at Harvard,” *Jewish Insider*, March 6, 2023. (<https://jewishinsider.com/2023/03/harvard-arab-conference-students-linda-sarsour-palestinian-israel>); “2022 Annual Report,” *American Muslims for Palestine*, 2022, page 6. (<https://www.ampalastine.org/sites/default/files/2023-02/AMP%20Annual%20Report%202022%20-%20compressed.pdf>)

² Jonathan Schanzer, “Israel Imperiled: Threats to the Jewish State,” *Testimony Before the House Foreign Affairs Committee Subcommittee on Terrorism, Nonproliferation, and Trade and the Subcommittee on the Middle East and North Africa*, April 19, 2016. (<https://docs.house.gov/meetings/FA/FA18/20160419/104817/HHRG-114-FA18-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160419.pdf?ref=stanfordreview.org>); Jonathan Schanzer, “Examining Current Terrorist Financing Trends and the Threat to the Homeland,” *Testimony Before the House Homeland Security Committee Counterterrorism and Intelligence Subcommittee*, May 12, 2016. (<https://docs.house.gov/meetings/HM/HM05/20160512/104904/HHRG-114-HM05-Wstate-SchanzerJ-20160512.pdf>)

Since then, AMP has established an active lobby on Capitol Hill, and its ability to mobilize at the grassroots level has grown. Equally disconcerting is the way in which campus groups (such as SJP) receive funding and training from AMP, and systematically threaten or intimidate Jewish and pro-Israel students at universities across the country.

This testimony presents an updated snapshot of this pro-Hamas network in America, drawing attention to its history, current activities, connections to foreign actors, and allegations about possible illicit activities. Only the federal government can answer the question of whether this network of former Hamas operatives is or is not breaking the law right now. But I believe this committee has the power to harness the necessary resources to find out.

HAMAS IN THE UNITED STATES

Historically, Hamas supporters have abused the U.S. financial system to send millions of dollars overseas. From 1989-2001, one such network raised millions of dollars for Hamas through a Texas-based charity known as the Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development. In December 2001, U.S. authorities raided HLF and froze its assets. Ultimately, five individuals were convicted and sent to prison for providing material support to Hamas.³

This network was tenacious, however. Its members created a new entity in a different state and with a different name — but with the same goals, fundraising apparatus, and personnel. The new organization, Kindhearts for Charitable Development, did not evade U.S. government scrutiny. In fact, I was a terrorism finance analyst at the U.S. Treasury in 2006 when Kindhearts' access to the U.S. financial system was blocked pending investigation.⁴

But elements of this network remained. The Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), which provided media, communications, and fundraising services to HLF, still operated. The family of a slain American teenager named David Boim ultimately sued the Islamic Association for Palestine for its Hamas support. IAP was found civilly liable, with the judge awarding damages of more than \$150 million.⁵ The last of the Hamas front groups closed shop.

In the years that followed, however, the United States government endeavored to end its “Global War on Terror.” Terrorist groups such as Hamas were no longer scrutinized, particularly as “great power competition” began to inform our foreign policy.

More than seven years ago, FDD discovered a reconstituted network of former employees associated with the aforementioned Hamas charities. At least nine individuals who worked for or

³ U.S. Department of Justice, Press Release, “Federal Judge Hands Downs Sentences in Holy Land Foundation Case,” May 27, 2009. (<https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/federal-judge-hands-down-sentences-holy-land-foundation-case>)

⁴ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Press Release, “Treasury Freezes Assets of Organization Tied to Hamas,” February 19, 2006. (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160304074929/https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js4058.aspx>)

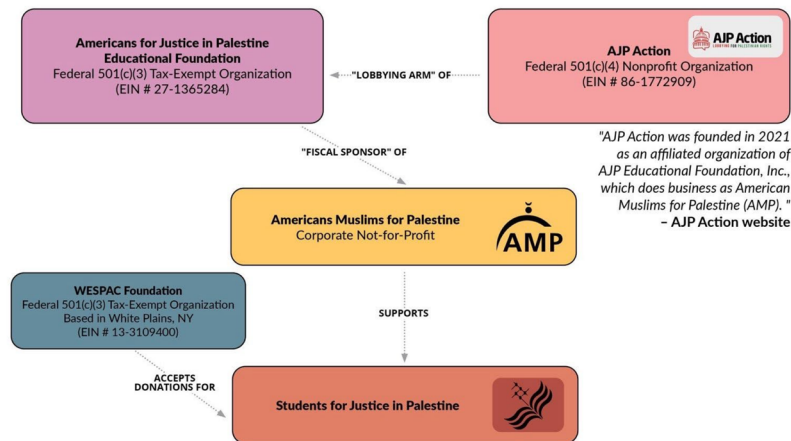
⁵ Laurie Cohen, “3 Islamic fundraisers held liable in terror death,” *Chicago Tribune*, November 11, 2004. (Archived version available at https://web.archive.org/web/20180709135600/https://articles.chicagotribune.com/2004-11-11/news/0411110231_1_david-boim-magistrate-judge-arlander-keys-joyce-boim)

on behalf of these shuttered charities came together to run a new organization called American Muslims for Palestine.

AMERICAN MUSLIMS FOR PALESTINE

AMP is a not-for-profit corporation founded in Illinois with national headquarters in Falls Church, Virginia.⁶ A 501c3 nonprofit called the AJP Educational Foundation is the group's fiscal sponsor.⁷ In 2021, AJP Educational Foundation launched an affiliated c4 lobby, AJP Action.⁸

AMP'S HYBRID CORPORATE STRUCTURE



Most of what can be gleaned about AMP's donors derives from its annual fundraising conferences — which often feature family members of senior Hamas leadership as speakers. Although AMP's official party line is that it does not discuss Hamas explicitly, it has also published fundraising appeals for the imprisoned leaders of the Holy Land Foundation.⁹

⁶ "Contact us," *American Muslims for Palestine*, accessed November 10, 2023.

(<https://www.ampalastine.org/contact-us>)

⁷ "#GazaUnderAttack," *SalsaLabs*, accessed November 11, 2023.

(<https://palestine.salsalabs.org/ampdonate2023/index.html>)

⁸ "Our Story," *AJP Action*, accessed November 11, 2023. (<https://ajpaction.org/services/ourstory>)

⁹ Noor Elashi, "My Father Will Not be Forgotten," *American Muslims for Palestine*, December 12, 2011.

(<https://www.ampalastine.org/advocate/action-alert/my-father-will-not-be-forgotten>)

The mission, goals, donors, and fundraising infrastructure of AMP share a striking resemblance to the charities that were dismantled more than a decade ago. All four members of AMP's most senior leadership previously worked for these groups. Many of AMP's donors, board members, and corporate sponsors have also been active with entities proven to support Hamas.

This was not lost on the family of David Boim. One year after I delivered testimony that exposed the existence of this reconstituted network, the Boim family sued AMP. The 2017 complaint alleges that AMP is the "alter ego" of IAP. It argues that AMP is the same institution as IAP, fulfilling the same functions with the same goals, merely operating under a different name to avoid IAP's legal liabilities. The case is ongoing.¹⁰

AMP's influence has grown in recent years. AMP's lobbying arm, AJP Action, lobbied legislators here on Capitol Hill just two weeks ago.¹¹ Lawmakers such as Rashida Tlaib, Betty McCollum, Summer Lee, Andre Carson, Jan Schakowsky, Bill Pascrell, and Ilhan Omar have all met with the group.¹² These legislators may not have known the background of the lobby group they met.

Facilitating campus activism is a key part of AMP's work. Its student network is coordinated by an AMP employee named Taher Herzallah. Per the AMP website, Herzallah is the "Associate Director of Outreach and Community Organizing for American Muslims for Palestine." He is the "liaison between campus activism groups on campuses across the country," helping "groups procure grants, materials and speakers." He is also "instrumental in helping students set up programs and activities."¹³

AMP's founder, Hatem Bazian, also founded Students for Justice in Palestine, which is unquestionably one of the most vitriolic anti-Israel voices on campus.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Boim v. American Muslims for Palestine*, No. 17-03591 (N.D. Ill. May 17, 2022). (<https://casetext.com/case/boim-v-am-muslims-for-palestine-2>)

¹¹ "AJP Action," *AJP Action*, accessed November 11, 2023. (<https://ajpaction.org>); "A Day of Advocacy: 300 Voices That Stood Up for Gaza," *AJP Action*, October 30, 2023. (<https://ajpaction.org/a-day-of-advocacy-300-voices-that-stood-up-for-gaza>)

¹² American Muslims for Palestine, *Facebook*, October 26, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=735917465231307&set=a.478594564296933>); American Muslims for Palestine, *Facebook*, October 27, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/photo?fbid=736391015183952&set=a.478594564296933>); "A Day of Advocacy: 300 Voices That Stood Up for Gaza," *AJP Action*, October 30, 2023. (<https://ajpaction.org/a-day-of-advocacy-300-voices-that-stood-up-for-gaza>); "AJP Action Successfully Organizes and Mobilizes for Palestine," *AJP Action*, September 29, 2021. (<https://ajpaction.org/ajp-action-successfully-organizes-and-mobilizes-for-palestine>); American Muslims for Palestine, *Facebook*, November 24, 2020. (<https://www.facebook.com/550789245010379/posts/day-2-session-3-main-event-virtual-gala-against-all-odds-palestine-prevailsfeatur/3601967103225896>); Fosnalive, *Instagram*, October 25, 2023. (<https://www.instagram.com/p/Cy1Fak4JncN>)

¹³ "Our Team," *American Muslims for Palestine*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp/our-team>)

¹⁴ Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), "Anti-Defamation League, October 19, 2023. (<https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounder/students-justice-palestine-sjp>)

AMP has also become a leading grassroots organizer of the vehemently anti-Israel and sometimes violent protests that have swept the country and erupted on college campuses nationwide. Whether or not it is sanctioned by AMP, the rhetoric is often hateful, inciteful, and antisemitic.¹⁵ To the best of my knowledge, AMP has not denounced this hate-speech or taken steps to ensure that it won't take place at future rallies.

In short, individuals who previously worked for Hamas charities are now a driving force behind the large, pro-Hamas demonstrations taking place in major cities across America. This same network is also providing training, talking points, materials, and financial support to students intimidating and threatening Jewish and pro-Israel students on college campuses.¹⁶

Of course, every attendee of these rallies has a right to declare his or her political beliefs. But they also have the right to know who is behind this activity. The same goes for every state government, municipality, and university impacted by this recent surge in pro-Hamas activity.

THE HOLY LAND FOUNDATION

AMP's staff and structure is deeply and intimately linked to the Holy Land Foundation. From 1995 to 2001, according to U.S. government estimates, "HLF sent approximately \$12.4 million outside of the United States with the intent to willfully contribute funds, goods, and services to Hamas."¹⁷ This charity was founded by Hamas's current deputy director, Mousa Abu Marzook, who was at that time living in the United States. He seeded the Holy Land Foundation with \$210,000 in startup funds.¹⁸

After the Holy Land Foundation was shuttered, seven of its officers were indicted; two of them fled the country. Five were convicted and sent to prison for providing material support to Hamas.

At least four individuals who worked for or on behalf of the Holy Land Foundation went on to work for or on behalf of American Muslims for Palestine.

Jamal Said, a regular keynote speaker at AMP fundraisers,¹⁹ raised money for HLF as the head of the Mosque Foundation, a 501c3 organization that donated money to the HLF.²⁰ The Mosque

¹⁵ "Who are the Primary Groups Behind the U.S. Anti-Israel Rallies?" *Anti-Defamation League*, October 20, 2023. (<https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/who-are-primary-groups-behind-us-anti-israel-rallies>)

¹⁶ "Campus Activism Resources," *American Muslims for Palestine*, September 8, 2016. (Archived version (<https://web.archive.org/web/20160524225435/https://www.ampalestine.org/index.php/component/content/article/9-projects-a-events/595-campus-activism-resources>))

¹⁷ *United States of America v. Mohammad El-Mezain*, Appeal No. 09-10560, (5th Cir. 2011). (<https://www.ca5.uscourts.gov/opinions%5Cpub%5C09/09-10560-CR0.wpd.pdf>)

¹⁸ Eric Lichtblau with Judith Miller, "Threats and Responses: The Money Trail; 5 Brothers Charged With Aiding Hamas," *The New York Times*, December 19, 2002. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2002/12/19/us/threats-and-responses-the-money-trail-5-brothers-charged-with-aiding-hamas.html>)

¹⁹ AMP-Chicago, *Facebook*, March 19, 2014. (<https://www.facebook.com/ampalestinechicago/photos/gm.1407041112890451/597477577008212/?type=3&theater>)

²⁰ Joel Mowbray, "Reign of the Radicals," *The Wall Street Journal*, January 27, 2006. (<https://www.wsj.com/articles/SB113832728441457779>)

Foundation, which he continues to run, now sponsors AMP conferences.²¹ Said was an unindicted co-conspirator in the Holy Land Foundation trial.²²

Kifah Mustafa, another HLF fundraiser and unindicted co-conspirator, is now a speaker at AMP's conferences and events.²³ Mustafa is also the head of an Illinois foundation that shares a P.O. Box with AMP in Arlington, Texas.²⁴

Hussein El-Khatib, who spent five years as a regional director of the Holy Land Foundation, served as an AMP board member until his death in 2018.²⁵

Another AMP figure who previously raised funds for the Holy Land Foundation is AMP's National Board member Salah Sarsour.²⁶ He is also a director of AMP's 501c3 arm.²⁷ In the 1990s, Sarsour spent eight months in jail in Israel for Hamas activity.²⁸ According to court documents cited by my former Treasury colleague Matthew Levitt, Salah Sarsour used a bank account of his furniture store in Milwaukee to send money to Adel Awadallah,²⁹ a Hamas military leader.³⁰ Sarsour today owns a Wisconsin furniture store that advertises and fundraises at AMP's annual conferences.³¹

American Muslims for Palestine regularly features the family members of the Holy Land Foundation's convicted leadership at its conferences. AMP publishes fundraising appeals for

²¹ "On The Road To Free Palestine," American Muslims For Palestine Conference Program, November 2021.

²² Andrea Elliott, "White House Quietly Courts Muslims in U.S.," *The New York Times*, April 18, 2010. (<https://www.nytimes.com/2010/04/19/us/politics/19muslim.html>)

²³ "Meet our Speakers," *Palestine Convention*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.palestineconvention.org/speakers>); "State police revoke Muslim cleric's chaplaincy," *ABC7*, June 22, 2010. (<https://abc7chicago.com/archive/7514151>)

²⁴ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "2021 Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (Form 990): United Hands Relief, Inc." (https://uhrelief.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/unit9508_21n_FC3.pdf)

²⁵ American Muslims for Palestine, *Facebook*, September 22, 2018. (<https://www.facebook.com/ampalastine/photos/on-the-passing-of-our-great-leader-hussein-el-khatib-on-behalf-of-the-american-mu/10160926012205607>); Hussein Khatib, *LinkedIn*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.linkedin.com/in/hussein-khatib-42667029>)

²⁶ "Our Team," *American Muslims for Palestine*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.ampalastine.org/about-amp/our-team>)

²⁷ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "2021 Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (Form 990): AJP Educational Foundation Inc." (https://apps.irs.gov/pub/epostcard/cor/271365284_201912_990_2021021717708319.pdf)

²⁸ "Profile: American Muslims for Palestine," *Anti-Defamation League*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international/israel-middle-east/american-muslims-for-palestine-2013-03-29-v4.pdf>)

²⁹ Matthew Levitt, *Hamas: Politics, Charity, and Terrorism in the Service of Jihad*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), page 78.

³⁰ Barbara Demick, "Israeli Security Force Kills Two Top Hamas Terrorists," *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 12, 1998. (http://articles.philly.com/1998-09-12/news/25757281_1_imad-awadallah-adel-awadallah-dozens-ofisraeli-army)

³¹ "On The Road To Free Palestine," American Muslims For Palestine Conference Program, November 2021.

HLF's jailed leaders, some even written by the niece of Mousa Abu Marzook, Noor Elashi.³² In May of 2023, AMP sponsored an event featuring one of the Holy Land Foundation's leaders, Mohammed El-Mezain, as well as other family members of top Hamas leadership.³³

AMP's admiration for the jailed leaders of the Holy Land Foundation mirrors that of Hamas itself. Just days after the October 7 Hamas terrorist assault, senior Hamas leader Ali Barakeh announced that Hamas was demanding the release of the Holy Land Foundation's leaders in any agreement to release the hundreds of hostages held in Gaza.³⁴

THE ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE

The Holy Land Foundation did not operate alone. The Hamas fundraising organization enjoyed a close partnership with the Islamic Association for Palestine, which provided media, communications, and fundraising services. Like HLF, IAP was founded with startup money from Hamas leader Mousa Abu Marzook.³⁵

Court documents assert that IAP raised money and collected donations on behalf of HLF. According to evidence presented at the HLF trial, "numerous donation checks...made payable to...IAP," were "deposited into HLF's bank account," in some cases with the memo line, "for Palestinian Mujahidden [martyrs] only."³⁶

After American teenager David Boim was murdered by Hamas, his parents sued the Islamic Association for Palestine and its affiliate organizations in 2000, arguing that IAP's Hamas fundraising made IAP liable for Boim's death under the federal Anti-Terrorism Act. The lawsuit culminated in a \$156 million dollar judgement against IAP and its co-defendants.³⁷

IAP never paid that judgement. According to court documents, IAP said it was "ceasing operations and had few assets left due to the burden of the Boim Judgment and associated litigation costs."³⁸

³² Noor Elashi, "My Father Will Not be Forgotten," *American Muslims for Palestine*, December 12, 2011. (<https://www.ampal.org/advocate/action-alert/my-father-will-not-be-forgotten>)

³³ "19 and 21 May, San Diego: Free the Holy Land Five! Documentary screenings and events," *Samidoun*, May 19, 2023. (<https://samidoun.net/2023/05/19-and-21-may-san-diego-free-the-holy-land-five-documentary-screenings-and-events>)

³⁴ @MarioNawfal, X, October 9, 2023. (<https://twitter.com/marionawfal/status/1711589703936290905>)

³⁵ *United States District Court Northern District of Texas, USA v. Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development*, "Payments from Marzook to the Islamic Association for Palestine," (Northern District of Texas, September 29, 2008), accessed April 15, 2016. (Archived version available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20170124224335/https://coop.txnd.uscourts.gov/judges/hlf2/09-29-08/Marzook%20IAP.pdf>)

³⁶ *United States of America v. Mohammad El-Mezain*, Appeal, 09-10560 (5th Cir. 2011), page 170. (<http://www.ca5.uscourts.gov/opinions%5Cpub%5C09/09-10560-CR0.wpd.pdf>)

³⁷ *Stanley Boim v. American Muslims for Palestine*, Appeal, No. 20-3233 (7th Cir. 2021). (<https://cases.justia.com/federal/appellate-courts/ca7/20-3233/20-3233-2021-08-16.pdf?ts=1629151216>)

³⁸ *Boim v. American Muslims for Palestine*, No. 17-03591, Document No. 149 (N.D. Ill. May 17, 2022).

Starting in late 2005, activists from IAP and HLF launched what the Boims allege was an effort to continue IAP's work without IAP's legal liabilities. The new Boim lawsuit alleges, "Activists who had been involved with IAP and HLF recognized that these organizations could not continue to pursue their missions with the same names, in the same form, and saddled with the same civil and criminal liability... They therefore deliberately concealed their connection to IAP... emphasizing internally that 'we really need to distance ourselves from any well-known IAP figures.'"³⁹

However, AMP's roster is strikingly similar to that of IAP.⁴⁰

The former president of IAP, Rafeeq Jaber,⁴¹ prepared the tax forms to help launch AMP's fiscal sponsor, the AJP Educational Foundation. Jaber has been identified in the Palestinian press as the "spiritual father" of AMP's coalition of like-minded organizations.⁴² His financial services business was listed at the same office building as IAP before it shut down.

Abdelbaset Hamayel, IAP's secretary general, was never named as an officer or an executive, but his name appeared on the AJP Educational Foundation's IRS 990 form as the person, "who possesses the organization's books and records."⁴³ Hamayel was later featured on AMP's social media as the group's executive director.⁴⁴ Today, he is active in AMP's Chicago chapter.⁴⁵

Sufian Nabhan was IAP's former Michigan representative.⁴⁶ He went on to serve on AMP's National Board.⁴⁷ AMP and SJP founder, Hatem Bazian, was a frequent speaker at IAP events.⁴⁸

³⁹ First Amended Complaint, *Boim v. American Muslims for Palestine*, No. 17-03591 (N.D. Ill. Filed December 17, 2019). (https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873.179.0_2.pdf)

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ "IAP Contact Information," *Islamic Association for Palestine*, accessed November 12, 2023. (Archived version available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20030407164156/http://www.iap.org/contactus.htm>)

⁴² مئات الآلاف في شوارع المدن الأمريكية تصرة لغزة, *Maan* (Palestinian Authority), August 11, 2014. (<https://www.maannews.net/news/719809.html>)

⁴³ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, "2014 Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (Form 990): AJP Educational Foundation Inc." (<https://pdf.guidestar.org/PDF/Images/2014/271/365/2014-271365284-0ba3397f-9.pdf>)

⁴⁴ AMP-Chicago, *Facebook*, August 29, 2014 (<https://www.facebook.com/ampalastinechicago/photos/pb.550789245010379.-2207520000.1459717920./681386211950681/?type=3&theater>)

⁴⁵ Khairi Obed, *Facebook*, November 26, 2021. (<https://www.facebook.com/100000732467966/videos/pcb.4927141430653557/485633742749114>)

⁴⁶ "IAP Contact Information," *Islamic Association for Palestine*, accessed November 12, 2023. (Archived version available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20030407164156/http://www.iap.org/contactus.htm>)

⁴⁷ "AMP National Board," *American Muslims for Palestine*, accessed November 12, 2023. (Archived version available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20160211193901/http://www.ampalastine.org/index.php/about-amp-national-board>)

⁴⁸ First Amended Complaint, *Boim v. American Muslims for Palestine*, No. 17-03591 (N.D. Ill. Filed December 17, 2019). (https://storage.courtlistener.com/recap/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873/gov.uscourts.ilnd.339873.179.0_2.pdf)

Osama Abuirshaid worked as the editor of IAP's newspaper, *Al-Zaytounah*.⁴⁹ He is now AMP's executive director.⁵⁰ Abuirshaid regularly publishes articles in English and Arabic promoting Hamas and has also published interviews that highlight his communications with Hamas leader Abu Marzook and other Hamas leaders in Gaza.⁵¹ In fact, in 2014, Abuirshaid was featured on the website of Hamas's self-declared military wing, the al-Qassam Brigades.⁵²

In addition to his work on Capitol Hill, Abuirshaid regularly travels to Turkey,⁵³ where he meets with and attends conferences run by Sami al-Arian,⁵⁴ who pled guilty to providing material support to the Palestinian Islamic Jihad terrorist organization.⁵⁵ Abuirshaid also travels to Qatar, where he is a "non-resident scholar" for the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies (ACRPS).⁵⁶ This organization, funded by the Qatari government, hosts Hamas's top leadership — including Hamas leaders Khaled Meshal and Osama Hamdan — at its events.⁵⁷

In short, several AMP founders and leaders formerly worked for or on behalf of IAP.

⁴⁹ "Profile: American Muslims for Palestine," *Anti-Defamation League*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.adl.org/sites/default/files/documents/assets/pdf/israel-international/israel-middle-east/american-muslims-for-palestine-2013-03-29-v4.pdf>)

⁵⁰ "Dr. Osama Abuirshaid," *Palestine Convention*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://palestineconvention.org/amp2018/speaker/osama-abu-irshaid>), "Our Team," *American Muslims for Palestine*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp/our-team>)

⁵¹ Osama Abuirshaid, "The dialectic of religion and politics in Hamas' thought and practice," *Loughboro University*, March 22, 2013. (https://repository.lboro.ac.uk/articles/thesis/The_dialectic_of_religion_and_politics_in_Hamas_thought_and_practice/9466799/1)

⁵² Osama Abuirshaid, "عرب يمكرون بمقاومة غزة" [Arabs are plotting the Gaza resistance], *Al-Qassam* (Palestinian Authority), July 19, 2014. (Archived version available at <https://www.alqassam.ps/arabic/مقالات-القسام/4746/عرب-يمكرون-بمقاومة-غزة>)

⁵³ Osama Abuirshaid, *Facebook*, September 7, 2023. (<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=308535011860639&set=pb.100081124266537.-2207520000&type=3>)

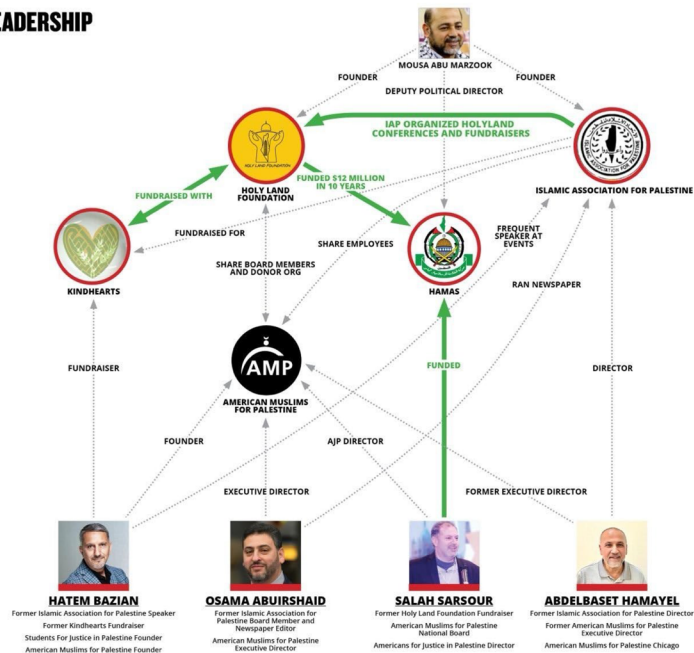
⁵⁴ Mohammed Mushanish, *Facebook*, February 2, 2020. (<https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2936284903120021&set=pb.100002156192208.-2207520000&type=3>)

⁵⁵ U.S. Department of Justice, Press Release, "Sami Al-Arian Sentenced To 57 Months In Prison For Assisting Terrorist Group," May 1, 2006. (https://www.justice.gov/archive/opa/pr/2006/May/06_crm_260.html)

⁵⁶ "ACRPS Academic Symposium on the Legal Status and Political Significance of Jerusalem," *Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies*, February 24, 2018. (<https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/Events/Symposium-on-the-Legal-and-Political-Status-of-Jerusalem/Pages/index.aspx>)

⁵⁷ "In a Symposium Preceding Conference on the Palestinian Cause, Hamdan: 'The Resistance Continues'; Erekat: 'Negotiations Will Never Relinquish Palestinian Justice,'" *Arab Center for Research & Policy Studies*, December 7, 2013. (https://www.dohainstitute.org/en/News/Pages/In_a_Symposium_Preceding_Conference_on_the_Palestinian_Cause_Hamdan_The_Resistance_Continues_Erekat_Negotiations_Will_Nev.aspx)

AMP LEADERSHIP



KINDHEARTS

In 2006, the Treasury Department froze the assets of Ohio-based KindHearts. Treasury called KindHearts the “progeny” of HLF.⁵⁸ Treasury stated that KindHearts coordinated fundraising with an official from the Holy Land Foundation even after HLF was named a terrorist entity. Treasury further asserted that KindHearts and the Holy Land Foundation deposited money into the same overseas bank account owned by HLF.⁵⁹ KindHearts also utilized IAP as a fundraiser and organizer, according to the group’s IRS 990 forms.⁶⁰

⁵⁸ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Press Release, “Treasury Freezes Assets of Organization Tied to Hamas,” February 19, 2006. (Archived version available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20150221125322/http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js4058.aspx>)

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Internal Revenue Service, “2003 Return of Organization Exempt from Income Tax (Form 990): Kindhearts for Charitable Humanitarian Development, Inc.” (https://990s.foundationcenter.org/990_pdf_archive/020/020534702/020534702_200312_990.pdf?_ga=1.209492948.777103848.1460262044)

KindHearts was run by Khaled Smaili, a former employee of the Global Relief Foundation (GRF).⁶¹ GRF was officially registered as a charity in Palos Hills, Illinois. In 2002, Treasury sanctioned it for funding al-Qaeda.⁶²

Faced with this and other evidence, the organization agreed to disband.

KindHearts' Illinois representative was former IAP and current AMP leader Abdelbaset Hamayel.⁶³ AMP's current chairman (and SJP founder) Hatem Bazian also helped raise money for Kindhearts in 2004.⁶⁴

CONCLUSION

At one of its conferences, AMP featured a panel that invited attendees to learn how to “navigate the fine line between legal activism and material support for terrorism.”⁶⁵ I am not in a position to determine whether AMP is able to navigate that “fine line,” but it is clear some of its supporters have been part of organizations that failed to abide by the law in the past.

Mr. Chairman, what I have laid out here is cause for significant concern. At the very least, AMP is a hate group with its roots in Hamas fundraising organizations that were shuttered for a reason. It could be far worse. It is my strong belief that organizations that promote, encourage, or turn a blind eye to hate speech, incitement to violence, and intimidation have no place on Capitol Hill or on university campuses.

Relevant intelligence and law enforcement agencies have the resources to learn more about this network of Hamas supporters. On behalf of the many Americans who are deeply concerned about the rise of pro-Hamas activism in the United States, I sincerely hope you harness the government resources to investigate.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify.

⁶¹ U.S. Department of the Treasury, Press Release, “Treasury Freezes Assets of Organization Tied to Hamas,” February 19, 2006. (Archived version available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20150221125322/http://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/js4058.aspx>)









⁶² U.S. Department of the Treasury, Press Release, “Treasury Department Statement Regarding the Designation of the Global Relief Foundation,” October 18, 2022. (<https://web.archive.org/web/20150221030642/https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/po3553.aspx>)

⁶³ “KindHearts Annual Fund Raising Dinner for Palestine & KindHearts’ Annual Contest,” *KindHearts*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://web.archive.org/web/20050515004402/http://www.kindhearts.org/upcoming%20event/set%204%20prinout.pdf>)

⁶⁴ “The MSA of Scripps Ranch Highschool & KindHearts Present: Palestinians in agony! Fundraising Dinner,” *Amcha Initiative*, accessed November 12, 2023. (<https://www.amchainitiative.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/Bazian-Kindhearts.pdf>)

⁶⁵ Shane Harris, “Pro-Palestinian Group Lectured On Skirting Terror Laws,” *The Daily Beast*, April 14, 2017. (<https://www.thedailybeast.com/pro-palestinian-group-lectured-on-skirting-terror-laws>)

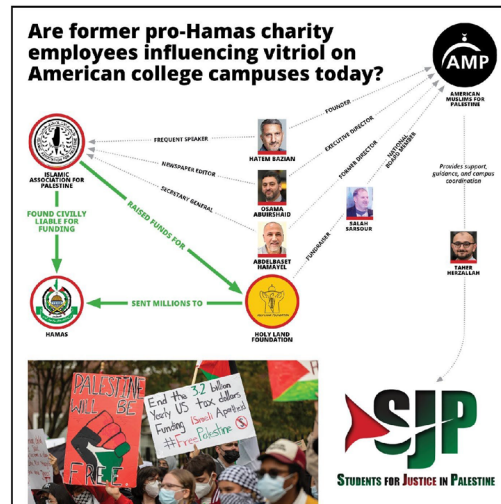
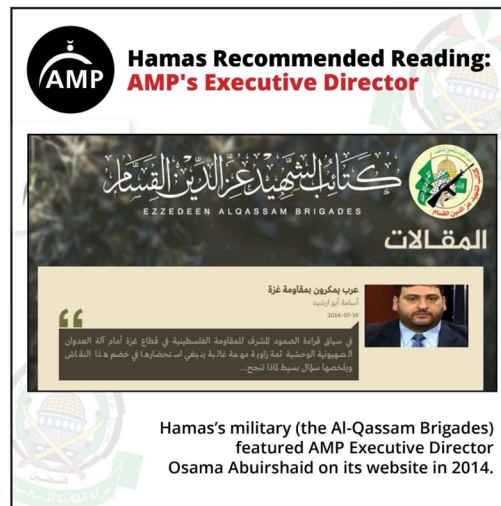
AMP is the latest in a long history of Hamas-linked charities in America

	HOLY LAND FOUNDATION Founded 1988 Designated Terrorist Organization 2001	
	ISLAMIC ASSOCIATION FOR PALESTINE Founded 1993 • Liable for Hamas Finance 2004 Disbanded 2010	
	KINDHEARTS FOR CHARITABLE DEVELOPMENT Founded 2002 • Assets Frozen 2006 Shut Down 2011	
	AMERICAN MUSLIMS FOR PALESTINE Founded in Chicago 2006 • DC office opens 2015 Sued as "Alter Ego" of IAP in 2017 Lobbying Arm "AJP Action" opens 2021 Virginia Attorney General Investigation 2023	

AMP | **AMERICAN MUSLIMS FOR PALESTINE**

AMP is led by these four former employees of Hamas front groups:

	
HATEM BAZIAN	OSAMA ABUIRSHAD
	
SALAH SARSOUR	ABDELBASET HAMAYEL





[Applause.]

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.

Ms. Tishby, you are now recognized.

STATEMENT OF NOA TISHBY, BEST SELLING AUTHOR AND ISRAEL'S FORMER SPECIAL ENVOY FOR COMBATTING ANTI-SEMITISM

Ms. TISHBY. Distinguished members, American universities have become dangerous places for Jewish students. What is taking place on U.S. campuses is not legitimate pro-Palestinian activity but an aggressive assault on Jewish students, American values, and the future of American society.

Jewish students are being harassed, threatened, and attacked with violent rage. But we have exposed that this violence did not happen overnight, nor is it a grassroots movement. It has been planned, engineered, and incubated for decades by heavily-funded, professionally-orchestrated groups with close connections to terrorist organizations like Hamas, Islamic Jihad, and PFLP.

One of the main perpetrators of campus Jew hate is Students for Justice in Palestine, or SJP. SJP was set up and is supported by groups with individuals with well-documented records of support and fundraising for terrorist organizations, individuals like Hatem Bazian, who founded SJP and is also the founder of American Muslims for Palestine, or AMP.

Terrorist sympathizers figured out decades ago that, instead of sending money to jihadi organizations, they will target the hearts and minds of young and naive, sometimes well-meaning, American students. They use progressive buzzwords like "justice" and "freedom," but their true intent is destroying the world's only Jewish state by all means necessary. And, after October 7, we have seen that anything goes. Beheading babies and raping women are just fine if it is done for the Jews. They call it resistance. For decades, these groups have lied to young Americans and convinced them that Israel is the ultimate evil, so that when Hamas terrorists carried out these barbaric acts, young, educated Americans would minimize, justify, and even celebrate it.

Ladies and gentlemen, SJP is a hate group. It is grooming American college students, grooming your children to hate Israel, to hate America, and to hate Jews. And, for years, universities stood by, watched this brainwashing take place, and did nothing.

SJP hijacks any campus that it operates, and I use that word deliberately. After all, this is the organization that puts the Palestinian plane hijacker, Leila Khaled, on its tee shirts.

These groups are not interested in peace. Just listen to what they chant. There is only one solution: intifada revolution. On our campuses, those with bad intent prey on those with bad knowledge. Because we know what intifada actually means, it means blowing up Jews on busses, or stabbing us, shooting us, running us down, or slaughtering us like on October 7. And so today, Jewish students are barricading themselves in libraries, hiding from an angry, brainwashed mob. Universities have let Jewish students down, and they are letting America down.

Now, this is what we need to do about this.

First, we need to kick these groups—it is hate groups—off of campus. How can it be that college fees and taxpayer dollars are funding hate groups that cheers on the burning alive of Jewish families? Every college in this country should ban SJP and never let them back. We wouldn't fund KKK chapters in our colleges. We shouldn't fund SJP chapters in our colleges, either. [Applause.]

Ms. TISHBY. And, if universities fail to remove SJP off of campus, if they continue to protect and fund the ringleaders of an anti-Semitic mob, then this committee should withdraw funding for them. We would not allow the mafia to teach business on campus. We should not allow terrorist supporters to teach political activism to our children.

Second, with the amount of evidence linking SJP and AMP members with support and financing of terrorist groups, including Hamas, these organizations and networks should be investigated by state police and the FBI. The terrorists that support—that are supported, they are the ones who committed worldwide jihad, currently hold over 200 Israeli-Americans and other countries' citizens hostages.

The time for criminal investigation is right now, which brings me to my third and final point. How can groups that spread this ideology on campus that should be under FBI investigation enjoy a warm welcome in Congress?

Last month, not even three weeks after Hamas were decapitating Jewish babies and raping young Jewish women and girls, AMP were on the Hill lobbying Congress with their annual Palestine Advocacy Day. How can congressmen and women take donations from such a group? Members of this House should never be funded from the same pot as murderous terrorists.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is not a Jewish issue. This is an American one. There is a direct line between brainwashed extremists who rip down posters of kidnaped Jewish children and those who rip down the American flag ahead of Veterans Day.

I urge this committee to act now, stop this coordinated assault on Jewish students, on American values, and on the future of the American dream.

Thank you very much.

[The statement of Ms. Tishby follows:]

Noa Tishby's testimony

United States House Committee on Ways and Means.

November 14th, 2023.

Distinguished members:

American universities have become dangerous places for Jewish students. What is taking place on US campuses is not legitimate pro-Palestinian activity but an aggressive assault on Jewish students, American values and the future of American society.

Jewish students are being harassed, threatened, and attacked with violent rage. But we have exposed that this violence did not happen overnight nor is it an accident. It has been planned, engineered and incubated for decades by heavily funded, professionally orchestrated groups with close connections to terrorist organizations, like Hamas, Islamic Jihad and the PFLP.

One of the main perpetrators of campus Jew-hate is Students for Justice in Palestine or SJP. SJP was set up and is supported by groups and individuals with well documented records of support and fundraising for terrorist organizations. Individuals like Hatem Bazien, who founded SJP and is also the founder of American Muslims for Palestine – or AMP.

Terrorist sympathizers figured out decades ago that instead of sending money to jihadist organizations, they will target the hearts and minds of young and naïve, sometimes well-meaning American students.

They use progressive buzz words like “justice” and “freedom”, but their true intent - is destroying the world's only Jewish state by all means necessary. And after October 7, we have seen that anything goes: Beheading babies and raping women is just fine. If it's done to the Jews, they call it resistance.

For decades, these groups have lied to young Americans and convinced them that Israel is the ultimate evil, so that when Hamas terrorists carried out these barbaric attacks, young, educated Americans would minimize, justify and even celebrate them.

Ladies and gentlemen, SJP is a hate group. It is grooming American college students – grooming your children – to hate Israel, hate Jews and hate America. And for years, universities stood by, watched this brainwashing take place and did nothing.

SJP hijacks any campus where it operates and I use that word deliberately. After all this is an organization that puts the Palestinian plane hijacker, Leila Khaled, on its t-shirts.

These groups are not interested in peace. Listen to what they chant: “there is only one solution; intifada, revolution.”

On our college campuses, those with bad intent prey on those with bad knowledge. Because we know what intifada means: it means blowing up Jews on buses, or stabbing us, shooting us, running us down. Or slaughtering us like on October 7th.

And so today, Jewish students are barricading themselves in libraries, hiding from an angry, brainwashed mob.

Universities have let their Jewish students down. And they are letting America down.

So this is what we need to do about it:

First: we need to kick these hate groups off campus. How can it be that college fees and taxpayers' dollars are funding hate groups that cheer on the burning alive of Jewish families? Every college in this country should ban SJP, and never let them back. We wouldn't fund KKK chapters in our colleges. We shouldn't fund SJP chapters in our colleges either.

And if universities fail to remove SJP off campus; if they continue to protect and fund the ringleaders of an antisemitic mob, then this Committee should withdraw funding for them.

We would not allow the mafia to teach business on campus. We should not allow terrorist supporters to teach political activism to our kids.

Second: With the amount of evidence linking SJP and AMP members with support and financing of terrorist groups including Hamas, these

organizations and networks should be investigated by state police and the FBI.

The terrorists they support, who are committed to worldwide Jihad, currently hold over 200 Israeli, American and other countries' citizens hostage. The time for criminal investigations is now.

Which brings me to my third and final point. How can groups that spread this ideology on campus, that should be under FBI investigation, enjoy a warm welcome in Congress?

Last month, not even three weeks after Hamas were decapitating Jewish babies and raping young Jewish women and girls, AMP were on this Hill, lobbying Congress with their annual Palestine Advocacy Day.

How can congressmen and women take donations from such a group? Members of this house should never be funded from the same pot as murderous terrorists.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is not just a Jewish issue; it's an American one. There is a direct line between brainwashed extremists who rip down posters of kidnapped Jewish children, and those who rip down the American flag ahead of Veterans Day.

I urge this committee to act now, and stop this coordinated assault on Jewish students, on American values and on the future of the American dream.

Thank you

[Applause.]

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. Greenblatt, you are now recognized.

**STATEMENT OF JONATHAN GREENBLATT, CEO & NATIONAL
DIRECTOR, ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE**

Mr. GREENBLATT. Thank you, Chairman Smith and Ranking Member Neal, for inviting me to testify today. Thank you to my friend Congressman Schneider, and so many members on both sides of the aisle for your commitment to fighting anti-Semitism.

On October 7, the terrorist group Hamas committed mass atrocities in Israel, murdering more than 1,200 individuals and kidnapping, seizing over 200 babies, children, the elderly, the disabled, and more.

In the wake of this massacre, the deadliest day for the Jewish people since the Holocaust, the ADL has tracked a surge of anti-Semitism around the world and right here in America in public spaces, in workplaces, and indeed, on our college campuses, even in K through 12 schools.

And it is getting worse. In the months since October the 7th, ADL tracked 832 anti-Jewish acts in the U.S. That is almost 30 a day. Reports of incidences this year versus last year were 316 percent higher.

And we know that campuses, college campuses, are a microcosm of what the trends we are seeing globally. But they have also become petri dishes where anti-Semitism is festering and flourishing. As you heard from Talia, we should all salute her bravery and her courage with what she has had to deal with every single day since October the 7th. [Applause.]

Mr. Greenblatt. But we have documented hundreds of anti-Semitic incidents on campuses. We have seen residence halls plastered with hateful messages. We have seen Jewish students removed from student government because of their "Zionism." And the list goes on.

But October the 7th brought some campuses to their knees with a disturbing intensification of harassment, vandalism, and violence. We tracked 234 anti-Israel and pro-Hamas rallies on U.S. campuses, not calls for a two-state solution, not calls for a one-state solution, these were calls for a final solution. And these are serious incidents, which continue to mount.

Just this past weekend, we saw at Ohio State two Jewish students assaulted by attackers, slandering them with hateful slurs that I am not going to repeat here for the session today. At UMass Amherst last week, we saw a Jewish student assaulted at an event honoring the hostages. And I am sure you have all seen the clips of the Cooper Union, or Tulane, or Harvard, or MIT, or UCLA, and I could go on and on and on. Many of these incidents, indeed, as Jonathan pointed out and Noa, were instigated, directed, and celebrated by Students for Justice in Palestine.

Let me be clear. There is no world in which a person or an organization should justify Hamas's war crimes and unspeakable barbarities. So here in America, right here at home, we shouldn't tolerate students being threatened or intimidated because of their

identity. No parent should ever have to ask whether it is safe for their children to attend certain universities.

This isn't a question of free speech. Don't let anyone tell you that. Freedom of expression is not the freedom to incite violence, period, full stop.

But the Jewish community, we will not cower in fear. We will stand up and fight back. Three hundred thousand of us gathered together yesterday on the Mall. And look at what happened. No American flags were torn down. They were raised. People sang the national anthem. There were people wearing MAGA hats and pride flags marching together in this place on this issue. It was inspiring. That is what America looks like, and that is what our Jewish community looks like.

So——

[Applause.]

Mr. GREENBLATT [continuing]. To the question of where do we go from here, Congress, you have a role to play, and you can send an unequivocal message. And I will give you four ideas.

Number one, pass comprehensive legislation to implement the National Strategy to Counter Anti-Semitism. The White House deserves praise for what they have done. Now hold them accountable to make sure the job gets done.

Number two, pass an emergency supplemental bill, aid bill, to Israel that includes funding for the non-profit security grants that so many of you have fought hard to make sure our synagogues and our schools are kept safe.

Number three, urge governmental authorities, the FBI and the IRS, to look at and conduct a thorough review of these organizations like AMP and SJP that you have heard about today.

And finally, ensure the Department of Education has adequate personnel and resources to enforce title 6. But don't wait. Push them to be proactive in conducting investigations, rather than just waiting for them to be worked through.

Thank you again for the bipartisan presence here today. Thank you for holding this hearing, and I look forward to answering your questions.

[The statement of Mr. Greenblatt follows:]

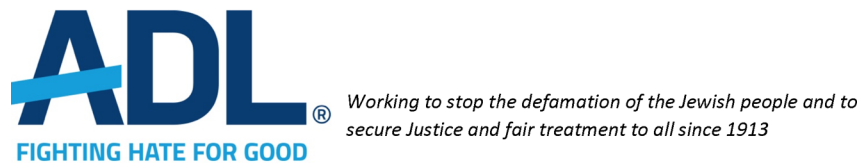
Congressional Testimony

From Ivory Towers to Dark Corners: Investigating the Nexus Between Antisemitism, Tax-Exempt Universities, and Terror Financing

Jonathan Greenblatt
CEO and National Director
ADL (Anti-Defamation League)

Committee on Ways and Means
U.S House of Representatives

November 15, 2023
Washington, D.C.



The Anti-Defamation League

Since 1913, the mission of ADL (the Anti-Defamation League) has been to “stop the defamation of the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment to all.” Today, ADL is a global leader in fighting antisemitism, exposing extremism, delivering anti-bias education, and monitoring and fighting the spread of hate in our communities and online.

On October 7th, the terrorist group Hamas committed mass atrocities against thousands of people in Israel, including murder, torture, dismemberment and rape, and kidnapped hundreds of others. In the wake of this massacre – the deadliest day for the Jewish community since the Holocaust – antisemitism has only further surged around the world, on college and university campuses, and even in K-12 schools.

ADL is devoted to countering these trends. The ADL Center on Extremism (COE) is tracking and monitoring the latest trends and reactions from extremist groups and movements – from groups who are [glorifying terrorism](#) as a legitimate form of resistance to the [white supremacists](#) and others who celebrated Hamas’s attack on Israel and threatened further violence. The ADL Center for Technology and Society (CTS) is tracking [surges in online hate](#) and documenting how some [platforms are struggling to respond](#). ADL Education is [publishing resources](#) for students, teachers, parents and families regarding antisemitism and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. ADL International Affairs is working with Jewish communities across the globe to document and combat the spike of antisemitism being experienced worldwide. And our National Affairs team is helping to drive [key policy solutions on campus](#) and in the halls of Congress, in close coordination with campus partners, including Hillel International, Chabad on Campus International, and many others. In addition, ADL, alongside Hillel, the Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law, and the law firm Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP, announced a new [Campus Antisemitism Legal Line \(CALL\)](#) – a free legal protection helpline for students who have experienced antisemitism on campus and are in need of legal advice or support.

Addressing Antisemitism in the United States

Antisemitism is more than a form of religious bigotry. Indeed, contemporary manifestations of antisemitism are only occasionally rooted in religious bias. Rather, antisemitism often takes the form of [racialized bigotry](#) (e.g., swastikas, Nazi salutes, Holocaust jokes based on white supremacist ideology), or hatred powered by [conspiracy theories](#) (e.g., conspiracy theories featuring myths about [Jewish power and control](#)). Such antisemitic bigotry and conspiracy theories can also target Zionism and Israel, and lead to anti-Zionist harassment or discrimination of Jewish students (e.g., excluding Jewish students from campus activities or subjecting them to academic bias based on their actual or perceived historic, cultural, religious, and/or ethnic identification with Israel). Hatred of Jews is often intertwined with other forms of hate, such as racism, anti-Muslim bigotry, anti-LGBTQ+ animus, and misogyny, and it is often fueled by dangerous conspiracy theories that threaten our most cherished democratic values. Antisemitism therefore poses a threat not only to the Jewish community, but to all marginalized communities.

While there is no exhaustive definition of antisemitism, ADL embraces the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance ([IHRA Working Definition](#)) as the preeminent definitional and learning tool in understanding how antisemitism manifests today, and it includes useful examples of discriminatory anti-Israel acts that cross the line into antisemitism. The IHRA definition is considered by the U.S. Department of Education when investigating Title VI complaints, and it is also used by over 1,100 other governments, universities, NGOs, and other key institutions, demonstrating a substantial and clear worldwide consensus.

One increasingly troubling manifestation of antisemitism ADL tracks in the United States is anti-Zionism – a clear form of antisemitism. [Zionism](#) is the movement for the self-determination and statehood for the Jewish people in their ancestral homeland, the land of Israel. The vast majority of Jews around the world feel a connection or kinship with Israel, whether or not they explicitly identify as Zionists, and regardless of their opinions on the policies of the Israeli government. A [2021 Pew Research Center Survey of Jewish Americans](#) found that at least 80% of American Jews say that Israel is an essential part of their Jewish identity.

One can disagree with, and even harshly criticize Israel’s leaders and actions without being antisemitic. Anti-Zionism, by contrast, seeks to deny the Jewish people their right to self-determination and can sometimes [invoke the following antisemitic themes](#): Zionists are disloyal; Zionists control the media; Zionists control the government; Zionists are ideologically akin to Nazis; and Zionists are greedy or bloodthirsty. Accusing “Zionists,” or anyone who supports the existence of the State of Israel, of behavior commonly associated with age-old tropes about Jews (such as greed, bloodthirstiness, and power) is antisemitic. Harassing, marginalizing, demonizing, and/or excluding Jewish individuals based on the Zionist component of their Jewish identity is just as harmful as discriminating against Jewish individuals for any other component of their Jewish identity.

Antisemitism in the Wake of the Hamas-Israel War

We have seen time and time again how tensions in the Middle East can lead to an increase in antisemitic incidents here in the United States. As ADL documented in our Audit of Antisemitic Incidents, [during the May 2021 conflict between Israel and Gaza](#), there was a surge of antisemitic incidents in the United States as the crisis unfolded. And in the wake of last month’s terrorist attack against Israeli civilians by the terrorist group Hamas, ADL is once again seeing a sharp spike in antisemitism here in the United States. To date, ADL has tracked 832 antisemitic incidents of assault, vandalism, and harassment across the country – an average of nearly 28 incidents per day. ADL recorded 632 acts of harassment, 170 instances of vandalism and 30 assaults. Reports of antisemitic incidents between October 7th and November 7th were 316% higher than the 200 incidents reported during the same period in 2022. ADL has also tracked 653 anti-Israel rallies during this period, at least 200 of which featured explicit or strong implicit support for Hamas and/or violence against Jews in Israel. These 200 events are included in ADL’s tally of antisemitic incidents.

ADL Audit of Antisemitic Incidents

Since 1979, ADL has been compiling an annual [Audit of Antisemitic Incidents](#) (“the Audit”) that includes both criminal and non-criminal acts of harassment and intimidation, including distribution of hate propaganda, threats, and slurs, as well as acts of vandalism and assault. In 2022, ADL tabulated 3,697 antisemitic incidents throughout the United States, reflecting a 36% increase from the 2,717 incidents tabulated in 2021 and the highest number on record since ADL began tracking antisemitic incidents in 1979. Incidents increased in each of the major Audit categories: antisemitic harassment increased 29% to 2,298; antisemitic vandalism increased 51% to 1,288, and antisemitic assaults increased 26% to 111.

The dramatic increase in antisemitic incidents in 2022 in almost all categories cannot be attributed to any one cause or ideology. Significant surges in incidents include high volume increases in organized white supremacist propaganda activity (102% increase to 852 incidents), in K-12 schools (49% increase to 494 incidents) and on college campuses (41% increase to 219 incidents), as well as deeply troubling percentage

increases in attacks on Orthodox Jews (69% increase to 59 Incidents) and bomb threats toward Jewish institutions (an increase from eight to 91 incidents).

In 2022, [241 incidents involved references to Israel or Zionism](#). This is a decline from 345 incidents in 2021, an unusually high year due to antisemitic reactions to the May 2021 military conflict between Israel and Hamas. This number is still 35% higher than the number of Israel/Zionism-related incidents in 2020. Of 2022's 241 anti-Zionist/anti-Israel-related incidents, 70 incidents could be identified as having been perpetrated by individuals associated with hostile anti-Zionist activist groups, most commonly [Witness for Peace](#) and [Students for Justice in Palestine](#) and its affiliates. Forty-six incidents took the form of white supremacist groups' efforts to foment anti-Israel and antisemitic beliefs.

Antisemitic Attitudes in America

In addition to our Audit of Antisemitic Incidents, ADL also [measures the extent to which Americans believe certain antisemitic tropes](#). From September-October 2022, ADL partnered with the One8 Foundation and the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago (NORC) to survey a nationally representative sample of over 4,000 Americans. The results showed widespread belief in anti-Jewish tropes, at rates not seen in decades: over three-quarters of Americans (85%) believe at least one anti-Jewish trope, compared to 61 percent found in 2019. One in five Americans believe six or more tropes, compared to 11 percent that in 2019, the highest level measured in decades.

Antisemitism and Hate Online

On an annual basis, ADL conducts a nationally representative survey to find out how many American adults experience hate or harassment online. According to ADL's [most recent survey results](#), among adults, 52% reported being harassed online in their lifetime, the highest number documented in four years, up from 40% in 2022. Both adults and teens also reported being harassed within the past twelve months, up from 23% in 2022 to 33% in 2023 for adults and from 36% to 51% for teens. Overall, reports of each type of hate and harassment increased by nearly every measure and within almost every demographic group.

Since the brutal Hamas attack on Israel on October 7, and as Israel continues its military response in Gaza, ADL has observed the [proliferation](#) of inflammatory language, misinformation about the conflict, and antisemitic content online. To better understand the prevalence of these experiences, the Center for Technology and Society [surveyed](#) 1,484 Americans on October 31st and November 1st on the types of hate and misinformation they are being exposed to relating to the conflict on social media.

In response to this survey, 70% of participants stated that they had been exposed to at least one of several examples of misinformation or hate related to the conflict on social media. For example, 52% of respondents stated that they had viewed or been exposed to distortive content claiming that "Israel or Jews want to commit genocide against all Palestinians," and 41% saw "claims that all Palestinians support Hamas." Additionally, 14% also reported seeing at least one of these pieces of misinformation while playing online multiplayer games.

Participants also reported a significant level of exposure to hateful content directed at key identities associated with the conflict. Sixty-eight percent of respondents said that they had seen or been exposed to at least one example of hateful content directed towards Jews, Israelis, Muslims, Palestinians, or Arabs. Of these options, Anti-Israeli and Anti-Palestinian content were reported as having been viewed the most, by

53% and 48% of participants respectively. More general antisemitic or anti-Jewish and Islamophobic or anti-Muslim content were reported at a slightly lower frequency, at 39% and 34% respectively.

Understanding Antisemitism on College Campuses

Antisemitism has been a problem on college and university campuses for decades, and we are now seeing an alarming new uptick in the number of reported antisemitic incidents. Swastikas, Nazi symbols, and other antisemitic graffiti have been reported on numerous campuses in recent years, and antisemitic slurs hurled at Jewish students have also made headlines. In the aftermath of increased conflict between Israel and Hamas in May 2021, students at college campuses across the United States experienced an even sharper increase in antisemitic activity. And we are once again seeing a significant spike in antisemitic and anti-Zionist sentiment and activity in the wake of the Hamas-Israel war.

ADL Data Regarding Campus Antisemitism

According to ADL's most recent Audit, [ADL documented 219 antisemitic incidents on college and university campuses in 2022](#), representing a 41% increase relative to 2021. Of the 219 campus incidents, 127 were incidents of harassment, 90 were incidents of vandalism and two were assaults. Some 33% of the campus incidents included swastikas. The 90 incidents of vandalism on campus represented a 41% increase from the 64 incidents recorded in 2021. Acts of vandalism on campus included the desecration of mezuzot (small ritual items that many Jews affix to the doorframe of their homes) in residence halls, as well as antisemitic messages such as "Jews did 9/11," "Kanye was right," "Hitler" and "Fuck Israel" in academic and residential halls. Swastikas were used in more than 60% (57) of the 90 incidents of vandalism on campus.

Anti-Zionism: References to Israel or Zionism represent 19% of the 219 campus incidents. Many involved the anti-Zionist student group [Students for Justice in Palestine](#) (described in further detail below). [Other deeply-concerning incidents](#) referencing Israel or Zionism incidents included: (1) At SUNY New Paltz, two Jewish students were expelled from a sexual assault survivors support group, New Paltz Accountability, due to their identification with Zionism; (2) In April 2022, at American University, the words "Fuck Israel Free Palestine" were written on a white board hanging on the door of a Jewish student's dorm room at American University; (3) In an online class chat at Baruch College, a student wrote: "death to Israel," "Heil Hitler" and "you will be with God soon"; and (4) at George Washington University, SJP members hung fliers near and on Hillel property with messages that included "Free Palestine" and "Zionists Fuck Off."

White Supremacy: Over the past few years, ADL has also been keeping a close eye on white supremacist groups who have been actively distributing their bigoted propaganda on college and university campuses. In 2022 and 2023, there were 250 incidents of white supremacist propaganda distribution on campuses around the country. While a few of these incidents occurred on the grounds of K-12 schools, the overwhelming majority occurred on college campuses. White supremacists targeted a variety of racial, religious, and other minorities with their hate propaganda, including Jews. At least 35 of these propaganda incidents involved explicit antisemitism. For instance, the antisemitic [Goyim Defense League](#) distributed propaganda at the University of Vermont on multiple occasions in 2022-23, with bigoted slogans such as "every single aspect of the slave trade was Jewish," while the white supremacist group [Patriot Front](#) distributed propaganda at The Ohio State University in 2023 that read, in part, "No Zionists in government, we serve one nation."

In light of this data, antisemitism has been an increasingly looming and present threat for Jewish college students within the past few years. A [2021 survey](#) conducted for Hillel International and ADL found that, at

the time, one in three students experienced antisemitic hate directed at them in the last academic year. Fifteen percent of Jewish college students reported that they felt the need to hide their Jewish identity from others on campus, and 12 percent said they had been blamed for the actions of the Israel government because they are Jewish. Among those students who had experienced antisemitism, only 51 percent agreed that they felt safe. In a separate survey conducted by ADL and Hillel earlier this year, in partnership with the polling firm College Pulse, 70% of Jewish students surveyed reported at least one antisemitic incident on their campus, and 44% of Jewish students indicated that they had been personally targeted by antisemitism. In contrast, only a third, 33%, of non-Jewish students were even aware that an antisemitic event had occurred on their campus.

Anti-Zionism and Extreme Anti-Israel Sentiment on Campus

For decades, a vocal segment of U.S. student groups and faculty have espoused anti-Israel and anti-Zionist views and engaged in related activism on campus. ADL has been tracking this effort closely, as well as the targeting of Jewish students and faculty who publicly express support for Israel's existence as a Jewish state. During the 2022-2023 academic year, ADL's [Anti-Israel Activism on U.S. Campuses Report](#) tallied 665 such incidents, nearly double the total number of incidents documented the year prior. These incidents included nine instances of vandalism; 24 instances of harassment; 303 events; 326 protests/actions; and three BDS resolutions. Many but not all incidents may be characterized as antisemitic.

In reviewing these incidents, ADL identified a concerning uptick in explicit promotion of violence against Israel, as well as a coarsening of rhetoric attempting to vilify and ostracize Zionism and Zionists. Activist groups like [Students for Justice in Palestine](#) (SJP) were more emboldened in calling for Zionists, Zionist institutions and organizations that associate with Zionists to be excluded from communal life and/or dismantled. Often, these messages were delivered as a call for "anti-normalization," or the complete rejection of any cooperation or association with individuals or organizations who accept or support Israel's existence (whom they pejoratively label "Zionists"). For example, in August 2022 at University of California at Berkeley, [Law Students for Justice in Palestine announced](#) that they and nine allied student groups had adopted a bylaw stating they "will not invite speakers that have expressed and continue to hold views or host/sponsor/promote events in support of Zionism."

Several anti-Israel organizations are currently active on campus, but the most visible and organized is [Students for Justice in Palestine](#) (SJP). [Jewish Voice for Peace](#) (JVP) and the [Palestinian Youth Movement](#) (PYM) also play a role, though much more minor. During the 2022-2023 academic year, 423 anti-Israel incidents originated from SJP, by far surpassing JVP's 23 and PYM's 19.

Students for Justice in Palestine

Overview

[Students for Justice in Palestine](#) (SJP) is the most prominent and active anti-Israel and anti-Zionist student group, consisting of more than 200 chapters across the country, mostly concentrated in the Northeast, Midwest, and California (some chapters are based in Canada). SJP organizers frequently disseminate anti-Israel propaganda that is often laced with inflammatory rhetoric, including the use of derisive language like "Zionist entity" rather than referring directly to Israel. They are also a leading campus organizer of [Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions](#) (BDS) campaigns against Israel, and specialize in using confrontational tactics such as disrupting student-run pro-Israel events, constructing mock "apartheid walls" and distributing fake "eviction notices" to dramatize what they consider Israeli abuses of Palestinians.

Although many SJP chapters state that they reject antisemitism, they also regularly demonize Jewish students who identify as Zionists, despite that a connection to the state of Israel is an important part of many Jews' religious or cultural identities. SJP's insistence that one cannot be a good Jew while still being a Zionist is a blatant effort to constrain the Jewish identities of their fellow students and can turn campuses into hostile places for Jewish students.

Today, SJP chapters are affiliated with National SJP but are autonomous entities. While they are united by three "[points of unity](#)", individual SJP chapters have adopted [far more radical principles](#), including calling for the dissolution of the state of Israel, countenancing violent "resistance" to Israel, and calling for "anti-normalization" – an insistence that no dialogue can be held with individuals or groups who/which identify with Zionism.

SJP Day of Resistance

In the days following Hamas's October 7, 2023, invasion of Israel, the national leadership of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and many of the organization's campus chapters endorsed and celebrated the actions of Hamas and their armed attacks on Israeli civilians and voiced an increasingly radical call for confronting and "dismantling" Zionism on U.S. college campuses.

One of SJP's most prominent actions was calling for a "[Day of Resistance](#)" on October 12. The tone of the call to action was taken from a previous SJP statement that encouraged "not just slogans and rallies, but armed confrontation with oppressors" in Israel. The group also prepared a "[Day of Resistance Toolkit](#)," in which SJP made clear that it advocates for Hamas or other Palestinian forces to conquer all of Israel, and for the "complete liberation" of Israel and the full influx of Palestinians to Israeli land. The toolkit also called for chapters to bring this resistance to the U.S. by "dismantling Zionism" on its campuses and "challenging Zionist hegemony."

In addition to participating in the "Day of Resistance," numerous SJP chapters released inflammatory statements in support of Palestinians seizing control of Israeli territory, including some which explicitly endorse violence and attacks on civilians. "We reject the distinction between 'civilian' and 'militant.' We reject the distinction between 'settler' and 'soldier,'" [The George Washington University SJP](#) wrote. "A settler is an aggressor, a soldier, and an occupier even if they are lounging on our occupied beaches." The [SJP chapter at Tufts University](#) said the attack made by "liberation fighters" exhibited "creativity." Some SJP chapters went further. The [University of Illinois chapter](#) shared a video showing what appears to be a Hamas terrorist filming himself inside the home of an Israeli family during the attack. At least three chapters referred readers to Resistance News Network (RNN) – part of an encrypted messaging application that shares violent content of attacks on Israelis and disseminates Hamas propaganda – since the Hamas attack; five others routinely shared RNN content even before October 7, 2023. SJP has also been one of the [primary organizers](#) of anti-Israel rallies across the U.S.

ADL Response

In the lead up to the Day of Resistance, ADL sent an [open letter to campus leadership](#) expressing deep concern regarding the group's repackaging of terrorism as justified acts of "resistance." We called on university presidents to call out the event for what it was – a glorification of violence targeting civilians in Israel – and to develop clear safety plans for students, staff and faculty. ADL warned that SJP activism could

create or contribute to hostile environments for Jewish and Israeli students, and [called on universities to take concrete action](#) to protect these students.

ADL also partnered with the Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law on a letter [urging more than 200 campus presidents](#) to investigate whether their campus SJP chapters have improper funding sources, have violated relevant codes of conduct, have violated state or federal laws, and/or are providing material support to Hamas, a Foreign Terrorist Organization designated as such by the Secretary of State of the United States. ADL also called on universities to update their codes of conduct to ensure that harassment and support for terrorism have no place on campus.

Government Response

The State of Florida and the Commonwealth of Virginia have both acted in response to SJP's glorification of terrorism by Hamas. In Florida, State University System Chancellor Ray Rodrigues [directed state colleges and universities to disband chapters of SJP](#) on their campuses, pointing to language in the SJP "Day of Resistance" toolkit that referred to Operation Al-Aqsa Flood as "the resistance" and unequivocally states: "Palestinian students in exile are PART of this movement, not in solidarity with this movement". In Virginia, Attorney General Jason Miyares announced that his Office's Consumer Protection Section had [opened an investigation](#) into AJP Educational Foundation, Inc., also known as American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), for potential violations of Virginia's charitable solicitation laws. The Attorney General's Office noted that it had "reason to believe that the organization may be soliciting contributions in the Commonwealth without first having registered with the Commissioner of the Virginia Department of Agriculture and Consumer Services." In addition, the Attorney General promised to "investigate [allegations](#) that the organization may have used funds raised for impermissible purposes under [state law](#), including benefitting or providing support to terrorist organizations."

Campus Response

Last week, [Brandeis University](#) became the first private university to no longer formally recognize its own SJP chapter, rendering the group unable to receive school funding, to conduct activities on campus, or use the Brandeis name and logo. [Columbia University](#) has since taken similar action, suspending both SJP and JVP on the basis of repeated violations of university policies.

Funding and Capacity Building of Campus Anti-Israel Groups

As official student clubs, SJP and JVP receive much of their funding from student government resources, which generally are funded by student activity fees. They also are supported by outside donors, including foundations. More information can be found in ADL's [Anti-Israel Activism on U.S. Campuses, 2022-2023 Report](#).

Additional Incidents of Campus Antisemitism in the Wake of the Hamas-Israel War

Following the October 7th terrorist attack against Israeli civilians by the terrorist group Hamas, one could imagine a world in which Jewish students found comfort on their campuses, with peers providing supportive words, attending candlelight vigils, and otherwise mobilizing to support their needs. Instead, many Jewish and Israeli students have faced an increasingly hostile education environment, in the form of targeted harassment, protesters calling for the dismantling of the Jewish state, and even threats of

violence. Antisemitism has been allowed to simmer on campus for years, and in the wake of October 7th, it is now approaching a boiling point.

Between October 7th and November 7th, ADL recorded a startling 124 antisemitic incidents on campuses – a significant increase compared to the 12 incidents documented during the same period last year. The majority of these incidents can be directly linked to the ongoing conflict between Hamas and Israel. Hillel International's [recent survey](#) of Jewish college students in the wake of the war shows that more than half polled (56 percent) say they feel scared on campus. In addition, one-in-four Jewish students (25 percent) say there has been violence or acts of hate on their campus since the war began; and only half of those who say there has been hate or violence say they are satisfied with their university's response.

In addition to the glorification of terrorism by student groups like SJP, ADL has also been tracking several serious incidents of antisemitic harassment and intimidation, including reported violations of student codes of conduct. At [Cooper Union](#), as protesters moved through a building on campus, some began banging on the windows and doors of the library while shouting, "Free Palestine" – leaving Jewish students who were clearly visible inside intimidated and afraid. The following day, during a demonstration near [Tulane University](#), protesters clashed in a physical altercation that appeared to have stemmed from an attempt to light an Israeli flag on fire. At the [University of Massachusetts, Amherst](#), a student was arrested for punching a Jewish student and spitting on an Israeli flag during a vigil seeking the safe return of Israeli hostages. At [Cornell University](#), law enforcement and the FBI were called in response to violent online threats targeting Jewish students and the Center for Jewish Living on campus. At [George Washington University](#), students projected messages onto the campus library that included "glory to the martyrs" and called for the dissolution of Israel as a Jewish state. A similar incident took place at the [University of Pennsylvania](#). At the [Massachusetts Institute for Technology](#), some protesters are now facing possible disciplinary action.

ADL has also been tracking college and university professors and teaching assistants glorifying Hamas's atrocities and potentially engaging in discriminatory conduct in the classroom. At Cornell University, a [professor](#) publicly declared during a rally that Hamas's attack was "exhilarating" and "energizing." At [Stanford University](#), an instructor reportedly asked Jewish and Israeli students to identify themselves during class and told those students to stand in the corner, while telling other students that "This is what Israel does to the Palestinians...Israel is a colonizer." And an Assistant Professor at University of California, Davis [tweeted](#) that, "[O]ne group of ppl we have easy access to in the US is all these Zionist journalists who spread propaganda & misinformation," and that, "[T]hey have houses w addresses, kids in school...they can fear their bosses, but they should fear us more" alongside a knife, hatchet, and three blood drop emojis.

ADL CALL Hotline

In response to the escalation in antisemitism on college and university campuses, and reports that Jewish students are feeling unsafe, unwelcome, and in some cases, afraid to be visibly Jewish at school, ADL, in partnership with Hillel International, the Louis D. Brandeis Center for Human Rights Under Law, and Gibson, Dunn & Crutcher LLP announced a new [Campus Antisemitism Legal Line \(CALL\)](#) — a free legal protection helpline for students who have experienced antisemitism. Any student, family, faculty, or staff member can go to the [CALL website](#) or text "CALLhelp" to 51555 to report incidents of antisemitic discrimination, intimidation, harassment, vandalism, or violence that may necessitate legal action. Lawyers will assess reports of antisemitic discrimination and hate, conduct in-depth information-gathering interviews, and provide pro bono representation for victims who choose to move forward with specific cases. CALL will also provide referrals to social services, mental health counseling services, and other relevant support services

in their area. In just the days since it launched last week, we have had over 100 people contact us for assistance.

Policy Recommendations

In response to the escalating antisemitism on college and university campuses, ADL is urging Congress to take the following critical steps, consistent with the U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism, as well as [ADL's COMBAT Plan](#) – a comprehensive, six-part framework for elected officials and policymakers to take meaningful action to fight antisemitism.

1. Speak out against antisemitism on campuses across the country. Jewish and pro-Israel students have been intimidated, targeted, and even assaulted at their schools. They need to know they are supported by leaders at the highest levels of government.
2. Support implementation of the U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism by passing comprehensive legislation appropriating funding to implement the plan, holding the White House accountable to its commitments, and ensuring that the fight against antisemitism lasts beyond any one administration.
3. Fund the Nonprofit Security Grant Program (NSGP) in the national security supplemental appropriations package. Nonprofits and Jewish student organizations must have access to these resources to protect themselves from the rising threats.
4. Urge the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to conduct a thorough review of the tax-exempt status of any extremist organization. The IRS should also release guidance to colleges and universities so that they can ensure compliance.
5. Ensure the enforcement of Title VI by the U.S. Department of Education by sufficiently funding the Office for Civil Rights (OCR), so that it has full capacity to investigate complaints alleging antisemitic harassment and discrimination.
6. Urge the Department of Education to issue regulations pursuant to Executive Order 13899 on Combating Anti-Semitism to provide the strongest level of protections for Jewish students.

We are at a moment where long simmering tensions on campus are starting to boil over; our students are feeling threatened and intimidated; and parents are questioning whether it's safe to send their kids to certain schools. ADL and our campus partners are working hard to improve campus climate and ensure that students are safe, but we cannot do it alone. This moment calls for direct action by university leadership and by those in a position to influence university leadership – including elected officials and members of Congress – who must also take immediate action to send an unequivocal message that antisemitism and hate in all forms will be rejected.

[Applause.]

Chairman SMITH. I want to thank you all again for your amazing testimony. We will now proceed to the question-and-answer session with the members of the committee. I will start.

Ms. Dror, we have seen the news reports. We have seen social media videos. But you have lived the nightmare on Cornell's campus over these past few weeks. You even had to endure a faculty member at your university calling the murder of well over 1,000 people in Israel "exhilarating." What has the university done to protect you and other Jewish students in the face of the threats made?

And has the university's response been as swift and sincere as you have seen with other issues?

Ms. DROR. Absolutely. First of all, thank you so much for your question.

Directly after the death threats were made, I would say in the span of two hours, one of the strongest statements I have seen was immediately released condemning anti-Semitism, condemning violence against religious minorities. It was a very strong statement, and Jewish students on campus were very grateful to the administration to receive that unconditional support.

Since then, I am also aware of heightened security in all Jewish facilities on campus. That includes the kosher dining hall, the Hillel offices, the Center for Jewish Living, the Chabad House, and we are very appreciative of that, as well.

We have received direct support from the university in attending Shabbat dinners. Governor Kathy Hochul attended the kosher dining hall the morning after the threats were made. And all of that support has been sincerely appreciated by the Jewish community.

My question is, why didn't we receive it right after the October 7 attacks? Why did it take a direct threat to murder, rape, and slaughter Jews on campus to get support from our administration? It should have come way earlier. It was an oversight on behalf of the university administration. We sincerely appreciate all of their help now. But it is too little, too late.

That said, a lot of the other people on this panel have spoken about Students Justice for Palestine. Cornell has a chapter, as well. They have formed a coalition, along with other student groups on our campus, who have made demands to the university including demands to divest from all Israel-related expenditures on campus. However, one of their demands was particularly interesting. It was to reduce all police presence on campus. Two weeks after the Jewish community received death threats, they wanted to reduce all police presence on campus. That is what they asked from the university.

So I absolutely second the statements of everyone made on this panel and appreciate it.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.

Dr. Schanzer, we know the hateful attacks we are seeing on Jewish students at college campuses is not occurring in a vacuum. Can you help us take a step back and explain the financing, including the role of 501(c)(3)s and 501(c)(4)s here in the U.S. that generate resources that are used in some cases to support outright terrorist groups like Hamas from within the U.S.?

Mr. SCHANZER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. The cases that I discussed in my testimony, both spoken and written, addressed three charities that have been exploited by Hamas here in this country. It was quite an effort to track them down back in the 2000s.

My concern right now is that America's focus has shifted over the last decade or so. First it was ISIS, then it was Russia, then it was China. My concern right now is that we have taken our eye off the ball. I am not aware of significant efforts within the U.S. Government to track Hamas over the last 10 years. Yes, over the last month, we have seen a significant uptick, and justifiably so. My fear, though, is that we have had 10 years of just a blind spot as it relates to Hamas. Perhaps other groups as well. As you know, the U.S. Government has pivoted away from what used to be known as the global war on terror as we have now shifted into what we now describe as great power competition.

It is my belief, my strong belief, that we need to learn how to walk and chew gum here. We are going to continue to see terrorist attacks against the United States and our allies. Unfortunately, I think this is just a reality. We need to make sure that we have the resources within the bureaucracy to tackle these problems while addressing the threats of Russia and China and others.

Chairman SMITH. Ms. Tishby, as you know, the disgusting show of support for the terrorist goals of Hamas are appearing on college campuses, including the phrase, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free" being displayed on a building at the University of Pennsylvania.

As someone who has been an advocate for Israel focused on expanding other people's knowledge of your country, can you speak to how these displays of support for Hamas go beyond just some harmless college campus activism?

Ms. TISHBY. Absolutely, Mr. Chairman. Thank you so much for the question.

So we can definitely see how, when you support a massacre that occurred in Israel, you will encourage violence in the United States. That is kind of—that goes without saying, and it is a dog whistle to their supporters.

We have seen the attacks on college students and beyond. There was a kid in Tulane University that was hospitalized with a broken—with broken bones for supporting Israel, being in a rally, in a pro-Israel rally. There was—Paul Kessler from Los Angeles was killed for holding an Israeli flag.

So there is incitement for violence that is immediately preceded by violence. And we see this in the uptake in anti-Semitic attacks and rhetoric, we see this online and offline. There is no question that these two things are directly related and connected.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you. I now recognize the ranking member, Mr. Neal, for his questions.

Mr. NEAL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As an academic, I want to thank Ms. Dror for being here today. I know how difficult it is for students to step forward. And I know the strength that has brought you here today and are indeed grateful for your testimony.

Let me move to you, Mr. Greenblatt. How does the ADL, which is well regarded and always has been, believe that administrators,

faculty, community members can more effectively respond to hateful speech, including anti-Semitic and, indeed, hostile speech on campus?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Thank you for your question, Congressman Neal. I think there are a few things to consider, and I would say right off the bat that the ADL has been fighting for civil rights for 110 years. We are ferocious advocates for the First Amendment.

But, as I noted earlier, freedom of speech is not the freedom to slander people, right? Freedom to talk about ideas is not the freedom to threaten people based on their identity. But there are steps we could see university administrators take.

So, number one, they should speak up forcefully and condemn anti-Semitism without any equivocation, without any qualification. Talia kind of alluded to this. It should be simple and straightforward to say anti-Semitism is wrong, period, and not encumber it with other issues.

Number two, rigorously enforce disciplinary rules. The issues that I mentioned—and others—rarely have students been penalized. And it creates an environment where people feel like they can operate with impunity. But, if you break the rules, there should be consequences.

Look, and I will be clear, I don't believe in cancel culture. I don't believe in canceling people for every imagined micro-aggression for, you know, for mislabeling someone. But I do believe in consequence culture. And if you issue death threats to a student, guess what? There will be a knock on your door from the FBI, you will be arrested, and you should be expelled. That should not be so hard.

Now, we have seen some administrators step up. Today GW announced they were suspending the SJP chapter for violating the conduct code at GW. It happened last week at Columbia University. At Brandeis, they actually expelled them. But I don't think there should be a place on any campus for organizations like SJP that threaten people based on their ethnicity or faith or nationality.

Thirdly, investigate these groups and try to understand where the funding coming from, try to make sense of how are they getting their resources.

And finally, we think all of these universities should set up task forces to come up with plans to tackle this issue. The University of Pennsylvania was just mentioned by the chairman. The response there has been lacking for months. Harvard University dragged its feet. Columbia the same, and I could go on and on. Task forces with short timelines to come up with a plan is long overdue.

Mr. NEAL. And let me say as well with the ADL, the ADL has a long history of condemning violations of everybody's civil rights.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Correct.

Mr. NEAL. We are indeed grateful for your testimony today and the plan that you have outlined.

I yield back my time.

Thank you, Mr. Greenblatt.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Smith is recognized.

Mr. SMITH of Nebraska. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you to our witnesses.

Certainly, the entire committee here—these are important issues that we address, and today's hearing brings together two very im-

portant items of bipartisan interest on this committee: anti-Semitism and the tax status of college endowments.

While we may not agree on every detail, I believe there is strong bipartisan support for ensuring the Federal tax benefits provided to the non-profit education sector are utilized for their intended purposes—that doesn't sound unreasonable, but—ensuring access to the education and training needed for every American to be career-ready.

We did some important work to that end in the Tax Cuts and Jobs Act, and I know some of my friends on the other side of the dais have ideas to address that issue, as well. One important aspect of this is ensuring educational institutions utilizing these tax benefits are both respecting true academic freedom while also ensuring all students have a safe—a safe learning environment. Not unreasonable.

As we have unfortunately seen on campuses across the country, as some recent protests have quickly turned to intimidation, harassment, threats and violence, some universities have cited the First Amendment to explain their inaction. This is interesting, given that for years universities have failed to protect the free speech rights of students unless they approve of the speech. These universities practice a policy of preferred speech, as mentioned before, not free speech. And, of course, the threats of violence and intimidation we have seen on campuses of late are not protected speech.

The Foundation for Individual Rights and Expression, as mentioned earlier, is known as FIRE, F-I-R-E, has helped to explain the difference: "Violence is never protected by the First Amendment." Another quote, "Physically confining students within a given space is likewise unlawful." Another quote, "Just as violence is unprotected, so too are true threats and intimidation."

The failure of some universities to distinguish between protected speech and unlawful conduct is truly disappointing. As the chairman noted, this is a leading reason so many colleges and universities have received horrible ratings from the foundation called FIRE when it comes to free speech.

Question. Mr. Lehman, you said in your written testimony, "I understand the needs and protections for academic freedom and free speech, but those freedoms are not a license to create an environment of harassment, bullying, and threats for Jewish students or for any students." So my question is, what—can you give us a tangible, perhaps, description of what a university's responsibility is to keep their students safe from activity that clearly goes beyond what some are saying is free speech?

Mr. LEHMAN. Thank you, Congressman Smith. And I think we have to continue to go back to this very clear distinction.

Free speech, academic freedom on the one side, cannot, should not, and never should be allowed to enable targeted harassment, inciting violence and other forms of intimidation that are directed at individual students. And that is exactly what is happening in the examples that you have heard.

One area that we have really not talked a lot about, but I think helps to create this very pervasive environment of hostility and intimidation is in the classroom itself. During this period of five

weeks at Stanford, we had a professor in a class herd Jewish students into the corner of the classroom without their belongings and say, "This is what it feels like to be a Palestinian." That is what is happening in the classroom, where other faculty who are—as they go on their diatribes against, in their words, "the evil settler colonial state of Israel," then say to their students, "By the way, if you go to that Students for Justice in Palestine rally, I will give you extra credit, and if you don't you will basically get a demerit." So this is a broad-based cultural issue on campuses. It is obviously broken in terms of this aspect of campus culture.

And, in terms of what can be done, you have heard a lot of great ideas, but fundamentally we needed administrators to actually take disciplinary action. And I am sorry to say it, but too often our universities are acting in equivocating ways and not being firm. Just go ahead and terminate that faculty member when they cross the line. Go ahead and expel that student when they harass or, even worse, assault another student. If we get the disciplinary action, I can tell you at Hillel we continue to actually work the other side of this equation. And thankfully, we do have many campus colleagues, administrators who are working with us on educating their staff on anti-Semitism and beyond.

But, bottom line, we need action, and that is what we are looking for.

Mr. SMITH of Nebraska. Thank you, I yield back.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Doggett is recognized.

Mr. DOGGETT. Well, thank you so much, and thanks for the moving testimony that each of you have presented.

The activities and the incidents that you describe are totally unacceptable and alarming. People who fail to unequivocally condemn the Hamas atrocities immediately just don't have much credibility with me, personally.

Mr. Lehman, I appreciate these three specific recommendations you made, all of which seem to be reasonable. I know Mr. Greenblatt referred to the security grants, which have been helpful to a number of places in my community.

In Austin, the only city I have ever called home, ADL has been a force for good for decades, and I know you have worked to combat the very kind of prejudice and hate that has been the focus here today, whether it was directed at Jews or any other segment of the community.

A couple of years ago, sadly, in my community we had a spate of anti-Semitic events.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Yes.

Mr. DOGGETT. A banner hung from a highway, some leaflets and crude fliers, and it all culminated in a young man who set fire to Temple Beth Israel in our community. It was alarming because we take pride on tolerance and diversity in our community.

But one of the most moving and hopeful events after that was when a group of women, including many ADL members, Jewish women, organized a rally for kindness at the state capitol that I attended. And perhaps the most moving part of that event was a Muslim imam who stepped forward to present a check to the rabbi of Temple Beth, even though Muslims had nothing to do with the

event, and to offer support and recognition of the importance of all faiths working together.

I thought of that incident the other night, as I was watching cable television, and saw Rabbi Marc Schneier and Imam Shamsi Ali discussing the tragic situation we find ourselves in today. The Imam said that, “For me, anti-Semitism is my fight, as he,” referring to the rabbi, “has taken Islamophobia for his fight. You know, we advance our common humanity that, despite our differences, we have even more in common. We deserve dignity. We deserve respect. We deserve peace and reconciliation. And I think the war is shared by each and every one of us.”

And the rabbi responded by noting that they were going to every university in New York in each borough to spread the same message. Protest, demonstrate, do whatever you want, but don’t cross the line.

It seems to me that is where we need to be moving, to try to overcome the anger and the grief, to recognize that Islamophobia is just as wrong as anti-Semitism, to recognize that it cheapens and weakens efforts to unite us against anti-Semitism when that term, anti-Semitism, is wielded as a political weapon.

Criticism of Israel, very harsh criticism of Israel and Benjamin Netanyahu is not any more anti-Semitic than the voices of thousands of Israelis who were filling the streets of Jerusalem protesting Netanyahu before October 7. And support for Israel has always been strongest in this country when it is genuinely bipartisan.

While deplorable anti-Semitic activities have been on the rise, certainly, there have also been troubling acts and hate speech against Muslim students across the country, as reported in university newspapers. Particularly vulnerable have been Muslim women who choose to wear the hijab. At the University of Texas in Austin, the disruption of a Palestinian meeting, at Yale, a Death to Palestine sign, here at American University, a death threat to a Palestinian university employee, and, at Stanford, a hit and run is being investigated as a hate crime against a Muslim.

I think the pain and the grief and the anger of many who have seen children murdered by Hamas is not really very dissimilar from the anger that I am hearing from those who see children killed in Gaza. It doesn’t mean they are equal. It means the hurt is the same, and the inability to feel the pain of the other because the pain is so very deep for that individual.

We need more rabbis and imams and people of all faiths that are working together to try to heal the divide. And I salute your efforts to contribute not to us today, not only about anti-Semitism, but this need to heal as we move forward.

I yield back.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you. Mr. Kelly is recognized.

Mr. KELLY. Thank you, Chairman, and thank you all for being here today.

It wasn’t too long ago—in fact, it was October of 2018—in the neighborhood where my mother grew up, was a horrific killing at the Tree of Life. Eleven were killed and six were wounded. Squirrel Hill. Now, it was hard for me to believe that my mother, growing up in that neighborhood and being one of the nine members of the

McTighe family, would ever be in a neighborhood where people fostered hate.

But, you know, we keep seeing this go on and on and on and on, and while we have these nice paragraphs of what it is that we talk about and where it is that we think it needs to end, it finishes up with the final paragraph. I can't imagine what it is like for all of you to sit here today and have to defend your faith. Not in some far off land, but right in America, where these are the very things we champion.

And, when we talk about ivory towers, the University of Pennsylvania, quite honestly, would be glad to tell you how great they are. They will tell you how welcoming they are, and how they are the greatest educational institution there is. However, the University of Pennsylvania Poetry Festival, it hosted a rogues' gallery of speakers who expressed unambiguous anti-Semitism and hostility towards the Jewish people. All this was hosted on the weekend of the holiest day in Judaism, Yom Kippur.

Now, if somebody tells me this is just a coincidence, and we sit here and we talk about it, and we talk about it, and we condone it by our inactivity towards it, in our condemnation of it—look, I am from an Irish background. When the Irish came here, they looked at windows to try and get a job and it said, "Irish need not apply." Each one of our peoples have gone through something at some time or another. But the Jewish people, it is endless. It never stops.

We have people in the highest positions of education opening their doors to this type of behavior and saying, no, you must understand, we need to hear both sides of this until it is that we put our fingers in our ears and close our eyes to what happens to the Jewish people, and open our hearts and minds and wallets, and give access to our universities—and championed by the very professors who teach our children. And these are the people? These are the people who we want our kids to follow? These are the people of higher education? These are the people who stand above those who don't have the same education, and yet this is what they sponsor? Are you kidding me? Are you kidding me?

I can't imagine, Ms. Dror, what you have gone through. I can't imagine what you go through time after time after time. And people keep telling me we need to do something about it. Well, it is far past the time to do something about it and actually do something about it. Why would we continue to fund these universities with taxpayer dollars?

Why, Mr. Lehman, if you can, if you can help me to understand this, because it is beyond anything I can grasp anymore because I wasn't raised this way, what in the heck is wrong with these people?

And I don't—listen. I am never going to stand up and say, well, you know, Hamas, they have a reason to be like this. Bull. They have no reason to do what they did on October 7, they have no reason to do what they continue to do to the Jewish people. And for us to stand back and say, well, we should probably cut funding to them, we should probably try to act in some way, I am tired of a United States that sits and watches what happens and condemns

it but doesn't do anything with its actions. Actions speak harder than words.

Tell me, sir, what do you think we should be able to do, and especially—this is the tax-writing policy center, right?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes.

Mr. KELLY. Why do we continue to fund these people?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes, thank you, Congressman Kelly. And my wife grew up a mile from the Tree of Life Synagogue. [Applause.]

Mr. LEHMAN. She and I were married a mile from the Tree of Life Synagogue. We feel the pain of that community, and we do not want to see, as you said, that replicated, God forbid, on a college campus. And, if we don't act, if we don't collectively find a way, as you said, to heal these communities, to eradicate the hate that we are allowing to fester, we will see it.

So I know I only have a few seconds to respond here, but, bottom line—and it is not dissimilar from what Mr. Doggett said, as well. All hate is a problem, but we should not turn a blind eye to the fact that we have sanctioned and universities have sanctioned allowing this very specific form of hate against Israel, a demonization that goes beyond anything one can imagine unless you are sitting on campus listening to it day in and day out, and a hate that says, when you are Jewish, it is okay to have this kind of discrimination pointed your way.

We can do better. Some of us are working very hard, and you all—we gave recommendations. If you stand behind those, whether it is tax-based—title 6, by the way, it is a huge way to drive accountability. Universities feel that pain. So these are the steps we need to take.

And again, I thank you for your passion.

Mr. KELLY. Thank you. I yield back.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Thompson.

Mr. THOMPSON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, thank you for having this committee hearing today. And I want to thank all the witnesses for being here. I am extremely grateful that you are here and that you are speaking out against this dreadful behavior of hate. I appreciate the heartfelt testimony you have all offered, and I want to echo, along with my colleagues, in condemning anti-Semitism in all of its forms.

The attacks on Israel were pure evil. And the victims, the hostages, survivors, and their families are in all of our prayers. The Hamas terrorists are barbaric, and they must not be allowed to further harm human beings or to terrorize communities. And I am certainly open to exploring how this committee can help combat anti-Semitism, and we had a little preview of that today on the floor. I was proud to vote for the amendment that I think everybody here voted for today.

The testimony we have heard today is saddening and it is maddening. These activities should not be happening, and they can't be tolerated.

I want to thank you all. I am sorry that you have—you are having to experience the pain and the tragic behavior that you are seeing on campuses.

And I would ask, Mr. Chairman—wherever he is, whoever the chairman is at this point—that we do a joint bipartisan letter to

the FBI and the IRS asking for that review that was suggested in the testimony. [Applause.]

Mr. KELLY [presiding]. I really don't need a mic because—especially talking about subjects—thank you, thanks so much.

Mr. THOMPSON. You missed your chance. The chairman is back now. [Laughter.]

Mr. KELLY. Yes, I saw that. I thought that was——

Mr. THOMPSON. If we could do a joint letter, I am sure that——

Mr. KELLY. Absolutely.

Mr. THOMPSON [continuing]. Both sides would sign that, and I think it would be helpful. And if we could get an agreement to do that, thank you, I yield back.

Mr. KELLY. Yes, sir.

Chairman SMITH [presiding]. Mr. Schweikert is recognized.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I apologize to the members and our witnesses. We are running multiple committees up and down but care an awful lot about this.

I also have a concern. And Dr. Schanzer, some of this was directed to you, and that is have we created a scenario here where even parts of our own tax code, whether it be the ability to use certain pre-tax dollars, run them through what is supposed to be a charitable shell, and through the movement of those monies we are actually functionally financing evil, whether it be coming back to our universities or around the world?

And it is a running concern on the mechanisms within, you know, 501(c)(4)s, certain designs, the way we actually do not get as much information on those who get the value of a non-profit.

You have an expertise on terrorism finance. How much leakage from this country is actually leaking in to violence and functionally dystopian evil in the world?

Mr. SCHANZER. Congressman Schweikert, thank you for the question. It is a very good one.

I will say this, that, in the 2000s, at the height of the war on terror, we were doing a very good job of making sure that the non-profit sector was not leaking into the world of terrorism. In the last 10 or 12 years, we have seen a significant drop-off in actions taken against 501(c)(3)s here at home. And I think it has a lot to do with the bandwidth of our system, and I am sure that those men and women who are working in law enforcement are doing a great job on a range of other challenges, but I think we have probably lost the scent on a lot of them.

And I can tell you that there are a handful that we are watching right now. There is one organization that is openly gloating right now about sending money and other assistance to the Gaza ministry of health. The Gaza ministry of health is run by Hamas. I am talking here about an organization known as Pious Projects. It is based out of Illinois. No one knows. No one is watching. This is, I think, a major issue.

And, by the way, it could be supporting al-Qaeda, it could be supporting ISIS. We don't know. And I think we need to get back in the business of tracking these 501(c)(3)s.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. Doctor, so in our hierarchy of hell, how much of it is a leakage of NGOs? How much of it is a leakage of

those using what we actually reach out and thought we were creating within the tax code, the incentive to use pre-tax money to do charitable good? And how much of it is actually—do you believe, from your expertise, leakage of where even the U.S. taxpayers are directly attempting to try to provide humanitarian assistance?

Help me understand, you know—

Mr. LEHMAN. Look, it is all—these are all good questions. And I think right now they are hypotheticals because we don't have the people working on it the way that we used to. And this is the great frustration, right?

We used to have—the Treasury Department, where I used to work, used to track non-profits here in the United States and abroad. Now, they don't do anything here at home. They only deal with terror finance abroad. This leaves it into the hands of the Department of Justice and the FBI, who have their hands full right now on a range of other things that are keeping America, let's just say, very busy, right?

So we have got, I think, a huge challenge here. I think there should be, number one, investigations into non-profits that could be supporting terrorism. And we have talked about a few of them today.

But I think there also should be—and I would welcome this—there should be regulations that, if you have worked for a charity that has given money to a terrorist organization in the past, that should be flagged. Americans need to know who they are giving their non-profit dollars to. And, if they don't, they run the risk of possibly supporting something that they don't want to support.

Mr. SCHANZER. Can I make a recommendation? Donor advised funds—Schwab, Vanguard—these are the largest charitable organizations in the United States. Their leadership should be brought in to ensure that they are not funneling funds to these terror-supporting organizations.

Mr. SCHWEIKERT. You would be happy to know the chairman and a couple of our members here who actually sit on Intelligence, we have had side conversations on charitable giving, pre-tax monies, those things, and how we make sure it is doing good in the world and not ultimately financing evil.

And with that, Mr. Chairman, thank you for your patience, I yield back.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you. Mr. Blumenauer is recognized.

Mr. BLUMENAUER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the opportunity for our friends today to express their deep concern, and to focus perhaps on some steps that we can take.

I am absolutely convinced that this horrific set of circumstances that we have been thrust into in Israel dealing with Gaza is—that we are at a pivotal point. I have been in Congress 27 years. I have been in Congress 27 years. I have reluctantly decided to leave you folks to solve things in the future. But this is something that just haunts me.

My first visit to Israel, I had a chance to go to Ramallah at a police station. And there were two people in command. One was Israeli, one was Palestinian. And there was this sense of hope and optimism. Hamas decided that they were going to turn away from that and have been working ever since, actively undermining it.

And I have heard all the arguments. I understand the legitimate concerns of Palestinians. I have watched settlers scream at us on the West Bank. But the time, I think, at this point is for us to focus on things that can bring us together, on simple steps. There is no excuse for tolerating violence. Freedom of speech is not a get-out-of-jail-free card to be able to abuse others. And everybody, I think, has a role to play in moving this forward.

I am still shaken from a conversation I had, a Zoom meeting with constituents of mine who have had relatives taken hostage. And just listening to that circumstance, that pain, that uncertainty is just overwhelming.

And I know that there are strong feelings. We all understand that. But coming forward with some specifics to be able to elevate concerns and think about things that we can do going forward—I appreciate Mr. Thompson’s suggestion—and we have an expression, a combined expression that is positive.

I hope that we don’t have to continue to make clear that anti-Semitism has no role on campus or in American society, but I hope that we are committed to being able to find some things that actually bring us together. And you have made some suggestions today that are part of that.

This is, for me, exceedingly painful because I remember on my first visit to Israel that sense of hope and optimism. And we know, ultimately, we need to have a two-state solution. And I have heard too many young Israelis and Palestinians tell me they think it is still a good idea, but they have given up hope. And I don’t think we can afford to give up hope. And you have helped us today, I think, frame part of these issues. You haven’t given up hope, and I appreciate your joining us.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. LaHood is recognized.

Mr. LAHOOD. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for having this hearing today, and I want to thank all of the witnesses for your passion and your courage and your commitment and dedication to this issue. It is very important to have your voices here today.

Obviously, the barbaric terrorist attacks by Hamas on Israel last month have been devastating to witness, and it is imperative that the United States continue to make clear that we stand with Israel, our number-one ally in the Middle East and the only democracy, and also the Jewish people.

As the title of this hearing suggests, part of that effort needs to be looking under the hood here in the United States and ensuring that U.S. entities, especially those that benefit from U.S. taxpayer dollars and tax-exempt status, are not contributing to these unconscionable acts.

Since the start of these attacks, it is infuriating and unbelievable and really sad to see the rise in anti-Semitism and targeted, hateful speech occurring across the United States, with some of the worst instances occurring in our colleges and our universities. While we have finally started to see more university leaders state outright that these efforts will not be tolerated on their campuses, much of the damage has already been done.

Moreover, the delay in many colleges and universities speaking out against these organized student groups has only fueled the spread of lies, harmful rhetoric, and coordinated activities that

have incited violence and ostracized countless Jewish students, faculty, alumni, and community members. This shouldn't happen in America.

Ms. Tishby, I have a question for you. As we look at the language and the distortion and the tropes and the misconceptions that have been used on many of our campuses, can you talk about some of the examples of these being used against Israel?

Ms. TISHBY. Oh, well, thank you so much for this question. There are so many I don't even know where to start.

So the tactic that they use is, first of all, branding Israel an apartheid state and delegitimize Israel's standing in the world. So they are trying to convince young and naive college students that Israel is—is it a real state, or is it a colonialist settler endeavor that needs to be dismantled?

They would use words like ethnic cleansing and genocide. They are actually convincing college kids—there are people right now that are watching me, maybe at home, that actually are convinced that Israel is committing an ethnic cleansing of the Palestinians. This is—Representative, this is a blood libel. This is absolutely not true.

And the worst lie of all that they are using—and they are doing it in a very sophisticated, kind of like progressive language, right—the worst lie is denying the indigeneity of the Jewish people to the land of Israel. They are actually saying that Israel does not have a claim, the Jews have no claim to the land. This is a—you don't need to believe in the Bible, the New Testament, the Old Testament, or the Koran, you need to just know history and believe in archeology and science.

So these are—this is the tactic that they use. They are convincing—they have confiscated the word Zionism. They have turned the word Zionism into a bad word, into a slur, as if it is—you say the word "Zionism," and people are, like, oh my God, I am triggered. Why are you triggered by the Jewish people's right to have a state? You shouldn't be triggered by that. That should be the most common—this is a human rights issue. Nothing more, nothing less. And this is the tactic that they use.

And I will give a pass to a lot of these followers of SJP, a lot of these students on college campus. They don't understand that they are being played. They—because SJP doesn't come to them and says flat out, "Would you like to join an organization that is about to dismantle a democracy?" They don't say that. They say, you know, freedom, and justice, and they use all these words, and they basically trick students to follow them.

And the worst part is the indigeneity of the Jewish people. This needs to stop. We need to expose them.

Mr. LAHOOD. Well, thank you for that. And it leads to my next point, I guess. It seems like many of these student groups and these organizations are masking behind social justice terminology. Can you talk a little bit about that?

Ms. TISHBY. Absolutely, they do. So they will kind of, again, mask their language. I call it cloaking the dagger. So when they talk about occupation, right, a lot of people tend to think, especially people that understand this term, they think occupation '67. They

would think the West Bank and two states, and it is kind of like murky, right?

They are not hiding what they are talking about right now. They are chanting, "We don't want 2 states, we want '48." So they are talking about the entirety of the state of Israel, right? They use, obviously, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," it talks about the Jordan River to the Mediterranean Sea, ethnically cleansing the Jews from their ancestral land.

I don't understand how Representative Rashida Tlaib says that they are—this is a call for freedom. I don't understand how you can understand that line, "from the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," in any other way, other than cleaning the Jews out of this land.

So everything that they say is calling what they say resistance by all means possible, even after October 7. So that means resistance by beheading babies and raping women and girls, because that is what they say. And we need to expose this.

And I would really hope that college-age kids would listen to this and pause for a second before they join in these organizations that are not progressive organizations, they are not human rights organizations. They are hate groups that are intended on dismantling the single, consistent democracy in the entire Middle East and the greatest ally of the United States in the region. We have to stop them. [Applause.]

Mr. LAHOOD. My time is expired, thank you.

Ms. TISHBY. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Dr. Wenstrup is recognized.

Mr. WENSTRUP. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you all very much for being here today.

You know, the actions taken on October 7 seemingly were unimaginable. Yet something, unfortunately, I contend, predictable, sadly. This was not for defense of someone's families. It was not for love of a culture or heritage, but for a hate of one singular ethnic group. Complete hatred. It was mentioned today the final solution. They are not talking about a solution, a two-state solution. It is their final solution.

Maybe this is by the grace of God, but we were cleaning the house and a picture frame opened up in the back, an old newspaper came out, and I am going to submit this article for the record from April 1994.

Chairman SMITH. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

NATION

Pentagon loses ruling on 6 gays

The Pentagon has lost a federal court ruling Monday blocking the service members who said to be gay in the military, making the ruling in the court. The ruling was issued by the U.S. District Court in New York. The ruling was issued by the U.S. District Court in New York. The ruling was issued by the U.S. District Court in New York.

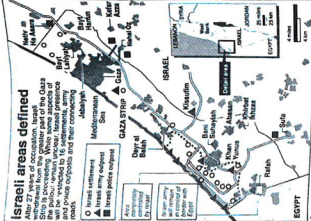
Implant deal OK'd

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — A federal judge Monday approved a deal for the implant of a federal judge. The deal was approved by the federal judge. The deal was approved by the federal judge.

Briseno changes story

LOS ANGELES — The police officer whose testimony helped convict a man in the King beating case Monday changed his story. The officer changed his story. The officer changed his story.

SPOTLIGHT: MIDEAST



RIGHT: An elderly Palestinian woman interrupts an Israeli soldier aiming his rifle Monday at stone-throwers in the Gaza Strip. The woman is seen in the background, and the soldier is in the foreground.



Troops leave, stones lobbed

Israeli army begins pullout in Gaza Strip. The Israeli army is pulling out of the Gaza Strip. The Israeli army is pulling out of the Gaza Strip. The Israeli army is pulling out of the Gaza Strip.

WORLD

ANC official hits lack of peacekeepers

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — An ANC official Monday criticized the lack of peacekeepers in the region. The official criticized the lack of peacekeepers in the region. The official criticized the lack of peacekeepers in the region.

American still hostage

CHICAGO — Police have been sent to obtain the release of an American hostage. The police have been sent to obtain the release of an American hostage. The police have been sent to obtain the release of an American hostage.

Women's summit to start

MIAMI — Some of the most important women's summit is set to start. The summit is set to start. The summit is set to start.

D-Day veterans appraised

PASIS — Posing courage from World War II veterans. The veterans are posing courage from World War II. The veterans are posing courage from World War II.

Mr. WENSTRUP. It is an AP piece in the Cincinnati Enquirer: "Troops leave, stones lobbed." These are troops leaving Gaza in 1994. So, "even though the moving was a visible sign of Israel's intent to leave, Palestinian youths with slingshots lobbed stones that bounce off the walls and the olive drab jeeps, youths screaming, we don't want peace. There will be stones every day, shouted the youths, many aligned with the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas group that opposes the Israel-PLO peacemaking process."

There it is. It is 30 years later. Now they are middle-aged. They are fighting age. This is the very root of this, and I am glad we are talking about things that the United States can do, and that we can do in the region, and everything else. But this is the root cause. But now I am concerned that very hatred that is taught, obviously, from the day they are born is happening here, and happening in our universities. It is the upbringing of hatred.

We talk about the FBI and the IRS, and those are some things we can certainly do. We talk about national strategy. Should we have a national strategy? We should. I contend we should make sure we sanction and cut off any type of funding from anywhere in the world, including within our own country, that in some way, shape, or form ends up in the hands of Hamas.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Hear, hear.

Mr. WENSTRUP. We can do that. We, the United States, can do that, and we need to do that.

I am concerned about our universities. This is terrible. Every one of us has universities near us, and we send our kids to universities. This is not the type of thing I was taught growing up, that is for sure.

So I have seen in Florida—and I would like to associate myself with the questions of Mr. LaHood and to you, Ms. Tishby—when Florida is shutting down chapters of SJP, what kind of an effect is that having—will that have, do we think—as far as maybe changing the tenor and the mindset?

Ms. TISHBY. Well, that was a blessed moment. You know, we all appreciated that a lot, because we have been doing this work for a very long time. And we really appreciate—all of us on this bench really appreciate that you are all here and are listening.

There are hundreds of examples of how SJP harasses students on college campus. At GW, they screened on the wall, "Glory to our martyrs" right after the massacre, right?

And I want to make sure, by the way, that we know that this is not a little terrorist attack. This is not 5, 4, 6, 19 terrorists. This was a battalion of 3,000 militant terrorists, psychopaths that have attacked Israel. "Glory to our martyrs," to the same people who opened up a woman's belly when she is pregnant and pulled out her fetus.

The University of North Carolina, they chanted, "We are all Hamas." This is what SJP does on campus. Just like terror, they terrorize Jewish kids on campus. They terrorize Jewish kids on campus. They make them afraid. The reason Talia is so brave is because she knows that to be a person who is a Zionist, who is Jewish, who is an American, a Christian, or a Muslim, anybody who supports Israel on campus, you will get terrorized. This is what they do. And we need to stop this.

And I want to commend you again for being here, because we know what it is like to be a kid on campus. This is being with the not cool crowd. This is being pushed out of the “cool spaces.” So we need to give her—applaud and actually make it great again to support Israel, and to support and be a proud Zionist. And again, all of you here, we are really grateful for what you are doing. And with the help of the good Lord, we will—and you—kick SJP off of every campus in America and around the world. [Applause.]

Mr. WENSTRUP. And we support freedom of religion, period. It is in our Constitution.

Ms. TISHBY. Absolutely, absolutely.

Mr. WENSTRUP. And I will tell you, this government sends a lot of money to universities. I will leave it at that.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. Pascrell.

Mr. PASCRELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thanks to each of the panelists.

The barbaric acts and attacks by Hamas are heartbreaking, stomach-turning, sheer evil. We could have had a bipartisan House response that it was outrageous when we left out humanitarian help and conditioned Israel aid on tax relief for the ultra-wealthy. Could have.

We must also guard against terror and hate at home. And we have heard about that today. At my request, the President sought \$200 million more for the non-profit security grant program. It has been successful. We started it many years ago in the Homeland Security Committee. Jonathan, you know about that. These dollars are needed to protect synagogues, mosques, churches, community centers across America facing renewed threats.

The tax-exempt organization like Hillel at Rutgers and Princeton and so many others across the country couldn't be eligible. We didn't even include a single cent for this program in the bipartisan package. Not one cent.

According to the ADL—and I am sorry if you become my Bible, my Bible, but you have, you have been fair to everybody, not many organizations are fair to everybody—“Isn't it peace that we seek, or is it settling?”

There has been a nearly 400 percent increase in anti-Semitic incidents across the country since Hamas massacred so many people. We are seeing more than a 200 percent increase in Islamophobic incidents. This is the largest rise since Donald Trump's shameful Muslim ban. That solves a lot.

Colleges have reported a startling surge of threats and violence, particularly against Jewish, with some Muslim students. We live in America. No one should face hatred, no one should face vitriol because of their heritage.

I have sounded the alarm on domestic extremism for 15 years and gotten mostly the deaf ear from both Republicans and Democrats. It is historically in the books. I fight every year for more funding to protect non-profits.

Today's hearing only reinforces the need for emergency funding for non-profit security grants. This is all empty talk. Actions matter, as was said. Put a full bipartisan security supplemental on the floor. I am willing to vote for it.

Finally, I see one of the witnesses here, Mr. Schanzer.

You mentioned me by name. I hope I have the courtesy of responding. In your testimony, you impugned the integrity and loyalty of my constituents.

What he implies is total rubbish. My constituents have the right to petition their government just like you, just like me.

So, Mr. Greenblatt, I appreciate the ADL's consistent support for the program I am talking about.

I ask unanimous consent to enter into the record a letter from the ADL and a coalition of national Jewish organizations, including Hillel. The letter calls on the Biden Administration to include emergency non-profit security grant funding in its security supplemental package. To the record?

Chairman SMITH. Without objection.

[The information follows:]

October 17, 2023

The Honorable Joseph R. Biden
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Biden:

We deeply appreciate your and the entire Biden-Harris Administration's commitment to the safety and security of the Jewish people.

As the unprovoked war against Israel escalates, our organizations join together to urge you to specifically request that Congress include a special allocation for the Nonprofit Security Grant Program (NSGP) in the forthcoming emergency supplemental funding package to provide much-needed protection of Jewish communal institutions across the nation. We request this be in the amount of \$500 million.

We have seen time and time again that tensions in the Middle East lead to an increase in antisemitic incidents targeting Jewish institutions and Jewish individuals. For example, in May of 2021, during a two-week period of military conflict between Israel and Hamas, the number of antisemitic incidents in the U.S. reported to ADL increased by 75% compared to the two weeks before the fighting began. Many of these incidents appear to have been perpetrated by individuals scapegoating American Jews for the actions of the Israeli government.

As you know, the NSGP provides faith-based communities with the resources to harden their spaces against rising physical and cyber threats and allows vulnerable populations to be better prepared for emergencies. The NSGP saves lives and prevents tragedies. Unfortunately, a review of past requests found that less than half of funding applications are accepted and funded. In FY'23, while there was \$305 million available, more than \$600 million in applications were submitted. Now is the time to ensure the Jewish community – and all American faith communities at risk -- have the resources to protect themselves from harm.

In addition to the emergency funds, we ask that your supplemental request include directions for language to ensure that NSGP funds can be disbursed rapidly and with maximum flexibility to meet the urgent needs of our faith communities.

We are grateful that your Administration has delivered record funding to protect America's faith institutions. Sadly, the war raging now in the Middle East requires us to do more to keep our communities safe. A key way to ensure that is by including the Nonprofit Security Grant Program in your supplemental funding request to Congress, so houses of worship can be protected from the rising threat of hate.

Sincerely,

ADL (Anti-Defamation League)
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
Jewish Federations of North America
American Jewish Committee

Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations
Hadassah, The Women's Zionist Organization of America
Hillel International
JCC Association of North America
National Council of Jewish Women
Rabbinical Assembly
Secure Community Network
Union for Reform Judaism (URJ)
United Synagogue for Conservative Judaism

CC: Office of Management and Budget (OMB) Director Shalanda Young

Mr. PASCARELL. Mr. Greenblatt, can you please expand on the importance of these grants, and why do we need additional funding quickly for these essential grants?

Mr. GREENBLATT. So the non-profit security grant program—and Congressman Pascarell, you deserve credit for your leadership on this for so, so long—it protects synagogues and Jewish schools. It protects churches. It protects HBCUs. It allows these institutions to fortify themselves from the threats that are real.

And I think about the shooting that took place at the Dollar General in Jacksonville earlier this year. The shooter went to a local HBCU and was deterred because of the campus security funded by this grant program.

And I think about Congress, the earlier comments about Pittsburgh. We just honored the five-year anniversary of that deadliest day in America. And again, had they had the non-profit security grant program in place, and they had the adequate funding there, many lives might have been saved.

We saw shootings in the past year in California at Asian-American churches. Again, had they had access to the funding, lives could have been saved.

This is not a red or blue issue. This is not a Jewish or Christian or Muslim issue. This is everyone's issue and everyone's opportunity. So we would strongly advise or second the idea of more money to fund the non-profit security grant program.

Mr. PASCARELL. Mr. Speaker, can I just conclude a point quickly?

Chairman SMITH. Conclude quickly, please.

Mr. PASCARELL. We are here, as I see it—and correct my perception—but we here, to find a way to bring people together. I mean, that is the purpose of the Congress, try to avoid conflict, certainly stand up and be against violence.

And I would hope that what would come out of this committee, any committee, is not only good intentions, but also that we understand that there is a history here. You cannot pass legislation to undo history, and we have to understand, in context, the very problems that we are talking about.

And I have been interpreted by some as saying, well, then you are someone who simply wants to look the other way. I don't want to look the other way, but I want to be fair about it because the rest have failed in what we tried to do in order to help the peace. We need to rethink it together.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.

Mr. Smucker.

Mr. SMUCKER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for holding today's hearing. Thank you to each of the witnesses. A lot has been said here today that I agree with.

I do just want to mention, you know, number one, there is no equivalency between what Hamas did, the horrific attacks, and Israel defending itself. And I think it is important that is said. And I think the article that Mr. Wenstrup found highlights that years ago the Palestinians could have chosen peace and prosperity and coexisting with Israel, and have chosen instead violence and de-

struction for many, many years. And so we stand with Israel and Israel's right to defend itself.

And, you know, we had a hearing on this yesterday in another committee, and it is just—it is still unbelievable to me that we are seeing what we are seeing on our college campuses. There was a student from Princeton who said, essentially, the Jewish students have retreated to the Jewish centers because they don't feel that they can participate in campus life. And it is just—it is sad to see. You know, we have seen Jewish students violently attacked with microphones, forced to lock themselves in a library in their dorms because they fear for their own safety. And it is just hard for me to believe that that is happening today. In my own district Millersville University students were targeted when a man drew two swastikas on campus.

And one of the things I want to focus on today, though, and just get your thoughts—and maybe one of the themes of this hearing—is the money that is flowing into universities, and then where universities are spending their money, and whether this has some impact on the positions that they are taking. And I would like some of you to speak to that.

We know that foreign countries are investing heavily in our universities, and they could potentially be abusing our U.S. tax system while they are doing that. In some cases, this is certainly countries that do not share our democratic values.

And so, Mr. Schanzer, I just want to ask about college endowments, reporting requirements for foreign investments. What steps—should we be concerned? And, if so, what steps should Congress take to ensure that these colleges and universities are fully disclosing where funds are coming from and then are not investing tuition and donor dollars into countries which actively oppose the U.S.?

Mr. SCHANZER. Thank you, Congressman. I am going to direct my comments here specifically to the country of Qatar. And there is a reason for that, because the Qataris are a state sponsor of Hamas. They are right now being looked at as an intermediary that may be able to help return those 240 hostages that are being held in Gaza right now.

But we know that the country of Qatar has been giving hundreds of millions of dollars to Hamas over the years, and they have an office. And, in that office—we have actually seen the video of some of those Hamas operatives cheering as they saw the news break on 10/7, and the Qataris have not kicked them out.

I am going to cite a couple of numbers here, and they are staggering. Qatari expenditures on American universities between 2002 and 2023 exceeds \$4.7 billion. This is a country, I should just remind you, of 300,000 people, okay? They have been spending an average of \$250 million per year. It has been actually \$3 billion between 2013 and 2019.

There was a moment—actually, in Texas—where Texas A&M, which has been receiving funds from the Qataris, they did not want to disclose—there was a lawsuit that ultimately had to be filed. And eventually, that money was—

Mr. SMUCKER. I only have a—I would love to hear more, but I only have another minute.

And by the way, Cornell is one that has received up to one-and-a-half billion—

Mr. SCHANZER. Almost two billion.

Mr. SMUCKER [continuing]. In funding from Arab countries.

Mr. SCHANZER. Correct.

Mr. SMUCKER. Specifically, Qatar and Saudi Arabia and others.

Mr. SCHANZER. Correct.

Mr. SMUCKER. Do you think these colleges are endangering students' safety and academic integrity by accepting these funds?

And do we know what these countries are receiving in return?

Mr. SCHANZER. We don't know what the countries are receiving in return, and that is a huge problem. And we need to see the contracts. We need to see what the universities agreed to in order to receive those funds, and it is not happening.

The Department of Education is actually woefully behind in tracking these disclosures. That is something that I would hope that this committee would look into.

Mr. SMUCKER. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you. Mr. Estes is recognized.

Mr. ESTES. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you to all our witnesses for showing up for this critical hearing, and talking through this issue that is so vital to the world. And we are seeing the impact as we look at all the news the last six weeks. Your testimony has certainly been impactful and heart-wrenching.

It is sad that we have to convene on a topic of anti-Semitism following the atrocities that occurred in Israel. I am disgusted, even after hearing reports and seeing footage of Hamas slaughtering families and babies and abducting hundreds of other civilians. There are some here in the United States that call the barbaric invasion and massacre "exhilarating," yet that was the word used by a university professor within our borders. These are heinous acts that we should all denounce in rooting out anti-Semitism. And standing with our ally, Israel, is not a partisan issue.

As mentioned earlier yesterday, hundreds of thousands of Americans rallied here in our nation's capital, and leaders of both political parties spoke in solidarity with our Jewish friends and allies. Yet on our college campuses, what should be the bastion of knowledge, students and faculty have abandoned the history of the state of Israel and the facts of the ongoing war and have instead sided with a terrorist organization that is intent on wiping out the Jewish people and rallying around the cries of death to America.

And U.S. officials have confirmed that Hamas is using hospitals, hospitals as command centers and armories. So why are the most rabid anti-Semites and the most vocal Hamas backers on our U.S. college campuses and—often in positions of prominence?

Universities seem to have become a safe harbor for anti-Semitic and anti-American rhetoric. And it is actually frightening to uncover the financial ties between higher education funding and anti-Semitism. You know, a recent report, as mentioned earlier, about—from the National Contagion Research Institute highlights about the \$13 million in unreported foreign contributions to approximately 200 U.S. colleges and universities. A common thread between these institutions of higher education was greater exposure to anti-Semitic rhetoric.

Not only that, but even student groups such as Students for Justice in Palestine are linked to unsavory organizations that once had ties to terrorism and potential financial links to Hamas.

On top of that, the leadership of many of these colleges have been slow to respond, giving the impression that they condone the anti-Semitic and antagonistic methods of the student population.

Today, I am grateful to have you folks here that are standing up to anti-Semitism and boldly supporting the state of Israel.

Mr. Schanzer, you studied Middle Eastern history extensively. What is your take when you hear students, college students, say that the Palestinians are only trying to defend against colonialization, and that the Jewish people are on stolen land?

Where has our education system gone wrong in that process?

Mr. SCHANZER. Mr. Congressman, thank you so much for that question. I will just say that I believe that Middle Eastern studies in America has failed over the last 20, 30, maybe 40 years. It has been utterly corrupted. We see tenured professors teaching opinion and not fact.

When you go back and you look at the history of this conflict, there was a partition plan that was proposed before the state of Israel was established. There was going to be a Palestinian state and an Israeli state living side by side. The Palestinians rejected it, as did the surrounding Arab states. Israel ended up winning a great deal of that territory in a hard-fought war from 1948 to 1949.

Israel still held out hope that it might be able to make peace with its neighbors. And then there was war in 1956, another war in 1967. Every time the Israelis offered up a peace agreement, it was met with rejection. There was the famous three noes from Khartoum, from the Arab League, where they said no recognition, no negotiation, and no peace.

This has been the history, the tragic history of the Middle East, where we could have seen peace agreements forged. It has not happened. And yet what we see from professors on our campuses is the vilification of Israel, which has been the one party that has been willing to make peace over these years.

Mr. ESTES. That is right, thank you. Yes. I mean, that is a good, short rendition of what really has happened, and we need to be aware of that.

Mr. Greenblatt, how has the indoctrination of hatred towards Jews and by Hamas and Palestinian authorities been utilized to ramp up such hatred, particularly in the Middle East but, I mean, to some degree throughout the United States, as well?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Throughout the United States, Mr. Congressman, I am glad you asked.

I mean, what we have seen—and I would attribute much of this to the normalization of anti-Zionism. Anti-Zionism is the ideology that says Jews don't have the same rights that we would afford to Palestinians or other people. Zionism has been demonized. It is just the idea that Jews have the right to self-determination in their ancestral homeland. That is it. It doesn't exclude Palestinians. There is no ethnocentric dimension to it. It is just the right to self-determination. But the normalization of anti-Zionism is this ugly trend, and it has really come through these universities.

Let me be crystal clear for the record. Anti-Zionism is anti-Semitism, period, full stop.

And you know who knows this well? Talia knows this well. The students know this well, because they see what is happening in these Middle Eastern studies departments that Dr. Schanzer talked about, and what is happening out of the classroom on the quad.

I mean, these incidences are really almost indescribable, and we wouldn't tolerate it if it happened against any other group of students, nor should we. Imagine if, in a world where we were upset about Beijing's policies, we saw students vandalizing Chinese restaurants. Or imagine if they were demonstrating outside the Asian Study Center. We would say that is indescribably bad and unacceptable, just as this is, and it needs to stop now.

Mr. ESTES. Well, thank you.

And I yield back, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CAREY [presiding]. Thank you. The chair recognizes Mr. Davis for five minutes.

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. And I too thank you for calling this hearing.

And, to all of the witnesses, I appreciate very much the profound comments and statements that you have made.

You know, as I was thinking, we are moving towards Thanksgiving. And I thought of my grandmother, who taught us to never look down at anybody else unless we were trying to figure out how to help them up. And she also taught us to try and have consideration for others that we would seek for ourselves.

Then I thought of my father, who was her son. And he taught us to try and live by the Golden Rule. That is, do unto others as you would have them do unto you.

And finally, arriving at the idea that we all learn what we live, and then we have a tendency to live what we learn, our colleges and universities have been leaders towards more open, more expansive, more tolerant societies. That is kind of the way we have been taught to think of academia and to think of academic institutions. And it is most unfortunate that they seemingly, in many instances, according to studies and reports and documentation, to be going in other directions.

Mr. Greenblatt, my question is going to arrive at you for two reasons. One, all of my adult life, beginning as a teenager, I have been very engaged, involved, and close to organizations like the American Civil Liberties Union, organizations like the ADL. I have had the good fortune to know outstanding Jewish leaders like Rabbi Marx and James Ramsey and spent considerable time with them in Chicago. If it happens, much of it happens in Chicago, it just happens to be the Midwest where it is located. But I have also spent considerable time with Palestinian leaders and Palestinian groups and have been to mosques and have been to temples and had those experiences.

My question is, how do we move beyond where things seem to be coming, and what are some of those concrete things that perhaps can be taught that help us move in the direction of getting where we need to go?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Well, Mr. Congressman, I appreciate the question.

First of all, I think, like you, my organization has been involved in the fight for civil rights for—since before any of us were alive. And I am proud that my predecessors marched in Selma, stood with Dr. King long before it was fashionable to do so. And the fight today for peace is going to require us to take risks, as well.

And let's be clear. The death of any Palestinian child or woman or innocent in Gaza is a tragedy, and we should mourn those losses.

We also should have the moral clarity to understand why are they happening. The scenes coming out of Gaza City today of Hamas operatives embedded in hospitals, using the sick and the infirm to defend themselves, are despicable. They are intolerable, and they are morally unacceptable. So we should free Gaza from Hamas.

That being said, how do we move forward here today? We need the Jewish and Muslim communities in this country—by the way, not just Muslims and Jews, all people—to realize that we need dignity and equality for Palestinians, but it will only happen when Israelis also have safety and security, that the two paths cannot be divergent, they must be convergent, with both sides recognizing each other's inalienable rights.

And I will be honest with you. There has been a long movement in the United States, a peace movement in the Jewish community, seeking a two-state solution, seeking to work together with their Palestinian neighbors.

I think of Vivian Silver, this Canadian-Israeli woman. She was a peace activist. Her role, Congressman, was taking sick Palestinians, those needing medical treatment, driving them from the border into Israel to get treatment. She was butchered, mutilated, her corpse so destroyed they thought she had been kidnaped. They didn't recognize this 70-year-old's body. They couldn't make a positive ID for almost five weeks. Literally, the depravity here is beyond words.

So, I say to you we need to recognize our common humanity, and we can do that after we defeat the evil of Hamas.

Mr. DAVIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I yield back. [Applause.]

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Hern is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. HERN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

There are many Jewish families and organizations in my district that are integral to our community. My district also has a large evangelical population that prays for the peace of Jerusalem, and I am proud to be one of them. In Tulsa, we have the Sherwin Miller Museum, which hosts a sobering exhibit educating citizens on the realities of the Holocaust. Understanding and remembering history is important if we wish to avoid repeating the horrors of the past.

Anti-Semitic demonstrations are taking place on college campuses across the country, and anti-Semitism is up nearly 400 percent in the United States since the Israel-Hamas War began. It is deeply troubling to see the lack of moral clarity in university leaders who fail or refuse to condemn anti-Semitic demonstration on

campuses. It is a sad day in America when parents at school board meetings are deemed terrorists, but Hamas's brutal violence against women and children is defended, even celebrated.

Unfortunately, this confusion and chaos in institutions of higher ed is not an anomaly. For decades, we have seen prestigious college campuses slowly soil their reputations by embracing Marxism, Confucius Institutes, and moral relativism at the expense of merit, virtue, and truth. Education is no longer the mission of these universities. Whether intentionally or out of naive stupidity, universities have allowed radical ideologies, often funded by the Chinese Communist Party, to indoctrinate our students.

All is not lost, though. In the face of blatant hatred and anti-Semitism, I have been encouraged by the support millions of Americans of all races and religions have shown to our Jewish friends and neighbors. Last week, there was a community meeting in Tulsa to stand up against anti-Semitic hate at a local Jewish synagogue. We need more of these kinds of meetings across America.

Supporting Hamas is supporting terrorism, plain and simple. We should not provide tax exemption status to organizations that funnel money to terrorists or take money from known terrorist states. The American people should know if their money is going to support terrorism, and they should be appalled even if one American cent has contributed to the causes of terrorism.

As a member of the Ways and Means Committee, we hold the power of the purse and tax-exempt status. With that power comes great responsibility to provide oversight on charities and universities that potentially abuse the tax-exempt status. American universities continue to receive billions of dollars in the form of taxpayer subsidies through tax breaks and Federal payments. Yet anti-Semitic incidents rise on their campuses. Higher ed should not continue to receive taxpayer money in the form of Federal payments, grants, or tax exemptions if they continue to turn a blind eye to anti-Semitism on their campuses.

The role the media has played in the recent rise in anti-Semitism should be noted. We have seen various news outlets downplay violent confrontations and threats to harm Jewish people, place blame on Israel despite the—being the victims of Hamas's attacks, and even try and justify the anti-Semitic acts of some.

For example, CBS titled an article "Jewish Man, 69, Dies After a Clash During Dueling Protests over Israel-Palestinian Conflict in LA Area," and, by doing so, downplayed the fact that the elderly man was violently struck in the head by a pro-Palestinian supporter with a megaphone.

Ms. Tishby, what—I mean, you have—I missed part of the hearing here for another meeting, but what do you think of all this?

I mean, you obviously are an activist in this area. What are your thoughts on this?

Ms. TISHBY. Thank you, Congressman. I am glad you asked me about the role of media.

So one of the biggest tropes about the Jewish community is that the Jews control the media. It is an anti-Semitic trope that is very old. And, clearly, it is not the case because, if the Jews would have controlled the media, we wouldn't have been in this situation in which media outlets around the world refuse to call terrorists ter-

rorists, they call them militants. They refuse to even wait a second before they get a press release from the Gaza Ministry of Health and immediately blame Israel for shooting a rocket at a hospital and killing 500 people. If you would think for a second, it takes more than a minute to count 500 bodies, right? Nobody thinks about that.

And we shouldn't really be surprised, sadly. So there is, obviously, anti-Israel media bias that is extraordinary. I look at the other side, on their planning and organization, and I think of what they blame us. They blame us for having a cabal. They seem to be having a great cabal of their own, and the media is a huge part of it. But this is all starting from somewhere. When you train and educate generations of young Americans on college campuses to believe these blood libels, to believe these—this slander, these lies about Israel and about Zionism and about the Jewish people, then they go on to work at newsrooms, and they take Hamas press release at face value. We shouldn't be surprised that this is happening.

We need to nip it in the bud, and nipping it in the bud meaning removing it from our children, removing it from our children entirely. Thank you.

I want to take this opportunity for a second and bring into this room the 241 Israeli and other citizens, hostages—Romi, Gal, Tal, Emily—ranges from 9 months to 85 years old that are held for over a month-and-a-half in captivity with a terrorist organization, an unprecedented incidence in the history of the world. So I just wanted to bring them into the halls of this great chamber. And thank you. Thank you very much for having us all. Thank you.

Mr. HERN. Thanks for your response.

Thank you, I yield back.

Mr. CAREY. Mrs. Miller is recognized for five minutes.

Mrs. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am still utterly horrified by the atrocities committed against our ally, Israel, by Hamas on October 7. There really are no words to describe what occurred. This depravity is being met fiercely, thank goodness. And I pray that the terrorist organization Hamas is destroyed so that they can never commit these kinds of attacks ever again.

It is written in Genesis, "The Lord had said to Abraham, Go from your country, your people, your father's household, to the land I will show you. I will make you into a great nation, and I will bless you. I will make your name great, and you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you. And whoever curses you, I will curse. And all peoples on earth will be blessed through you."

I want to specifically thank Talia for joining us today and sharing her harrowing account of terror that was perpetrated by another student against the Jewish community at Cornell University.

I can assure you, Talia, that they will be and should be brought to justice.

A concerning trend that we have witnessed is the influence of foreign governments on tax-exempt college campuses. One such example is Qatari funding for Northwestern University. It is no coincidence that it now has a campus in the Gulf country and has become a pipeline for reporters for the Qatari state-owned media Al

Jazeera and their youth-focused subsidiary, AJ+. It is widely reported that Northwestern's president said that the university will not be making an institutional statement on the attacks of Israel.

Ironically, Northwestern is a frequent commenter on global events such as the invasion of Ukraine and numerous Supreme Court cases. This has led me to wonder if Qatar's funding for Northwestern plays a role in their non-statement on this geopolitical event.

It is hard to miss that Qatar is actively housing Hamas leadership in luxury hotels while Palestinians suffer, or that AJ+ has been at the forefront of spreading pro-Hamas propaganda on social media sites, especially on TikTok, misinforming our students across the country and inspiring additional anti-Semitism.

The Department of Justice has determined that AJ+ must register under the Foreign Agent Registration Act, known as FARA, but they have failed to do so. The fact that they are influencing the thoughts of America's youth, without disclosing their funding, should be further investigated, and taxpayers should definitely not be subsidizing the universities that allow hatred to spread.

Mr. Lehman, while I have highlighted Northwestern's response in particular today, they are not the only ones to disappoint in this important moment. How do you think we should look at Northwestern's and other schools' responses to Hamas attacks?

Do you believe that their neutrality and inaction are a result of their financial ties to countries known to support terrorist organizations like Hamas?

Mr. LEHMAN. Thank you, Congresswoman Miller. I would say the following.

While at Hillel we can't know for sure how funding is or isn't impacting the administration, here is what we can say for sure. It was very disappointing to see Northwestern University not speak out, and that was joined by so many other universities who also chose not to speak out. As President Ben Sasse at University of Florida shared, "This is not hard." So they missed that opportunity horribly.

Beyond that, Northwestern actually is a textbook example of where students for Justice in Palestine has continued to poison the campus climate for Jewish students, including just in recent weeks publishing fake newspapers demonizing Israel and, again, alienating Jewish students.

Our Hillel student leaders are working so hard, and our terrific executive director, Michael Simon, there to actually promote understanding. We have heard from many members. We need to build bridges. These are students, Jewish students who care deeply about Israel, but care about the harms, you know, directed at Palestinian civilians. They want to see justice, dignity, and safety for all, but they cannot find opportunities to build bridges when other groups literally—and you all should understand this—there are student groups on campus who have anti-normalization policies. They won't even sit down and talk to Jewish students at Northwestern and other campuses.

So whatever you all are able to do to, number one, influence the universities in your districts would be terrific. Come visit us at our

Hillels. You can talk to students, and you will actually be able to lift their spirits.

And, relative to the authority that you do have, as some members have said, please continue to support the non-profit security grants. Please continue to drive accountability through title 6 or any other measures that you can. And please just continue to use your voices to speak out. We really appreciate it.

Mrs. MILLER. And very briefly, Ms. Tishby, since you are a member of the media, what role should media personalities really play?

And what is their real role? Are they supposed to report accurate information?

Ms. TISHBY. Can you elaborate on which personalities, exactly? Media personalities, social media personality, all of them?

Mrs. MILLER. All of them.

Mr. CAREY. The——

Ms. TISHBY. I will tell you what I can say.

Mr. CAREY. The witness can finish, but the gentlewoman's time has expired.

Ms. TISHBY. Okay.

Mrs. MILLER. Okay.

Ms. TISHBY. So I will do it quickly.

Israel was a not-cool cause to align yourself with. For many, many years I was working—living and working in Hollywood and—as a producer, as an actress, as a writer. And I have tried to get people to vocally support Israel, and they would say, “Oh, I love Israel.”

“But would you say it publicly, or would you tweet about it?”

“No.”

So what I encourage people to do, people that have any kind of profile, is to acknowledge the difference between good and evil. Supporting the existence of safety and security of the state of Israel does not mean that you always agree with the Israeli Government's policies. That is fine. But Israel is the only country in the world that her existence is being questioned. That is something that we should not agree to hear anymore.

But yes, I would like to hear from more——

Mrs. MILLER. Thank you.

Ms. TISHBY [continuing]. Personalities out there publicly. Thank you.

Mr. CAREY. Ms. Sánchez is recognized for five minutes.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I really appreciate the opportunity for this committee to acknowledge and confront the reality of rising anti-Semitism and hate, especially on college campuses. And I want to thank each of our witnesses for sharing their stories and their perspectives today, because it takes a lot of courage to speak up.

In the wake of Hamas's vicious terrorist attack against Israel on October 7, our communities are reporting a troubling uptick in reports of anti-Semitic harassment. And I think we are all united in the belief that anti-Semitism cannot be tolerated in any form. It has no place in our communities, especially on college campuses and in our nation's schools. Unaddressed, that kind of hatred threatens the very fabric of our nation.

I want to start my questioning with Mr. Greenblatt—I want to thank you for your testimony outlining the significant spike in anti-Semitic incidents in the wake of the Hamas-Israel war. We have to confront hate early and aggressively, and the Federal Government urgently needs to support programs that combat anti-Semitism. Would you agree with that?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I absolutely agree, Congresswoman.

Ms. SANCHEZ. And you provided many policy recommendations, which include investing in the Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights, which investigates complaints that students have been subjected to ethnic or ancestral slurs, or to harassment based on their appearance, dress, or the way they speak in ways that are tied to ethnicity or ancestry. Is that correct?

Mr. GREENBLATT. I mean, title 6 covers protecting students based on ethnicity or national origin. So, you have to show a pattern of discrimination, and the university not creating, again, a space where the student is able to learn and live freely.

Ms. SANCHEZ. But the question being you recommend investing in the Department of—

Mr. GREENBLATT. Yes, I do.

Ms. SANCHEZ [continuing]. Education's Office for Civil Rights.

The Office of Civil Rights is responsible for, as you have said, ensuring that schools provide all students, including students who are or are perceived to be Jewish, Israeli, Muslim, Arab, or Palestinian in a learning environment that is free from discrimination that is based on race, color, or national origin.

Mr. Greenblatt, would slashing the funding for the Office of Civil Rights by 25 percent, as House Republicans have proposed, make it harder for school and university leaders to protect students and foster a safe and supportive learning environment?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Well, I appreciate the question. I am not familiar with the particular proposal you are suggesting.

I would say that, as I mentioned before and as I will reinforce, the Office of Civil Rights, which is there for all students, deserves adequate funding so that it can deal with the large number of cases that it has.

And I also believe that the office—you know, there may be things that we can do right now to help it. So, for example, I had a meeting with the attorney general last week. I recommended detailing lawyers from the Department of Justice over to Education. It wouldn't require any additional money, it could help them deal with the backlog of cases.

I recommended IPAs. You know, you could put people in the Federal Government on short terms of service. It doesn't require any additional money, but you could do that without raising the head count.

And finally, the Department of Education doesn't need to wait for cases to be brought to it. It could appoint, almost like a special prosecutor—that is not the right term, but someone to go out there and aggressively look at these cases. It doesn't require any additional money.

Ms. SANCHEZ. I appreciate those recommendations, but my question was whether a 25 percent cut in the Office of Civil Rights

would help or hinder the ability to investigate those kinds of incidences of harassment.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Clearly, adequate funding—so I would not recommend funding cuts at this time.

Ms. SANCHEZ. Great. I also just want to point out that House Republicans have also proposed slashing the FBI's operating budget, eliminating hate crime grants, and eliminating the Community Relations Service, which is also known as America's peacemaker, for helping communities address conflict based on actual or perceived race, color, national origin, or religion.

And I only raise those issues because, given what the witnesses have shared with us today, I think that we ought not to be talking about slashing funding for vital programs which can help root out these incidences of violence, or even prevent them before they escalate to incidents of violence. So instead of the proposed cuts to those critical programs, we should fully fund them or even plus-up funding where needed.

Lastly, I just wanted to say, Ms. Dror, I really appreciate you being here today and sharing difficult and frightening experiences with us, from threats and harassment to disturbing graffiti that you have experienced on your college campus. And it is not hard to understand why students are scared. What would you suggest my colleagues and I should remember as we consider the different ways the Federal Government can help address hate and prevent violent attacks on our friends, our families, and our neighbors?

Ms. DROR. Thank you so much. In terms of legal policy, I am not an expert yet, so I would defer to the experts on this panel.

But I hope you remember that I am supposed to be in school right now. Like in this exact moment I am supposed to be in my constitutional politics class, which is funny. [Laughter.]

Ms. SANCHEZ. You might get extra credit for actually being here. I don't know. [Laughter.]

Ms. DROR. Let's hope. But Jewish students deserve to be able to go to their classes.

Ms. SANCHEZ. I agree, and thank you so much for your testimony. [Applause.]

Ms. SANCHEZ. I yield back.

Mr. CAREY. Dr. Murphy is recognized for five minutes.

Mr. MURPHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you all for coming today. I know there have been some really heart-wrenching stories, and I am sorry you are having to tell them, but that is, sadly enough, the world that we live in.

I have worked since my tenure in Congress a lot on free speech. I have had free speech roundtables now—this will be the third year in a row next month. And it is just interesting now on campus how free speech is now flipped on its head. Because it used to be if—it was diversity in all things except opinion, and that is what has hit—that is what has popped the top off it now, because it is not diversity of opinion.

And how anti-Semitism has just exploded in the country is beyond me. It is beyond me. It was never an issue when I was in college, never. And the horrific, murderous, barbaric attacks that occurred—and any college professor should be removed from their position immediately, any college president should be removed from

his or her position immediately, any student should be expelled immediately. These are no different than inciting neo-Nazi, White supremacy, or anything else.

So we have on one side of the stream where we are attacking the White supremacy neo-Nazis, but all of a sudden there is a difference and they are calling that free speech. That is not free speech. That is inciting violence and death on college campuses today. There is a marked, marked difference.

Ms. Dror, you know, you gave a very compelling introductory talk, and I appreciate that a little bit. Let me ask you this. In your experience, do you feel that colleges and universities now have a double standard in regards to free speech?

Ms. DROR. I believe it is within my free speech rights to put up a mezuzah on my door. That mezuzah has recently been had to—

Mr. MURPHY. I am sorry. Would you mind repeating that?

Ms. DROR. There is a Jewish scroll that Jewish people put on their doorposts.

Mr. MURPHY. Right.

Ms. DROR. I have one on my home. It is within my free speech rights to put one of those on my door.

Mr. MURPHY. Right.

Ms. DROR. That has had to be removed for my safety. How can colleges say that endorsing terrorism is free speech when it—

Mr. MURPHY. No, they are not—

Ms. DROR [continuing]. Directly hinders my ability to express my religious free speech?

Mr. MURPHY. Yes, I wear—I have a cross in my office, and you don't know how many times, at least in this institution, they have attacked the cross. That is the cross on which this nation was built. In God we Trust. Christian, Judeo-Christian, it was a foundation on which this nation was built. You may not like it, but that is what happened.

[Slide]

Mr. MURPHY. Ms. Tishby, wow, you have talked about this several times today. I really would love to understand. I have been to Israel twice. When you go into the term "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," what does that mean when somebody is Jewish? What happens when they hear those words?

Ms. TISHBY. Thank you so much, and I love that you have visual aids.

Mr. MURPHY. They just magically appear.

Ms. TISHBY. First of all, let's just—I love it. This is fabulous. Let's just acknowledge that the size of Israel is the size of the State of New Jersey. So there are 21 Arab countries in the region, 1 Jewish state. And, for some reason, Israel is the big bad wolf. You can barely find it on the map. It is a tiny piece of land.

The Jordan River, over there to the east, and the Mediterranean Sea, when people say, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," they mean that piece of land completely clean. So ethnically cleansing the Jews from their ancestral land.

Now, why is that anti-Semitic?

Mr. MURPHY. You have about 30 seconds. I am trying to stay on time.

Ms. TISHBY. I am sorry?

Mr. MURPHY. I have got—we have got about 30 seconds, so I am trying—

Ms. TISHBY. Why is this anti-Semitic? It is anti-Semitic because if you don't allow only the Jewish people to have a state, if you are anti-Zionist, you are saying, "I am not anti-Semitic, I am just an anti-Zionist," well then, which other country would you like to dismantle? Usually the question—the answer to that is none, just Israel.

Mr. MURPHY. Right.

Ms. TISHBY. So people that are obsessing over Israel are anti-Semitic, and that means cleansing that particular piece of land, which is the Jewish people's ancestral land.

Mr. MURPHY. It would be very similar, but not nearly as commentary as to say get everything from the Atlantic to Pacific, south of Canada, north of Mexico.

Ms. TISHBY. Yes, America will be free.

Mr. MURPHY. Well, thank you.

I will say this when we are talking about funding. I don't mean this to be partisan, but the Democrat—my Democratic colleagues love to just say more and more and more funding. How about we cut the funding of these colleges and universities, and divert the funding that they already have, that they—I have been on a college board—and see an explosion every year of program after program after program. How about we cut and reuse the money? Because otherwise, it becomes a nuclear arms race. Who can scream for more money year after year?

So go to these college professors, board of trustees, and all—to all these folks and say, "You are losing your money," which I think the vast majority should anyway, "if you don't move your funds from one thing to another," actually put your money where your mouth is when you talk about true diversity and inclusivity.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I will yield back.

Mr. CAREY. Mr. Kustoff is now recognized for five minutes.

Mr. KUSTOFF. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you for the witnesses, all of you, for appearing today. I think we have all learned a lot.

If I could, Dr. Schanzer, with you, if I could get you for a moment to put on your former Department of Treasury hat, yesterday my colleague and I, Congressman Brad Schneider at the other end, introduced a bipartisan piece of legislation—the bill number is H.R. 6408—it would authorize the Department of Treasury to revoke the tax-exempt status of any non-profit deemed to be providing material support or resources to a terrorist group or to—a terrorist group like Hamas, or any other terrorist group. You were back in your role at Treasury. Can you talk about the benefit that that legislation could provide if it, in fact, were enacted by Congress?

Mr. SCHANZER. Certainly, Congressman, and thank you for the question. I did see H.R. 6408, and I think it is a worthwhile initiative.

I think that there was a time, though, where Treasury used to track domestic groups and actually sanction them. It has stopped doing that, so we don't do that anymore. We only target external groups, foreign terrorist organizations, foreign charities, foreign individuals. That is what the Treasury does now.

So this is probably something that the Department of Justice and the FBI would be able to wield. So, if Treasury identifies one of those, and they are identified pursuant to this proposed law, then it would be probably something that the Department of Justice and FBI would follow up on. But I do see this as a very valuable tool.

Mr. KUSTOFF. A valuable tool to revoke the tax-exempt status of these organizations.

Mr. SCHANZER. Correct, as a first step. And then I would say after that you would want to have a deeper investigation to find out whether there is criminal activity, because that is certainly what is implied in the language of your proposal.

Mr. KUSTOFF. You talked about American Muslims for Palestine. What about the Islamic Relief Worldwide, the IRW, are you familiar with them?

Mr. SCHANZER. I am not as familiar. The reason why I have tracked AMP is because I used to track all the other groups that came before it. I could very easily see their lineage. I am not tracking all these other groups full-time.

Mr. KUSTOFF. Okay, fair enough. Thank you very much.

Mr. GREENBLATT, thank you for appearing today. Does TikTok contribute to anti-Semitism?

Mr. GREENBLATT. There is no question that social media broadly is a super-spreader of anti-Semitism and hate. TikTok has had—as well reported, a considerable amount of disinformation being spread on the platform. We have seen the Pro-Hamas hashtags enjoy far greater popularity than the pro-Israel content. Some of that, I think, could be attributed to the volume that is there. I mean, it is a massive platform with billions of users.

This body, this committee, should be looking at social media and looking at what you can do to rein in the hate that is there, for sure.

Mr. KUSTOFF. And there has been talk about the other media organizations, non-social media.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Yes.

Mr. KUSTOFF. I am talking about traditional. Do you have an opinion? Because people watch television, right?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Right.

Mr. KUSTOFF. Can you talk about the evenness or the unevenness of how events have been covered since October 7?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Yes, I mean, it is fairly astonishing. It is like we are all—it is like Al Jazeera has captured our networks.

I mean, just so we are clear—and Noa alluded to this earlier—you are not a fighter if you go in and decapitate a baby, you are a murderer. You are not a militant if you go in and execute the elderly, you are a killer.

And you know, I have had conversations with the leadership of the AP, The New York Times, The Washington Post, let alone the networks. And it is beyond my understanding and comprehension how these organizations can be confused about the moral standing of these murderers. We didn't call the people who took out the Twin Towers fighters. We called them terrorists because that is what they were. And we didn't call the people who butchered babies in Syria fighters because they were terrorists, and that is what

they were. And I don't understand why there is any moral confusion about this here and now.

Mr. KUSTOFF. Thank you, Mr. Greenblatt.

Ms. Tishby, very quickly, as my time is expiring, you—prophetically, maybe—wrote a column in *Variety* several weeks before October 7. I want to read you a quote now. Here is my—ask you a question. You are—what you wrote, “Anti-Zionism is the new, hip, and socially acceptable thing to do as we can see on social networks such as TikTok, which exploded into frenzied criticisms of Israel, sometimes even in dance routines, during the May 21 Gaza conflict.” I think you wrote this, again, just a few weeks before October 7.

Can you compare that quote a few weeks before October 7 and now?

Ms. TISHBY. Well, now it just became a whole lot more extreme and a whole lot more spread out.

We just found out that X, formerly known as Twitter, by—did not remove 98 percent of reported anti-Semitic hate speech since October 7. It only got worse.

I called it in my book, this hip, new social justice cause because hating Israel became the norm, and that norm needs to be turned around. As Jonathan was saying, social media is a super-spreader. We live in a terrifying world in which, if Hitler had TikTok, we would be seeing another reality.

This is what we are dealing with right now, and for some it is very unfortunate that Israel is patient zero when it comes to misinformation and fake news, just like it was in the days of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. We are seeing this manifest and change, and this is where we are at today. Anti-Semitism is a shape-shifting conspiracy theory, and it has shifted into what we are seeing today, which is anti-Israel and anti-Zionism.

Mr. CAREY. The gentleman's time has expired.

Ms. Sewell is recognized for five minutes.

Ms. SEWELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would like to thank all of our witnesses here today for sharing your personal experiences and your professional insight.

We are five weeks removed from Hamas's horrific terrorist attacks resulting in the deaths of thousands, killers leaving Israeli and Palestinians caught in the crosshairs of war. The aftermath of this conflict is not contained within the active war zone. The effects of the conflict have made their way to the United States in both anti-Semitic and Islamophobic acts.

And, to be clear—we must be very clear—we cannot allow anti-Semitism or Islamophobic or any form of hate to grow anywhere, but especially here in America and especially on our college and university campuses.

We are, unfortunately, witnessing home-grown hatred, and we have in this nation, unfortunately, seen this before. One need look only further [sic] than my Alabama congressional district to witness the country's centuries-long history of hatred. It was this hatred that culminated in the spilling of blood on the Edmund Pettus Bridge, including that blood of our former colleague, the great late John Lewis. The brave foot soldiers that day were advocating for

the fundamental constitutional right of access to the ballot box and freedom of speech.

While the battle fought that day may have been or appeared to be distant, old battles have indeed become new again. And the modern battleground is not a bridge, but college and university campuses. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was shaped by the countless men and women, many so unknown, from my Alabama's 7th congressional district who experienced discrimination during the height of the Jim Crow South.

Now, we know that colleges and universities have a legal obligation under title 6 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to provide all students, including students who are or are perceived to be Jewish or Israeli, a school environment that is free of discrimination based on race, on color, or national origin.

I wanted to ask you, Mr. Greenblatt, if you could talk about what colleges and universities must do to address this anti-Semitism so that they don't lose their federal funding under title 6.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Well, I am glad you asked the question, Congresswoman Sewell. So, thank you.

You know, Congresswoman, I would say, number one, like you said, the universities have a legal obligation to protect all of their students, and their Jewish students are being targeted right now. But I must say we are not going to wait, because so many of these university presidents are cowardly and feckless.

So I am proud to share that Mr. Lehman and I, through Hillel and ADL, along with another group called the Brandeis Center, have launched a legal help line last week called Call the Campus, an anti-Semitism legal line, to make it easy for students to submit cases.

We have already had over 150 cases submitted in one week. We have trained over 100 lawyers, in part thanks to the help of a law firm Gibson Dunn & Crutcher. And, if we do our job right, we will get up to 1,000 lawyers. So you better believe we are not going to wait for these universities to finally show up. We are going to show them, and we are going to bring the cases to them.

And I think, you know, I appreciate the conversation about the Qatari money. You know, we talk about dark money in politics. This is dark charity, and dark charities should have no place in our country. And so we should again stop the flow of dark charity, and we should stop the flow of Federal funds if these university presidents don't finally do their jobs.

Ms. SEWELL. So can you tell students who may be listening what ADL resources are available to them?

I mean, you just said being able to file cases.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Yes.

Ms. SEWELL. Can they find on your website—where can people go—

Mr. GREENBLATT. Well, they can text—

Ms. SEWELL [continued]. To really find those resources to help them?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Yes, they can text "call help" to 51555 to report incidents. "Call help" to 51555.

Number two, they can go to ADL.org. Through our deep partnership with Hillel International, we provide training to students so

they understand how to deal with the anti-Semitism and anti-Zionism when they are confronted with it, Congresswoman.

So I think, between ADL—you can find our stuff at ADL.org—and all the amazing resources of Hillel, there is a lot of stuff that students can use.

Ms. SEWELL. We must stop hatred, period——

Mr. GREENBLATT. Thank you, agreed.

Ms. SEWELL [continued]. In this country.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Hear, hear.

Ms. SEWELL. Thank you.

Mr. CAREY. The chair would like to remind members and also the witnesses that—to keep your remarks within the five-minute time period. That way all of the members will have time to ask questions.

The chair now recognizes Mr. Fitzpatrick for five minutes.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Thank you all for being here today.

I represent the Philadelphia region, Bucks County, Montgomery County in southeastern Pennsylvania. I was personally horrified in our own example in our backyard to see violent extremist activity, specifically at the University of Pennsylvania. A student proclaimed during a protest in Philadelphia that October 7 attacks by Hamas made her feel empowered and happy, and she later stole an Israeli flag for all the world to see. For someone to feel empowered and happy as innocent children are kidnaped and murdered in cold blood is the most unimaginable thing anyone could imagine in a free society.

Dr. Schanzer, thank you for being here, sir. You have been observing an uptick in violence on college campuses linked to Hamas propaganda for quite some time now. Beyond this example, can you provide this committee for the record—because we want to get a lot of this on the record today—other examples that you have witnessed of violent rhetoric being spread to students since the war began and how Hamas propaganda has been funneled down to groups on campuses throughout——

Mr. SCHANZER. Thank you, Congressman Fitzpatrick, and thank you for representing my hometown of Philadelphia. Go, Birds.

Look, Penn is probably the worst campus that I have seen during all of this. And this takes nothing away from what we have seen in Cornell. I will go through just a couple of the examples of what we have seen, the kinds of rhetoric and the threats that have been taking place on this campus. It is embarrassing to me, as a son of Philadelphia and as a Jew, to see this happening. It is unbelievable that it is happening in America, for that matter.

So you have a speaker at Penn, Against the Occupation, a rally praising Hamas for a job well done on 10/7. We have,—at Penn's AEPi house, someone scribbled the message, "Jews are Nazis." The Hillel was broken into. The Chabad was vandalized. A swastika was drawn on an academic building. We are watching protests where they are calling for Palestine from the river to the sea. This is calling for the destruction of the state of Israel. They are calling for an intifada, a violent uprising. There is a vigil and a walkout to honor the Palestinian martyrs, those that are killed fighting

against Israel. And then finally, a faculty senate statement published that was really, I think—the end message was that the university should not cave to Jewish donors who are demanding change.

This is unbelievable, that it is taking place at Penn. It is unbelievable that it is taking place in America, and it is just a microcosm of what we are watching across the country.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Thank you, Doctor.

Mr. Dror, moving to social media, obviously there has been a rise in anti-Semitic language on social media platforms, TikTok probably being the biggest offender, although not the only one by any stretch, which has been used as a tool for Hamas—a wholly-owned subsidiary of the CCP, by the way. If you could, talk to me about what you have seen at your university. What are—where are these young people—it is not just dance videos, right? They are getting—they are now getting their news from TikTok and some of these other social platforms, which is wholly controlled by a chief adversary of the United States and Israel.

So talk to me about the social media impact here that—specifically, the impact it is having on college campuses.

Ms. DROR. Yes, absolutely. This is actually really funny, because I deleted my TikTok three days ago. I was always a huge user of it, and there was a point where I deleted it and then redownloaded it, and it changed my whole algorithm. Like, it refines an algorithm for you based on the type of videos you enjoy watching. And so the ones that I didn't enjoy watching, I would filter out. And I got funny TikToks for a while, and then I deleted it, redownloaded it. And every single video was essentially glorifying the brutal massacre of October 7.

Unfortunately, you are right. This is the news source that students turn to. This is what college students are looking at in between their classes when they are bored, and they are seeing glorification of terrorism all over their social media. And then we are seeing their professors glorify terrorism and reinforce those ideas.

And so, unfortunately, social media is absolutely contributing to the need for a recalibration of the moral compasses of students and professors everywhere.

Mr. FITZPATRICK. Well, you will be pleased to hear that, in my role in the House Intelligence Committee, we will be subpoenaing the algorithm of TikTok to get answers to a lot of these questions.

Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman SMITH [presiding]. Ms. Chu is recognized.

Ms. CHU. First, I want to say thank you to our witnesses for being here today and bravely sharing your experiences. No one should be targeted or made to feel unsafe because of who they are. There is no room for hate and anti-Semitism in this country or anywhere.

I just met with the hostage families two hours ago, and I heard from the family of Abigail Idan, only three years old when the Hamas attacked her father, fell on top of her to protect her but was murdered, and then she was kidnaped. These horrific stories are just unbelievable.

And then there is what is happening in my State of California, which is reflective of what is happening in the United States. At

UCLA earlier this month, students were recorded chanting horrific anti-Semitic language through a megaphone. We heard reports about Jewish students at UC Berkeley, UC Davis, and San Jose State being physically attacked, and Jewish students at UC San Diego who needed a police escort to safely leave a student meeting.

These and other horrific incidents on college campuses across the country have impacted the climate of schools and are threatening Jewish students' safety on their own campuses. In fact, just the other day in my own district the Hillel at the Claremont Colleges sent an email to its members with recommendations on how to be safe on campus, including suggesting in some cases it may be safest for students to stay inside and skip classes. I thank Hillel for working to keep students safe, but no person anywhere should be forced to stay home out of fear of being attacked because of who they are. We cannot tolerate these anti-Semitic incidents.

And Islamophobic incidents also, as like the unconscionable murder of the six-year-old Palestinian-American boy last month, or any instance of race-based hatred and discrimination.

And I can relate to this because for the last three years there have been anti-Asian hate crimes and incidents, and they included slander, insults, assaults, and killings. And there were 11,500 of them because of Asians being blamed for COVID-19.

So, the first person I must thank is Jonathan Greenblatt and ADL because, as these were starting to happen, you actually were the first organization to speak up and offer your support amid a rise in anti-Asian hate and bigotry during the pandemic. And it meant so much to our communities and helped us make real progress toward protecting vulnerable communities across the United States from hate crimes. And that is what led us to work hard to pass the COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act, which included my bill, the No Hate Act, and to have a major piece of hate crime legislation in 30 years to improve the ability for victims to be able to report, and for law enforcement to be able to also more actively prosecute and also report these hate crimes.

Now, as a result of this law—well, for one thing, it created a new program to support state-based hotlines for victims to report crimes. But so far, only two states, California and Illinois, have established these systems.

And then it actually also provided money to train every law enforcement agency in this country to report hate crimes through the National Incident-Based Reporting System, or NIBRS.

But we still have a ways to go. There are 87 jurisdictions that still have not implemented this system. And without full participation in these new programs, we will not have a full understanding of hate crimes across this country and our response to incidents like this anti-Semitism that is happening on campuses will be incomplete.

So, Mr. Greenblatt, as I discussed, the COVID-19 Hate Crimes Act and the No Hate Act was born out of an alarming rise in anti-Asian hate crimes during the height of the COVID-19 pandemic. And it will help us better address all hate crimes, including anti-Semitic incidents. Can you talk about why it is important for all state and local jurisdictions to fully participate in these programs by reporting crimes to the NIBRS database and setting up these

hate crime-reporting hotlines in order to allow the Federal Government to have a comprehensive response to rising anti-Semitism and all forms of hate?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Yes. So, Congresswoman, thank you for the question. Thank you for your leadership on the No Hate Act. ADL was proud to work with you and with all members of the Asian-American, the AAPI Caucus, on that important piece of legislation.

Look, data drives policy. And the fact of the matter is 85—some-odd percent of municipalities do not report any hate crimes, or affirmatively report zero every year. And bad data in means bad policy out. So this needs to change.

So yes, I mean, I think Director Wray was testifying on the Hill today. Pushing the FBI and pushing law enforcement agencies to make sure they are reporting hate crimes helps all of us. And so more of it needs to happen so we have an accurate picture of the situation on the ground and, therefore, can build the right policies and programs in response to that.

Ms. CHU. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Ms. Tenney is recognized.

Ms. TENNEY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and I just want to say thanks to the witnesses.

Every one of you has been phenomenal in various ways. I got about eight pages of questions I would like to ask, but I would like to first state a few things and—just to talk about the shameful state of anti-Semitism that has flourished in our nation's universities, including in my own backyard.

After the horrific attacks on Israel by Hamas on October 7, we have witnessed at numerous universities, including some in my own state of New York—thank you to Ms. Dror for being here—that have allowed hate-filled anti-Semitic demonstrations in support of terrorist groups like Hamas to circulate across the campus.

Demonstrators outside of the Maxwell School at Syracuse University chanted, "From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free," an anti-Semitic rallying cry long used by terrorist groups to call for the violent destruction of the state of Israel and the Jewish people, as Ms. Tishby so accurately described today from a personal viewpoint.

The same was witnessed at the University of Rochester, which I surround with my sprawling district in upstate New York, with a group known as Students for Justice in Palestine, which we have discussed a lot today, hosting increasingly vitriolic and menacing demonstrations. The university has done little or nothing to condemn these hate-filled actions, and students, especially Jewish students, are rightfully fearing for their own safety.

In the wake of the Hamas attack—and I want to reference Ms. Dror here, and thank you so much for your courage to be out and be standing up early in this incident—and I don't think that we can state this enough—a professor at Cornell University, Russell Rickford—we should say his name—referred to the slaughter of Israeli civilians by Hamas as energizing and exhilarating—you have heard that from a number of Members of Congress today—while speaking at a pro-Palestine protest on Cornell's campus.

After these disgraceful comments, I wrote a letter to the Cornell University president demanding Professor Rickford's immediate

resignation or removal. But to my knowledge, he has only been placed on leave from the university. But I consider that step one.

And I am so grateful for your continued advocacy, Ms. Dror, and your willingness to proudly talk about your own religious beliefs and something that is—I think we need to talk about this, and I think everybody sort of touched on it—Mr. Greenblatt, as well.

It was part of a university board. I went to Colgate University. My dad is a graduate of Cornell Law School. My brother went to Syracuse. We have all been educated in upstate New York, which has a wonderful tradition of secondary schools. But I remember something called the Chicago Principles about First Amendment principles. And many colleges and universities would not adopt them. It was a protocol for free speech, but there were certain exemptions in that. And some of those were incitement, defamation, threats, and others to students. But this would give students freedom to express their religious and other views, but also the protection that the First Amendment actually affords all of us to be able to speak freely and why we revere this country.

But I am concerned that—and I know that everybody has put out all these wonderful—I know that Ms. Tishby put out three things that we could do kick these hate groups off campus, evidence linking state police, FBI. How can they enjoy the warm welcome of Congress? Excellent question. We ask that ourselves every day.

And also, Mr. Greenblatt, you laid out four things. And one of the things that—number one was to pass legislation to implement a national strategy. Well, some of our colleagues have actually done that today. But how can we get something like the Chicago Principles and protocol in place at universities so that we do respect free speech? It is very important.

I am the mother of a Marine. There was—the Westboro Baptist Church used to go and celebrate the death of our honorably serving service members. That is hate speech, in a way, but it is also First Amendment protected. How do we do this in such a way that we don't incite violence, that we protect our students? What are the strategies?

And I would love to ask, if I can—I am kind of running out of time—if you can answer quickly, what is your first—how do we do this in, like, maybe a sentence or two?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Who is the question directed to?

Ms. TENNEY. First Mr. Greenblatt, because you suggested let's pass a national strategy. Would the Chicago Principles help?

Mr. GREENBLATT. They would. I mean, again, I think hate speech is the price of free speech. Things we detest are things we have to be willing to hear. But there is something profoundly wrong with creating spaces in which the students have to shelter in their dorms for being—fear of harassment. This isn't some game like Wordle or something like that. This is real life, and there are real consequences. Chicago Principles, forcing all schools to adopt them, would help enormously.

Ms. TENNEY. Thank you.

I will just say, Mr. Lehman, could you just—I know you have been working on this issue. Could you—what is your strategy for this? How can we do something?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes, it is a great question. And I will first point out that at Syracuse we actually had the demonization of Jewish organizations like Hillel, like the Greek organizations claiming that they are genocidal. This is where we are—and part of the reason we are in such a rut.

In terms of quickly pointing out strategy, we have a campus climate initiative. This, again, doesn't need to be that hard. If universities would hard-code into their own policies that brighter line around how we protect free speech, we need it, we want it on campus, but be super clear, number one, around where that line is being breached in terms of incitement, in terms of harassment. And title 6 already gets us a good part of the way there. Is there this pervasive, hostile, and discriminatory environment? So let's, you know, fund to make sure we can enforce title 6, let's create the bright lines.

And then, I think if we have that basis, let's discipline. Because that is the other thing we don't see, which is university leaders actually enforce the rules that are already in place.

Ms. TENNEY. Thank you, I respect that, I just think the need to balance—that we feel we need to balance virulent anti-Semitism with the counter of Islamophobia. What happened on these college campuses is not Islamophobia. This is direct, virulent anti-Semitism. And, as you say, full stop, Mr. Schanzer.

I just want to say thank you all. You have been terrific and insightful, and I hope that everyone out there is watching in the listening audience of Congress.

Mr. SCHANZER. Thank you for that last point. It is very important. Anti-Semitism is a problem, full stop.

Chairman SMITH. We need to—answer that quickly, and we will move on.

Mrs. Fischbach.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chair, and thank you to all of our witnesses.

It has—you know, we have been here a little while, and you have been more than gracious to answer questions. And so I am not going to take too much time. But I will tell you we are committed to helping.

As a college student, there is nothing—you should not be having to deal with and face this on college campuses. Parents send their kids to college thinking they are going to be safe. And so I just—my heart goes out to you and to your family. And I think the most striking thing that you said was when you talked about my family's life savings is going to that college. And so please understand we will do what we can to help.

And so that was—and Ms. Tenney kind of touched on it, and so I kind of wanted to just maybe open it up. And I know that Mr. Greenblatt wanted to, but what is the—what is one thing, maybe, since we are late and I don't want to keep you any longer than you have to, but the one thing that we can do?

And Mr. Lehman, you mentioned some.

But Mr. Greenblatt, you wanted to add to that, I thought, when you were cut off.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Well, look, I think anti-Semitism needs to be called out full stop, just like we call out racism and don't say—

and you also need to tackle such and such. Yes, there are lots of problems, but we are here to talk about anti-Semitism, and let's stay focused on the problem.

So what is one thing to do? Stop the flow of dark charity, like Dr. Schanzer talked about.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Yes. And Ms. Tishby?

Ms. TISHBY. There is another thing that all college campuses should do, and that is adopt IRA.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Hear, hear.

Ms. TISHBY. We have—

Mr. GREENBLATT. Hear, hear.

Ms. TISHBY [continuing]. An international Holocaust Remembrance Alliance. We have the working definition of what anti-Semitism is because a lot of people don't actually know what it means. They don't know what anti-Semitism is. They don't understand that it is not just racism, it is not just looking down at someone. It is also conspiratorially looking up at someone.

So, if you say the Jews control the money, the Jews control the power, the Jews control the media, that is anti-Semitic, and that is not a compliment. When the Jewish community hears that, we get freaked out because we know what is coming right after that. We have heard this for generations.

Adopt IRA. Every college should adopt IRA. We are going to have a much easier time identifying anti-Semitism and fighting against it.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Well, thank you very much.

And does anybody else have anything they want to add? I know you are tired. I know.

Ms. TISHBY. We can do this for hours. [Laughter.]

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Well, I appreciate that. I appreciate the energy.

Mr. Lehman.

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes, if I might. I mean, again, we will go back to title 6 enforcement because I have spoken to enough university leaders to know that, you know, accountability matters. And a lot of people have spoken about taking away Federal funds. That is the consequence of title 6 violations. So I would go back to that.

And I would also say something that we have got to get to on the other side of this, which is education, promoting dialogue across difference. It is not something Congress can enforce, but what you can do is deal with taking the hate away from these focused, funded groups that are poisoning campus. Once we remove that, we actually create the space for students to start learning from one another, understanding one another. And that is what we need, ultimately, to get to where we have the healthy environment we are all looking for.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. And, Doctor, you had something to add?

Mr. SCHANZER. Yes. Look, what I would say here is we need to focus on the organizations that embrace the ideology of Hamas. Hamas is a litmus test. If you are an American that are embraced—if you are embracing the ideology of Hamas, the actions of Hamas, if you are lionizing the leaders of Hamas, you are anti-Semitic. This is an organization that is dedicated to the destruction of the Jewish state and nothing else.

And we see far too many organizations out there talking about Hamas as freedom fighters, or how they are some kind of a legitimate organization operating in Gaza. None of the above. They are a violent terrorist organization that is dedicated to the destruction of the only Jewish state on the map.

Mr. LEHMAN. If I may, one other quick thing that I don't think has been said enough here, which is Congress has shown enormous leadership, as has this administration, in supporting the legitimate right of Israel to defend itself, in continuing to show a moral compass in terms of condemning Hamas for its atrocious and unbelievable acts of terrorism. And that leadership is important to balance what is, unfortunately, not being said by too many university leaders, and literally the opposite that they are sometimes hearing in classrooms.

So I applaud all of you for what you are doing in that regard.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. And I will wrap up by just saying again thank you.

Mr. GREENBLATT. Thank you.

Mrs. FISCHBACH. Thank you all for being here. Thank you for being so strong. And God bless.

And with that, I yield back.

Chairman SMITH. Ms. Van Duyne.

Ms. VAN DUYNE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and thank you to our witnesses—I know you have already been here for hours—but for taking the time to be here with us today. And it is a shame that we actually have to hold a hearing on this topic at all.

Condemning anti-Semitism and the acts of evil committed by Hamas, including the slaughter of women, children, and elderly should be easy. But sadly, we have seen so many hesitant or outright refuse to do so. And worse, we have seen instances where Hamas's disgusting atrocities are cheered. And those who do so should be ashamed.

You refer to them as killers. I would refer to them as savages, as barbarians, as butchers, and as animals. We should be able to say that.

I am thankful to have seen most of my colleagues stand together in our support for Israel in the face of these horrific attacks. But since Hamas began its barbaric assault on Israel on October 7, we have seen nearly a 400 percent rise in incidents of anti-Semitism across the U.S., compared to last year, and the majority of those have been on college campuses.

And, Ms. Dror, I applaud you for being here today. As a fellow Cornellian, I graduated at a time—it was the best four years of my life. I loved that university, and it was a liberal university at that point, but never did I ever walk on that quad and not feel safe. I am embarrassed, what is going on in that campus today. I cannot believe how much it has changed. And I think to myself, why? Why has it changed in those—I am not even going to say how many years, you are quite a few years younger than I am.

But I think, what has happened? You know, they have embraced these diversity and equity and inclusion programs. That has been heralded. But what is really going on in these campuses? What is really being taught at these campuses? And why are we having

students who come out and are willing to defend these barbarians, these savages, these horrific acts? How is that possible? This is what they are learning.

And then you have got professors like our history professor, Russell Rickford, and you recognize this is why, because this is what they are teaching on our college campuses today. This is exactly what they are teaching us: to hate, to be exhilarated with these savage acts, to defend people who are beheading children. This is what they are teaching our students. And at the same time, they are getting Federal taxpayer dollars to do it. Why are we putting up with that? Why are we allowing that? You know, having a 501(c) organization and, therefore—you are expected to abide by these ethical standards that are supposed to promote the public good.

When I am looking at what is happening to you, Ms. Dror, and I am looking at what is happening to students across the country, where they are being harassed, where they are having to lock themselves in to not be harmed by other students, that is not for the public good. When I am seeing professors that are acting like that and not being immediately fired, that is not for the public good. What year are you?

Ms. DROR. I am a junior, but I am graduating this year.

Ms. VAN DUYNE. So you are trying to get out of there as fast as you can.

Ms. DROR. Oh, yes. [Laughter.]

Ms. VAN DUYNE. That is—that is a shame. I mean, that is a shame that you are having to do that. Were you not as surprised as I was when they did not immediately fire Professor Russell Rickford?

Ms. DROR. Unfortunately, I wasn't really surprised. I mean, there are a lot of competing interests. We have spoken about money from Qatar. Cornell gets \$1.8 billion from Qatar. We have a medical school there. There are a lot of competing interests, which I am excited to have heard people express support to investigate.

I have been very disappointed, and I really enjoyed my time at Cornell prior to the October 7 attacks and sitting in my classes realizing that my peers want my family dead.

Ms. VAN DUYNE. And I can't believe I am going to say this. But parents, for a university that I revered so much, parents, don't send your kids to colleges, to universities that are going to teach them this hate. Businesses, don't hire students that promote this kind of behavior. And alumni like me, stop sending your money to institutions that hate and are going to teach students to hate America and everything we stand for, and our partners, our advocates, our strongest allies like Israel.

Ms. DROR. There is just one thing I want to say to that. I see, like, the school that I attended, I attended a Jewish high school. They have, like, lists, I have heard, right now of schools that you shouldn't be attending because there are, like, high anti-Semitism rates. So it is a high-risk school, so you shouldn't go. You are seeing elite schools on that list. You are seeing Cornell, you are seeing Penn, you are seeing Harvard.

But what that is getting to is no Jewish students being able to go to elite universities where they get the opportunity to then go into—I mean, why do you go to an elite university? Because you want to get a good job, because you want to make good connections. Why are Jewish students not afforded that right, if their tuition dollars are the same?

Ms. VAN DUYNE. And I am sorry, my time has expired, but thank you very much for being here today. Thank you for all of you.

And I yield back.

Chairman SMITH. Ms. Moore.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and let me thank the witnesses for their patience and indulgence.

I just want to say to you, Ms. Talia, don't let anybody steal your joy, girl. You enjoy your last year at Cornell. Your parents' money paid for that education. And it sounds to me like you are a very intelligent, learned person, and you could teach somebody something and be an example.

And I do think that we do have laws. I am going to make inquiries about title 6 and what the enforcement mechanisms are for that. But I do have a question, and perhaps it is not for you, Talia. Perhaps it is for Mr.—Dr. Schanzer.

These demonstrations, these anti-Semitic demonstrations on campuses, are they largely led by student organizations or spontaneous things, or are they actually things that are supported by the university? I think that is a materially important thing to try to understand.

Mr. SCHANZER. Thank you for the question, Congresswoman. They are organized at a grassroots level by some of the groups that I mentioned today in my spoken and written testimony.

What is so frustrating is that these chapters—specifically, we are talking about Students for Justice in Palestine—many of them actually get student activities fees from the universities.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. And that is my point. So it is not like it is sanctioned by the presidents of these universities. So that just leads me to the discussion of your work, Dr. Schanzer, with the Foundations for the Defense of Democracy. You were formerly at the Treasury Department with—

Mr. SCHANZER. Yes, ma'am.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin [continuing]. With OFAC?

Mr. SCHANZER. Yes.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. You know, this is very frightening, to think that we have to rely on you to identify terrorist organizations, as opposed to the Treasury Department. What—how big is the footprint of OFAC, particularly as some has described about our movement away from the war on terror?

How—what—how many employees, or how many people in the Treasury Department are on this so that, you know, something innocuous like the Holy Land Foundation or KindHearts for charitable development—I mean, it doesn't sound mean to me. How far is the reach of Treasury Department into these kinds of organizations to stop them from funding these kinds of activities?

Mr. SCHANZER. Thank you for this question. It is really important that you ask it, and I will try to be brief here.

In the 2000s, when I worked there, we did tackle some of the domestic groups that were operating here in the United States, like Holy Land, KindHearts, et cetera. By the end of that decade, we stopped doing that through the Treasury. It became the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice and the FBI to look at entities that were operating inside this country. It wasn't just good enough to freeze assets, and it was actually even a bit complicated——

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. Let me stop, because the Chairman to cut me off.

So, we had a big funding of IRS agents. This is one of the things that they could be trying to analyze. But you say it is no longer the jurisdiction?

Mr. SCHANZER. Not in the terror finance department. IRS, I think it could be quite helpful.

Ms. MOORE of Wisconsin. If we had—you know, Mr. Chairman, we need the money.

I just want to say, before my time has run out, that I am the product of people protesting and dissenting and exercising their First Amendment rights. The college and university I went to, you know, it was White German kids and White Irish Catholics that protested on Marquette's campus, along with the Black football players, to try to get somebody like me an opportunity to go to college. And they gathered at Saint Joan's, a church on campus. They had bread and water feasts. You know, their parents were terrified because their kids were hungry, going hungry, and they wouldn't eat anything but bread and water until the university responded to the need to have somebody other than Black basketball players, and that was during the Al McGuire days, when, you know, Black athletes were at a premium at Marquette, and only White kids. So I just want to say I really think it is important for us to draw a line, and that is why I asked the question that I asked, you know, so that schools are not just summarily punished for free speech.

There are uncomfortable conversations, Mr. Greenblatt. If I were to sit here right now and call out some racist stuff that I see that happens every day in Congress, they would be out there censuring me on the floor. And all I am asking for is just to tell me today you are going to censure me so I can have my hair done and the outfit that I want to wear, because I am not trying to be, you know, funny here.

I am just trying to say that I think it is extremely important that we preserve people's right to petition their government. But at the same time, every student everywhere ought to have the right to learn without being intimidated and without being harmed, and that is the promise of America, that you can learn, and earn, and do it, girlfriend, do it and hold your head high. You tell them that Gwen Moore told you to do it.

I yield back. [Applause.]

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Feenstra.

Mr. FEENSTRA. Thank you, Mr. Chair. And amen, Ms. Moore, thank you for your comments. I applaud you for those. I agree with you.

I just want to also thank our witnesses, and thank you for taking the time to be here. My heart bleeds, it hurts. I was in Israel, I

was at a kibbutz that saw the atrocities, and I can't imagine the humanity and how this can occur.

But I do know this. I do know that it is America's job to protect and support our dearest allies in Israel, and that includes financial support, it includes stopping all forms of intimidation, and it also is about stopping the flow of money from American organizations to terrorists whose sole purpose is to annihilate Israel.

The Federal Government has its—has several entities responsible for tracking illicit funding, and we need to be assessing and strengthening and building on these, and stopping what is occurring. So, Mr. Schanzer, I know you have talked about this in length already, but I want to look for solutions. We can talk about what is all happening. We all get it. We have heard it. But what are the solutions? What can we do to track it down?

And do you see any new technologies, anything that we can use, whether it be AI or whatever, that we as Congress can act upon?

Mr. SCHANZER. Congressman Feenstra, if you are referring to the activities of some of these extremist groups and how we can stop them, look, I think part of it is about perhaps reforming the tax code, not giving 501(c)(3) breaks to organizations that we know are embracing hate speech and targeting specific sectors of American society. That should be beyond the pale. I don't think you need AI for that, right?

Mr. FEENSTRA. Right.

Mr. SCHANZER. That is a fairly—

Mr. FEENSTRA. That is simple, absolutely.

Mr. SCHANZER. Straightforward.

Mr. FEENSTRA. Correct.

Mr. SCHANZER. Now from there, we have got—I think it is a murkier question, right? You have got to—when you start seeing organizations that have connections to terrorist groups in the past, terrorist charities in the past, there has got to be follow-up. And that requires the bureaucracy, that requires resources.

Mr. FEENSTRA. Yes.

Mr. SCHANZER. And I know those resources are tougher and tougher to come by. But I do think, as I said before, I think we have got to figure out how to walk and chew gum.

Mr. FEENSTRA. Yes.

Mr. SCHANZER. We should be able to do great power competition while also tracking the potential terrorist groups or extremist groups or hate groups that are terrorizing entire sectors of American society.

Mr. FEENSTRA. That is right. I agree with you 100 percent. And we have got to be active. I mean, we ought to talk. We talk a great game, but we have got to do it, and we can do many of those things. I know you talked about this a little bit in your testimony, but—

Mr. SCHANZER. Yes, and, if I can add one thing, Congressman Feenstra, as well, which is AI needs to be better deployed in terms of basic security.

Mr. FEENSTRA. Yes.

Mr. SCHANZER. You know, we have seen so many issues, obviously, in broader society, but including on campus, where it is not rocket science to trace and see where those threats and issues are

originating. And I would love to see, frankly, college students who are bright like Talia——

Mr. FEENSTRA. Absolutely.

Mr. SCHANZER [continued]. Deployed, but we have even more resources at a Federal Government level. Let's take those resources, start understanding where the threats are originating, and that will help organizations like Hillel and all universities do a better job of defending them.

Mr. FEENSTRA. Absolutely.

Ms. Dror, I want to get to you, and I just want to say something that—I have three children in college, all right, your age. And it pains me to hear what is going on, right? I send my kids to college, I never worry about their safety, nor should I, as a dad. Right? But you and your parents, that is scary. It is scary stuff.

Now my question for you—and I will ask Mr. Lehman, too, but Ms. Dror, these universities—and I know your university has this, too, I mean, we promote this idea of DEI, right? Diversity, inclusion, equity, equality. Has this come out at all in your institution of saying, “Are you protecting yourself and all these great students that are there?”

Ms. DROR. Following the death threats the university has taken a greater initiative to integrate Jewish students into their DEI efforts. Those have been appreciated.

In terms of the anonymous platforms, I did want to say——

Mr. FEENSTRA. Yes.

Ms. DROR [continuing]. Sidechat is very much used at Cornell. So is Greek Rank.

Mr. FEENSTRA. Yes.

Ms. DROR. The threats were made on Greek Rank.

Mr. FEENSTRA. Yes.

Ms. DROR. These are anonymous posting platforms in which students don't have their names attached to what they are saying.

I have seen so much horrific—like, I opened up Sidechat, like, to look at jokes——

Mr. FEENSTRA. Yes, yes.

Ms. DROR [continuing]. To look at people making fun of professors, to look at funny things. I am met with the word “Zionism” used as a curse word every single day and every single post, and students are not being held accountable for it.

Mr. FEENSTRA. That is so sad.

Ms. DROR. Posts that are deeply anti-Semitic, posts that have roots to Jews running the money, like, these deeply anti-Semitic tropes, have over 300 upvotes.

Mr. FEENSTRA. Yes.

Ms. DROR. People who are hiding behind their cell phones are upvoting anti-Semitic comments. These anonymous platforms are widely used by students. Maybe they shouldn't be.

Mr. FEENSTRA. No, and I agree. And I was on a university—I was a professor, and I checked these chats, too, because, obviously, they destroy professors. That is nothing. I can handle that, right? But what is happening on those Sidechats—and anonymous, right? People hiding and saying and destroying other students is completely uncalled for, and our universities have got to take note

and stop this. I know my university that I was part of, we stopped some of these Sidechats because it is completely wrong.

Thank you, I yield back.

Chairman SMITH. Ms. Malliotakis is recognized.

Ms. MALLIOTAKIS. Well, thank you all for being here. This is an incredibly important discussion that needs to be had. It needs to be exposed, and we must all work together to find solutions.

I find it incredibly disturbing, disheartening, heartbreaking to see the anti-Semitism that is occurring right here in this country, in the United States of America, full on display. And you know what? It is college campuses, but it is larger than that. I mean, we are seeing it, you know, institutions that were respected, right? The United Nations, for example, Congress, colleges, and universities.

We have to work together to figure out—we need to have, as you mentioned, a definition, parameters, and solutions.

I think that some of the things that we have been seeing for this next generation, certainly on our college campuses, are disturbing. And we have mentioned a few of those horrific threats, assaults, incidents that have happened in universities. The University of Maryland may have been one of the worst, referencing Holocaust 2.0, but some happening in my own state of New York. Unfortunately, too many of it—Cornell University.

Thank you for coming today and your bravery to speak. You are very impressive, and I imagine we are going to see great things from you in the future.

But looking at what happened at Columbia University when an Israeli student was attacked outside the library; hundreds of professors signing a letter supporting Hamas terror; NYU, Cooper Union, Jewish students had to be locked in a library for their own safety. You know, we can go on and on.

And one of the worst examples that didn't happen after October 7 but before was at City University of New York. All right? We had—the law school last year thought it was a good idea to have an anti-Semitic graduation speaker who actually said, “I want to celebrate CUNY law as one of the few, if not the only, law school to make a public statement defending the right of its students to organize and speak out against Israeli settler colonization. This is the law school that passed and endorsed BDS on the student and faculty level, recognizing that, absent a critical imperialism settler colony lens, our work and this school's mission statement is void of value.” I mean, this is what they are saying at graduations at our college universities.

So the answer, what is the answer? We talked about some solutions today. I would like to know. I mean, do you think we should be—first of all, we have to define it, right? And then you mentioned the IHRA definition. I have actually just sponsored legislation that would require the Department of Education, require these universities to follow that definition, because we need to have parameters, right, or else it always is a slippery slope.

But I think we need to use that definition and then go after these institutions and strip Federal funding from colleges and institutions that allow, that fund, that facilitate events that promote anti-Semitism, or have professors that teach it to our young people.

The fact that, you know, they are teaching our young people that Hamas, that they are freedom fighters, that they are not a terrorist organization, that is what they are teaching our young people, and it is disgraceful.

What about Federal financial aid? Should we be prohibiting that aid from being used at such institutions? Those are American tax dollars. Maybe they should be going to better universities that are not teaching these things to our people. So maybe we want to prohibit that.

Maybe we should be rescinding tax exempt status from these institutions and organizations.

And maybe we should be looking to see if these are foreign—any foreign students that have a student visa, maybe it should be revoked if they are participating in this anti-Semitism on our college campuses.

I would love to hear your responses to those four ideas, and we will start with you, Ms. Dror.

Ms. DROR. Like I said before, I am not a legal policy expert, so I am going to defer to the actual legal policy experts. But I am—

Ms. MALLIOTAKIS. Mr. Lehman?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes, thank you. As we have been discussing, title 6 enforcement does actually invoke several of those remedies in terms of financial penalty. That has to be a part of the equation. Let's use what we have available.

I also want to go back to a prior question about DEI and briefly just point out the world is upside down. We have DEI offices who specifically, in the wake of October 7, made a point of celebrating resistance and alienating their Jewish student communities. It is literally backwards. So apart from financial penalties, if there are ways to hold DEI offices accountable to provide the same protection for Jewish students that they should be affording to every other minority.

Ms. TISHBY. I definitely support revoking visa status. As an immigrant to this country and a proud American, I had to go through a rigmarole in order to become a citizen. I think that it should be revoked, and I need to be—we need to make sure that they are not using our democracy against us. They are using the democracy against us. We can't allow that to happen.

Mr. GREENBLATT. We should do as much as we can. I think everything from adopting IRA to implementing DEI, to title 6 remedies.

I don't know enough about revoking people's student visas, but again, the full force of the law will make these universities listen.

Ms. MALLIOTAKIS. Thank you.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Schneider.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Thank you, and let me thank the witnesses for your patience, but also your clarity here. I am going to kind of run through and maybe jump around.

Ms. Talia, Ms. Dror, thank you. Something maybe you didn't expect to hear from the podium, but [speaking foreign language], you have been wonderful. Are those your parents behind you?

Ms. DROR. They are, yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. You should be very proud of your daughter.

My kids, my sons, are a decade ahead of you. My oldest son is a Dartmouth grad and is at Harvard Law School.

Mr. Lehman, I thought you would appreciate that.

We are from Chicago. My physical therapist is someone named Jennifer Cohn. Her husband, Charles, works with you. She says hello. I am going to have connections with all of you before I am done here. [Laughter.]

Mr. SCHNEIDER. But I want to thank you. My younger son went to Muhlenberg and—School, also with a large Jewish population. They were a decade earlier, so it was a different experience. But he had a classmate named—from Chicago named Madison Polin, and her cousin, Hersch Goldberg Polin, is a captive in Gaza right now. You may have heard his story. He lost his arm. We need to get the Red Cross into seeing those captives. We need to get those captives home today. Yesterday, in fact.

Ms. TISHBY, you touched on the fact 240—the youngest one is—well, was taken at 9 months, is now—

Ms. TISHBY. Nine months, yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Ten months old.

Ms. TISHBY. Ten months old. And also—

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Wait, don't take—this is my story. I am teasing. But he is not the youngest one anymore.

Ms. TISHBY. I know.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. There was a woman who was eight months pregnant when she was taken captive, and we believe that she has now given birth. So the youngest captive is someone who is, God willing, alive, and yet has spent every day of that baby's life a captive of Hamas, and must be able to come home.

Ms. TISHBY. Bring them home.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Bring them home.

One of my colleagues mentioned that anti-Semitism wasn't an issue when we were in school. I went to school a long time ago, 40 years ago at Northwestern, which I am going to come back to in a second. Anti-Semitism has always been an issue. It just hasn't always been front and center. It hasn't been open. It hasn't been so accepted. And today, not only is it open and accepted—and I take this term from someone I saw screaming about it in the UK—it is fashion. It is fashionable to be anti-Semitic, and the high anti-Semitism now is anti-Zionism. And people are celebrating.

And I think Natan Sharansky, who was there yesterday, had a chance to speak with—for a little bit. His three days of demonization, delegitimization, and double standard hits it right on the head. And, Dr. Schanzer, the last time we were together I did a march through history going back to the 3,000 years that the Jews have been in the land of Israel. I am going to go the reverse area. In this, I will start with Ms. Tishby.

Israel was created what year?

Ms. TISHBY. In 1948, it reemerged.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. And Google is a wonderful thing. Your grandmother was the founder of a kibbutz, Degania.

Ms. TISHBY. Yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. What year was Degania created?

Ms. TISHBY. Degania was created in—

Mr. SCHNEIDER. In 1910.

Ms. TISHBY [continuing]. 1910, yes. I was going to say 1908, but—yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. It was a community that pre-dated the state of Israel and is still there.

Ms. TISHBY. There has been Jewish presence in the Land of Israel for generations, forever.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. So we are on the same wavelength because I was going to go to Tzfat.

Ms. TISHBY. Yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. And what is Tzfat famous for?

Ms. TISHBY. Kabbalah.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Kabbalah. The Jews that came to Tzfat at that time, where did they come from?

Ms. TISHBY. Jerusalem and—

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Spain.

Ms. TISHBY. Or Spain, yes, yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Yes, they came from Spain—

Ms. TISHBY. Yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER [continuing]. Because they were kicked out of Spain in the 16th century. But Tzfat was one of the four holy cities at the time of the Bible, 2,000 years ago. Jews have been in the land of Israel for 3,000 years. And I mention that because that is what we are talking about here on campuses, this argument that Israel is a colonial enterprise, a post-colonial—I don't even know the words they say. It is not, it is—

Ms. TISHBY. Settler colonialist.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. So—thank you. That is—

Ms. DROR. Apartheid oppressor.

Ms. TISHBY. Yes.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Yes.

Ms. TISHBY. And the last bastion of settler colonialism that needs to be—

Mr. SCHNEIDER. Yes, even though it is a place where Jews have lived for so long.

So, Mr. Lehman, if I can touch on you in—last here, free speech—as a lawyer, free speech is not always acceptable. You can't yell "fire" in a crowded theater. It is the idea of fighting words. And I looked it up—from Cornell's website, in fact—but fighting words are words meant to incite violence such as they may not be protected free speech under the First Amendment. The U.S. Supreme Court first defined them in *Chaplinsky versus New Hampshire*, 1942 as words "by their very utterance, inflict injury or tend to incite immediate breach of the peace."

Mr. Lehman, are we seeing that on college campuses and are there things that universities can do to address it?

Mr. LEHMAN. Yes. Well, say hello to Jennifer Cohn. I saw her husband, who is a fantastic Hillel director, on Sunday. Charles.

But on this issue, we are seeing it. And again, what is so problematic is we are seeing it in hundreds of campuses, with hundreds of instances of hate speech. We have documented them, and they are hate speech that exactly crosses the line you are describing because they are inciting violence. The words are around, you know, genocide of and by Jews, and the words are directed at Jews in a

way that, frankly, never asked them, by the way, what they think about the Middle East.

No one ever says, "What do you think about the two-state solution?" No one ever says, "Are you empathetic to Palestinians? Do you care about their rights and future, as well?" All they do is treat Jewish students in these cases as these horrible baby killers, and it has to stop. And that is, again, what we are trying to.

Mr. SCHNEIDER. I wish I had more time to talk more. I will say Northwestern has—they got it wrong at first. They are creating an anti-Semitism task force, finally, and taking steps. I think that is what schools can do. Mr. Greenblatt, you have it in your testimony, and I will highlight it, as well.

Thank you all very much.

I yield back.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Carey is recognized.

Mr. CAREY. I want to thank the chairman. I want to thank also the ranking member for allowing this committee to be put together.

And I think, if you have seen anything from this body today, in the words of one of the singers from the—he is still a singer, but there was a song that said there is no monopoly on common sense on either side of the political fence, and I think you have seen that from all of us today.

You know, over the last month there have been multiple instances of anti-Semitism and crimes committed against the Jewish community in and around central Ohio. I was with some Ohio State students. They said that they had been reaching out with you. Well, I was just with them yesterday.

But last month in Bexley, Ohio, which is a community that is probably a mile-and-a-half—I split the City of Columbus in half with my dear friend, Joyce Beatty. But on the east side of Columbus an individual—many of you have seen this video—approached a Jewish woman's house. And after she answered the door—thankfully, with a Ring camera—the man spewed anti-Semitism into her Ring doorbell camera. Then the same individual proceeded to a nearby house flying the Israeli flag and did the exact same thing.

Now, this is a neighborhood that my wife and I spend an awful lot of time in. Our friends live in this neighborhood. One of our friends, who was—actually, was with my wife on the night that I met her, is 40 years old. I went to her birthday party. And for the first time in her life—and she is Jewish—for the first time in her life her mother called her and said, "Be careful of your surroundings." Now, this is something that she was—felt very common with, just being a female and younger, and it was the first time she was ever fearful of her religion.

Then, just last week, as these students were telling me, one incident occurred at OSU's Hillel Wexler Jewish Center and another outside of a bar close to campus. These incidents are just some of the many occurrences that are happening across the country. And as I said yesterday, I had the opportunity, the privilege to meet with the Ohio Jewish community and a group of students from Ohio State. It was incredible to hear their story.

I worked with several members of my delegation from Ohio, and we have just sent a letter to the acting president.

And one of the things that I have seen is a lot of these universities, while they have made statements now, waited a little too long to do that. But I will say I applaud what Ohio State has come out and done. We have 3,000 Jewish students at Ohio State, and I do applaud their efforts.

One thing that I have found interesting, because we have a very big Jewish community in the 15th congressional district, were the calls that we are getting in our congressional offices. Now, you would think they would be individuals that were just concerned about what is happening in the world today. But I have kind of seen the body politic from a different view for many, many years. These are push calls. These are individuals that are called, and they are given a script, and immediately told press one if you want to complain to your congressman.

Now, I only have a minute-and-a-half, and I apologize I went on a little too long. But Dr. Schanzer, who do you think might be paying for these calls that say that my staff is working for the Israeli Government?

Mr. SCHANZER. That is a good question. I obviously don't know.

Mr. CAREY. No, I know.

Mr. SCHANZER. But we have a pretty good idea of the network that is pushing this deeply anti-Semitic, anti-Israel sentiment on Capitol Hill.

Mr. CAREY. Don't you all find it also increasingly interesting that these phone calls tend to pick up, I don't know, when there happens to be a big protest that is right outside our office? Or maybe a day or two after the protest. So the coordination of these entities, as you pointed out, is very clear.

We have got to stop the money, and we have got to push back on college campuses that don't stand up for our students. And with that, Mr. Chairman, I yield back.

Chairman SMITH. Mr. Panetta is recognized.

Mr. PANETTA. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate this opportunity.

And, ladies and gentlemen, thank you for your patience today. I will try to be quick, as I am, I think, the last person to ask you a question and make a statement.

I was part of the first congressional delegation to go into Israel on the Tuesday after the Saturday attack. We were there in the Middle East to talk about peace, and unfortunately, we left talking about war. We were able to go into Israel by driving across the border from Amman, and we were able to speak to the leadership and to a few victims on that Tuesday after that Saturday bloodthirsty attack. Obviously, I felt the trauma and will always remember the determination that was evoked from this attack and will continue as we get through this.

But yesterday, Members of Congress had the opportunity to then view the 45-minute compilation of videos from this attack. And, as you can imagine, it absolutely was horrific. And I was telling somebody about this opportunity to do that, and they asked, "What were some of the images that stand out with you?" Well, what images didn't stand out with me? Hardly any.

But a couple that come to mind were, obviously, the father who was killed in front of his two sons with that grenade. A video of

a blood trail throughout a house that just seemed to go on and on and on. And it just makes you think, why were they dragging this body throughout the house?

But one of the videos that stood out to me was when—there were certain videos that were taken in Gaza of hostages, of lifeless bodies that were taken there. And you see the celebration that went on not by Hamas fighters, but what seemed to be civilians. The spitting on the hostages, the kicking of lifeless bodies of IDF soldiers that were brought back into Gaza.

And it made me think that this is not an issue about land, it is an issue about a belief. And it reminded me of an Economist article that I read that talked about—the headline is how the term genocide is misused in the Israel-Hamas war. And in it, it says Hamas is a genocidal organization. And that made me think of Mr. Schanzer.

You were on TV with Jake Tapper when he did an excellent job laying out these three kinds of principles from Hamas leadership and showing these videos of where one of the Hamas leaders said, “Sacrifice of people is necessary.” Two, they said the people in Gaza basically are not our problem, they are all refugees. Therefore, it is the responsibility of the UN to protect them, not Hamas. And three, they showed that one of the leaders of Hamas basically said, yes, there will be a second, third, and fourth attack, because we have the determination and the resolve and the capabilities to fight. We are ready to pay the price. We are a nation of martyrs. And then you went on to sort of tie it up. I don’t know if you remember that, but you did an excellent job.

And it makes me think, then, about the slogan, “From the river to the sea,” an idealistic vow of liberation that implies the destruction of the state of Israel. Now, obviously, there are some who are protesting now who are naive to that meeting. But as I read in an article, anyone who was paying attention knows exactly what that means.

Now, I do believe that we must uphold the principles of free speech. However, we can’t use that as a shield to hate speech that consists of specific threats of violence targeted against a specific group. We know this.

Now, Mr. Greenblatt, you have noted that anti-Semitic incidents tend to spike whenever there is a conflict involving Israel, including the current Israel-Gaza war. Is that because nowadays what we are seeing is that real wars and cultural wars are no longer separate struggles?

Mr. GREENBLATT. Yes, thank you for the question, Mr. Congressman.

I will just say, number one, the reason why you butcher and brutalize corpses, there is a straight line from that to tearing down the posters of hostages. It is dehumanizing people. It is demonizing them. It is rendering them as objects, as subhuman. It is what the Nazis did 70 years ago. It is what Hamas would do today. That is why we are so fervent about the evil of anti-Zionism. Again, it flattens people into caricatures, and leaves all of us as Jews vulnerable. That is number one.

Number two, culture wars, violent wars. I have said loudly for all to hear in the prior administration that using dehumanizing,

violent rhetoric leads to inhumane and violent actions. And some on the left applauded me for saying that. Well, it is true here, too. And so when Members of Congress, in the well of the House, use language like "From the river to the sea," that is like saying "Germany is for Germans" in 1933.

And so, yes, culture wars can lead to real-world violence, and we shouldn't tolerate it when it is directed at anyone, regardless of the color of their skin, the nature of their faith, or any aspect of their identity.

Mr. PANETTA. Thank you. Thanks to all the witnesses.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I have to yield back.

Chairman SMITH. Thank you.

I want to thank every one of you all for testifying. This was an extremely important hearing, and I am very thankful that we had it today. This is—and I hope that every one of you have a very happy Thanksgiving. We are looking forward to leaving Washington after 10 weeks.

Please be advised that members have two weeks to submit written questions to be answered later in writing. Those questions and your answers will be made part of the formal hearing record.

With that, the committee stands adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 5:45 p.m., the committee was adjourned.]

MEMBER QUESTIONS FOR THE RECORD

VERN BUCHANAN
DISTRICT 16, FLORIDA
FLORIDA DELEGATION
CO-CHAIR



COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS
TAX-WRITING COMMITTEE
SUBCOMMITTEE:
HEALTH
CHAIRMAN
TRADE

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-0916

December 2023

Question for the Record

The U.S. charitable sector is the envy of the world. Across this country, Americans and U.S. businesses volunteer their time and money—particularly, in times of the greatest need. Americans gave \$417 billion away to charity during the pandemic—making 2020 the highest year of charitable giving on record. At the same time, Americans formally volunteered more than 4.1 billion hours of service with an estimated economic value of \$122.9 billion. Regardless of political or religion affiliation, academic or ethnic background, Americans have been united in their generosity. And these efforts supported the good work of local charities like those in my neighborhood like the Boys & Girls Clubs of Manatee County and the Pace Center for Girls helping at risk kids in my community. Unfortunately, in some cases Americans have been duped into donating to charities that aren't actually focused on charitable giving but instead have provided material support to terrorism. Whether supporting a local charity or a college alma mater, Congress has encouraged charitable giving through the tax code regardless of the charitable mission or academic mission these pursue. But to encourage giving, Americans need to have confidence that their donations are not being used for nefarious activities. Sadly, despite having non-profit status and relying on the generosity of their alumni, many school administrators have had a neutral, weak, or even non-responses to the ongoing terror attacks in Israel. This is despite the impact felt by many Jewish students on their campus. A bright light, however, has been the response by the President of the University of Florida, Ben Sasse, who sent an unequivocal letter that stated, "What Hamas did is evil and there is no defense for terrorism" and "We will protect our Jewish students from violence."

QUESTION FOR MS. DROR

The University of Florida has the largest number of Jewish students than any U.S. college. Ms. Dror, your university is not far behind with almost a quarter (22 percent) of the Cornell student body identifying as Jewish. Therefore, I'd like to get your personal perspective as a student. Did you read the University of Florida letter and, if so, what was your initial impression and how did it make you feel? How did this letter compare to statements issued from other academic institutions? In other words, if this letter had been sent by the Cornell University administration, would you feel differently on your campus now?

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Sincerely,



Vern Buchanan
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Mr. Sasse's immediate condemnation of the October 7th attacks set a precedent for the action that needed to be taken in the immediate aftermath of the massacre. His bright line rule rejecting the terrorism and enforcing punishments on any manifestations of that hate on campus in its aftermath is exemplary. It shows that he understands the tragedy students are experiencing and is willing to enforce rules to protect them from violence or hate. Mr. Sasse's statement was similar, in force, to the one Cornell [released](#) in the wake of Supreme Court cases, the war in Ukraine, and black lives matter.

The initial Cornell [statement](#) which compared "the loss of life in the middle east" to "deaths caused by natural disasters" allowed students to belittle the massacre of innocent civilians- if the university administrators do not treat the October 7th massacre with the same force they did with every other issue, how could their students be expected to do otherwise?

Many people were surprised with the [responses](#) given by the presidents of Harvard, Penn, and MIT at the recent Education and the Workforce hearing, in which they testified that calling for the genocide of Jews would not be a violation of their code of conduct, unless the speech turned into conduct.

I was not surprised in the slightest. Whereas at Harvard's mandatory [Title IX training](#) tells their students that "using the wrong pronouns constitutes abuse," and would result at disciplinary proceedings, students who physically [mobbed](#) a Jewish student did not receive any punishment for targeting the young man just because of his religion. The double standard is infuriating, and universities are only willing to interfere to 'protect' their students when it aligns with their agendas.

Since the hearing on November 15th, I have been in various meetings with the Cornell administration in which they said that the Students Justice for Palestine (SJP) group on campus, which Dr. Schanzer explained has financial ties to recognized terrorist organizations, would not be punished for their repeated violations of the code of conduct. Most recently, following the hearing, Cornell SJP "occupied" and took over school buildings, defacing them with signs that said "from Ithaca to Gaza, Intifada Intifada." There is no dispute that this phrase is a blatant call to murder Jews on campus.

Upon raising that point to the administration, we were not provided a response. The group barricaded the entrance to central buildings on our campus during the final exam period and slept on the floor of school buildings until administrators "conceded to their demands." Rather than enforcing their code of conduct and disciplining students, administrators entertained their demands and rewarded their behavior.

Mr. Sasse and Governor Desantis' firm rejection of the glorification of terror coupled with tangible efforts to eradicate organizations inciting violence and intimidation from their campuses is admirable. It should serve as precedent for every other university in the country.

PUBLIC SUBMISSIONS FOR THE RECORD

Statement for the Record from Congressman W. Gregory Steube (FL-17)
 Ways & Means Committee Hearing: *From Ivory Towers to Dark Corners: Investigating the
 Nexus Between Antisemitism, Tax-Exempt Universities, and Terror Financing*
 Wednesday, November 15, 2023

The horrific terrorist attack from Hamas on innocent Israeli civilians was the deadliest day for the Jewish people since the Holocaust. While I have been pleased to see almost everyone in this body united to come to the aid of Israel, one of our closest allies, I join millions of Americans in condemning the vile antisemitic acts perpetrated by extreme leftist agitators on campuses across our own country.

When this hearing was announced, a student at Duke University contacted my office about the antisemitism she has seen on campus both before and after the events of October 7th.

Like many other woke universities across the country, Duke has a history of hosting “Israel Apartheid Week,” which propagates antisemitic lies about Israel and Jews while advocating for the end of the only Jewish state in the world. Recent “Israel Apartheid Week” programming at Duke included a presentation from noted antisemite Mohammed El-Kurd, who also happens to be a writer for the left-wing publication, The Nation.

In addition, Mohammed El-Kurd has published a book and has given repeated speeches where he promoted the antisemitic trope of blood libel, where he said Israelis eat the organs of Palestinians and have a particular lust for Palestinian blood. He has compared Israelis to Nazis and has denied that Israel is an ancestral home for Jews.

According to one witness at the Duke event, El-Kurd was asked what would happen to Israeli Jews if “from the river to the sea” became reality. He simply responded, “I don’t give a f*** what happens to them.” He went on to mock a freshman Duke student who sought to peacefully distribute literature exposing his antisemitic comments prior to his speech. For this, Mohammed El-Kurd was paid \$5,000 by Duke.

I am also submitting for the record a post from Mr. Greenblatt’s organization that details Mohammed El-Kurd’s history of antisemitic behavior and statements.

Mohammed El-Kurd and his allies continue to spread these vile lies across the country on our college campuses. This particular event at Duke occurred a year and a half before October 7th. Is it any surprise why we saw college students and professors react the way they did? No. This is happening in the open. Because antisemitism has been happening in the open for hundreds and thousands of years. Antisemites have been unapologetically operating in the open for all to see since the days of Adam. In recent days, this antisemitism is manifesting itself through acts of

violence and intimidation on college campuses across the United States. Meanwhile, left-wing college administrators have displayed extreme moral cowardice through their stunning silence and inaction. While the only solution to the hate of antisemitism would be an act from God Himself, it is within the power of this committee and Congress to expose this bigotry propagated on college campuses by antisemitic terrorist-sympathizers.

Antisemitism has no place in America. It has no place in the halls of Congress nor on college campuses across the country. And the American people agree. This week, it was refreshing to see hundreds of thousands of Americans from every race, religion, political belief, and corner of the country gather on the National Mall to show support for the Jewish nation in a peaceful rally.

I would like to commend each of the witnesses for coming before the committee to speak about their unique perspectives and offer valuable insight into the financing from terrorists into antisemitic causes on college campuses. Congress must continue to show support for the Jewish people and the Jewish nation, and I look forward to working with my fellow members of the Ways & Means Committee on this issue.

BACKGROUND

Mohammed El-Kurd

Published: 12.16.2021

Mohammed El-Kurd is a prominent Palestinian activist who was hired in 2021 as the Palestine Correspondent by the left-wing magazine The Nation in 2021. He has published articles and been interviewed in a wide array of media. Unfortunately, even a cursory analysis of his social media and his book "Rifqa," reveals an indisputably troubling pattern of rhetoric and slander that ranges far beyond reasoned

criticism of Israel. It is unvarnished, vicious antisemitism. El-Kurd has accused Israelis of eating the organs of Palestinians and of having a particular lust for Palestinian blood. He has compared Israelis to Nazis, negated the historic Jewish connection to the Land of Israel, and vilified Zionism and Zionists.

To be sure, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is intensely personal for El-Kurd. As residents of the volatile East Jerusalem neighborhood of Sheikh Jarrah, he and his family have been entangled in a long-standing political and property dispute that has left them under threat of eviction by Israel for years. Nevertheless, his willingness to employ these tropes raises

serious concerns. His wholesale demonization of Zionism and Zionists, especially using language historically wielded against Jewish communities, may be seen as a rhetorical attack on a majority of Jews worldwide who feel attached to Israel or who view a positive relationship with Israel as an inherent part of their Jewish identities.

Playing into “blood libel” trope; demonization of Zionism and Zionists

On a few occasions, El-Kurd has alleged that Jewish Israelis and Zionists eat the organs of Palestinians or have an inherent bloodthirstiness. In Rifqa, he writes: “they [Israelis] harvest organs of the martyred [Palestinians], feed their

warriors our own.” In May 2021, El-Kurd tweeted that Zionists have an “unquenchable thirst for Palestinian blood.” In June 2021 he claimed that Zionism is inherently linked to “blood thirsty[sic] and violent” actions.

June 15, 2021 [tweet](#):



May 12, 2021 [tweet](#):



In at least [two](#) instances, in apparent attempts at criticizing alleged Israeli actions, El-Kurd has labelled Zionism a “death cult.” In September 2021, he made this sweeping accusation as he alleged a video showed Israeli soldiers “stepping on” a deceased

Palestinian man. In July 2021, El-Kurd directly defended calling Zionism a “death cult,” [tweeting](#) that such a designation “...should not spark outrage. What should is the fact of a Zionist killing a Palestinian every three days. Enough.”

El-Kurd has conveyed his contempt for Zionism on many occasions: On November 8, 2021, he commented, “[Zionism is brutal, murderous](#),” in September 2021, El-Kurd [tweeted](#) “[Zionism is genocidal](#),” in August 2021 he opined that “[Zionism is sadistic](#)” and that “[dishonesty has always been integral to the Zionist project](#),” and in June 2021 he offered that “[Zionism is genocide](#).”

Holocaust and Nazi comparisons

In his effort to underscore his disgust with and opposition to Israel, El-Kurd has employed perhaps the most potent comparison available today, equating Israelis with Nazis. Aside from being inaccurate, this language is extremely offensive, trivializes the Holocaust and plays into the demonization of Jews. On [June 21, 2021](#) he claimed that "Zionist settlers" were "starting fires all over Sheikh Jarrah" and continued: "These are the sadistic barbaric neonazi [sic] pigs that claim to be indigenous to our land." On [May 12, 2021](#) he tweeted: "I don't care who this offends they have completely internalized the ways of the nazis." On that same day, El-Kurd used Holocaust terminology to [implicate](#) a non-Israeli Jewish person in the

alleged actions of Israel:



Denying Jewish Indigeneity/Connection to the Land of Israel

In a number of instances, El-Kurd has negated the historic connection of the Jewish people to the Land of Israel. In June 2021, he called such a connection “[fictional indigeneity\[sic\]](#)” as he criticized a far-right Israeli march and other Israeli actions in Jerusalem. In at least two instances, he has dismissed the Jewish people’s link to the Land of Israel by commenting on the physical traits of Israeli Jews. In February 2021, he

tweeted: "How are Israelis gonna say they're indigenous to Palestine but can't walk outside without getting sunburned? :/." He posted in a similar manner in March 2021:



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**609 South Eagleson Avenue
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November 18, 2023

United States House Committee
on Ways and Means
1139 Longworth House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Re: Hearing: From Ivory Towers to Dark Corners: Investigating the Nexus Between Antisemitism, Tax-Exempt Universities, and Terror Financing

Dear Members of the Committee:

I am a retired professor at Indiana University, where I was on the faculty of the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy and the O'Neill School of Public and Environmental Affairs. My principal area of expertise is public policies affecting philanthropy. I have been a regular contributor to *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* and written for numerous other publications. I have also served in government, most recently as CEO of the Corporation for National and Community Service between 2001 and 2003. A short version of my biography is attached at the end of my submission.

I have recently published two articles on the problem of financing for pro-terrorist groups through tax-exempt organizations and what can be done to restrict it. The second article includes five specific actions for the Committee on Ways and Means to consider. These are being submitted for the record of the Hearing and can be reprinted with acknowledgement of where they were first published.

I am submitting this material in my personal capacity as a scholar. My views do not represent the views of Indiana University or any of its schools. My address and phone number are at the top of this page.

Please let me know if you would like any further information or wish to discuss these articles with me.

Sincerely,

Leslie Lenkowsky

Professor Emeritus of Public Policy

and Philanthropy

Terrorism and Tax Advantages

WSJ [wsj.com/articles/terrorism-and-tax-advantages-nonprofit-education-dark-money-hamas-6f649015](https://www.wsj.com/articles/terrorism-and-tax-advantages-nonprofit-education-dark-money-hamas-6f649015)

November 5, 2023

By

Leslie Lenkowsky

Nov. 5, 2023 4:09 pm ET



Demonstrators at a rally at the University of South Florida in Tampa, Oct. 12. Photo: Ivy Ceballo/Zuma Press

Missouri Rep. Jason Smith denounced universities and student organizations for statements “celebrating, excusing, or downplaying” the Oct. 7 attacks by Hamas in Israel. “Releasing such statements, or failing to condemn them,” he said last month, “is unforgivable and runs counter to our values as a nation.”

Mr. Smith’s comments have more weight than most because he is chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, which has jurisdiction over tax policy. That includes policies governing nonprofit organizations, including colleges and universities as well as groups issuing statements and staging rallies throughout the U.S. Statements celebrating Hamas’s

violence, Mr. Smith adds, “call into question the academic or charitable missions they claim to pursue”—in other words, their tax breaks.

The U.S. has traditionally given charities and their supporters great leeway in handling controversial issues. Constitutional guarantees of free speech and assembly protect their activities and require government to demonstrate a strong reason for restricting them. But Congress and the Supreme Court—as well as nearly three dozen states—have agreed that providing aid to terrorist groups like Hamas is a justifiable reason to forbid donors from supporting them.

Mr. Smith’s statement suggests the tax exemptions of organizations backing Hamas—or tolerating such activity—may be in for congressional scrutiny. Virginia’s Attorney General Jason Miyares has launched [an investigation](#) of AJP Educational Foundation, aka American Muslims for Palestine. Mr. Miyares’s office said in a press release that it is looking into whether the group “used funds raised for impermissible purposes under state law, including benefitting or providing support to terrorist organizations,” as well as whether it was properly registered to solicit contributions in the state.

But apart from the constitutional issues involved, taking action against these groups won’t be easy. One reason is that some of the most prominent groups aren’t tax-exempt and don’t take tax-deductible contributions directly. Students for Justice in Palestine, whose national chapter was established by activists involved with a now-defunct charity investigated for financing terrorism, isn’t on the Internal Revenue Service’s list of tax-exempt groups. As a result, it isn’t required to disclose—to the public or the IRS—who supports it, making it the same kind of “dark money” group that progressives have criticized conservatives for using.

Those who wish to support SJP are directed on its website to make their donations to the Wespac Foundation, a tax-exempt group in White Plains, N.Y., that calls itself a “leading force for progressive social change.” Wespac is a “[fiscal sponsor](#),” meaning it can receive tax-deductible contributions for organizations not on the IRS list. It doesn’t have to report publicly either the sources of its money or how much of it goes to SJP or other groups. In its [IRS filing](#) for 2021, Wespac listed revenue and expenses of about \$1 million each but provided few details. SJP also can receive contributions from donors who aren’t interested in a tax deduction, including supporters from other countries.

In *Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project* (2010), the Supreme Court upheld a law making it a crime to provide “material support or resources” to organizations on the State Department’s “foreign terrorist organization” list (which includes Hamas and Hezbollah), even if the donations were earmarked for social services or other peaceful uses. “Money is fungible,” Chief Justice John Roberts wrote for the court, expressing doubt that the groups on the State Department’s list could be relied on to keep a wall between their lawful and unlawful activities.

The *Holder* decision applies only to foreign organizations linked to terrorist groups. A law restricting gifts to American groups that engage in advocacy on behalf of terror groups would face tougher First Amendment scrutiny. But there is a difference between exercising free speech and receiving a tax break for doing so.

Courts and legislators have long tried to distinguish between “education,” which has traditionally been considered a charitable activity, and “propaganda”—intentionally transmitting biases and misinformation on behalf of a particular position—which hasn’t. In formulating tax policies, lawmakers have sought to encourage organizations providing education (and their supporters), while avoiding tax advantages for those involved in propaganda.

This is treacherous terrain. Not long ago, the IRS used a procedure for reviewing tax-exemption applications that singled out groups with words or phrases such as “tea party” in their names. It led to a scandal, congressional hearings, and ultimately a court ruling that outlawed the practice. Now, in determining if an organization’s activities are educational, the IRS is supposed to look not at the group’s views, but at its conduct, which should involve a fair and noninflammatory presentation of facts.

Rep. Smith and many others clearly think that groups calling Hamas members “martyrs” and seeking to “free Palestine from the river to the sea” (meaning, as some have now acknowledged, eliminating Jews from Israel) don’t meet this standard. Many of these groups and their supporters are on the IRS’s list of tax-exempt charitable organizations and responsible for living up to the requirements of tax policy. So too are the colleges and universities that have been tolerating their conduct.

“Charities that encourage violence and cheer on extremism are not contributing to society with any of the purposes the IRS allows,” Elizabeth Schmidt, a nonprofit-law expert at the University of Massachusetts Amherst, wrote last spring. She was looking at right-wing extremism, particularly whether the Oath Keepers Foundation—the fundraising arm of the main group involved in the attack on Congress in 2021—deserved the tax exemption it had at the time. Her conclusion seems to apply with even greater force to the organizations now defending Hamas, minimizing terrorism and calling for the destruction of Israel.

Mr. Lenkowsky is a professor emeritus at Indiana University.

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U.S. Support for Pro-Terrorist Groups: What Can Be Done?

americanpurpose.com/articles/u-s-support-for-pro-terrorist-groups-what-can-be-done

Leslie Lenkowsky

November 17, 2023



It's still legal to donate to U.S.-based organizations that work on behalf of State Department-designated terrorist groups.

Right after the October 7 attacks by Hamas in Israel, Missouri Congressman Jason Smith issued a statement condemning them and questioning “the academic or charitable missions” of American student groups and universities supporting them. Not surprisingly, since Mr. Smith is its chair, the House of Representatives’ Ways and Means Committee, which has jurisdiction over tax policies affecting nonprofit groups, held a hearing this week to “investigate the nexus between antisemitism, tax-exempt groups, and terror financing.”

As I have written [elsewhere](#), the Committee will have its work cut out for it. One reason is that some of the most-prominent groups leading demonstrations on behalf of Hamas, such as Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and American Muslims for Palestine, are not tax-exempt at all. Instead, they receive support through other organizations known as “fiscal sponsors” or directly from donors who are not concerned about getting a tax break for their contributions.

In addition, American law has traditionally given charities and their supporters considerable freedom in addressing controversial causes. Their activities are protected by the First Amendment guarantees of free speech and freedom of assembly, unless the government can show a compelling reason to restrict them. As a result, even if it finds a “nexus,” the Ways and Means Committee will have to tread carefully to produce a constitutionally acceptable way of breaking it.

There are several steps, building on well-established precedents, the Committee could consider.

One would be to define more clearly what a “fiscal sponsor” is allowed to do. Currently, any “public charity” under § 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code can be a “fiscal sponsor” and offer a tax deduction to a donor who contributes to an organization that is not tax-exempt. There can be good reasons for this, such as if a donor wants to support a group that is new and has not yet received its tax-exempt status from the Internal Revenue Service (IRS). But when the group has been operating for a while and could reasonably have been expected to obtain a tax-exempt status of its own (or if it had been denied one), having a “fiscal sponsor” looks more like a way of evading tax laws than a temporary expedient. (The national chapter of SJP has been operating since 2010 and some of its campus chapters even longer.) The Ways and Means Committee should examine the practice of fiscal sponsorship (which has been used for a variety of causes, not just supporting terrorist groups) and propose appropriate restrictions, such as limiting its duration.

“Fiscal sponsors” are also expected to take responsibility for ensuring that the donations they accept on behalf of another organization are spent as intended. For example, someone who wanted to support SJP is directed to make a gift to the WESPAC Foundation, a public charity in White Plains, N.Y., which serves as its “fiscal sponsor.” But WESPAC is not legally required to report publicly what it does with the money, except in functional categories (such as how much it spends on salaries, conferences, and the like). What portion of the \$1 million it received in 2021 went to SJP does not have to be disclosed. (Nor do the names of the donors, except privately to the IRS.) Since grantmaking foundations, like Ford or Rockefeller, are required to report the names of and amounts they give to their grantees, the Ways and Means Committee should consider requiring other kinds of grantmaking organizations, including “fiscal sponsors,” to do likewise.

In a 2010 decision, *Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project*, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of a law that prohibited Americans from making donations to groups on the State Department’s “foreign terrorist organization” list (which includes Hamas and Hezbollah), even if the gift was restricted to social services and other peaceful activities these groups sometimes perform. But writing for the majority, Chief Justice John Roberts emphasized that the law upheld in the ruling applied only to international gifts. Support for

U.S.-based organizations that worked on behalf of terrorist groups on the State Department's list continues to be legal. Closing this loophole would require legislation (and undoubtedly face another court challenge), but considering the *Holder* decision, the Committee on Ways and Means should examine whether such an infringement on First Amendment rights is also justifiable.

In any case, there is a difference between exercising free speech and receiving a tax-exemption. Congress and the courts have long wrestled with how to differentiate "education" (which has long been considered a charitable activity) from "propaganda" (which has not). Tax policy has sought to benefit organizations providing education, but avoid helping those engaged in propaganda, defined as the intentional dissemination of biases and misinformation in an inflammatory way. In making that assessment, the IRS is supposed to focus not on the content of a group's message, but rather on how it is presented.

This is a difficult judgment to make and can lend itself to the politicization of tax policy (as it has in the past). But the Ways and Means Committee has the authority to review how the IRS has been applying this distinction to groups—especially those which have received tax-exemption—that are championing terrorist causes.

Universities and colleges also deserve scrutiny. As public-serving groups, they are generally bound by the First Amendment, though they can impose some limits, such as on the "time, place, and manner" of speech. Many also have adopted rules aimed at preventing various kinds of "hate speech" and protecting "civility." How well these organizations have lived up to their obligations (and their own rules) in the aftermath of the October 7 attacks could bear on their tax-exemptions as organizations with "charitable or academic missions."

"[C]harities that encourage violence and cheer on extremism are not contributing to society with any of the purposes the IRS allows," nonprofit law expert Elizabeth Schmidt of the University of Massachusetts-Amherst wrote last Spring. Although she was looking at rightwing extremism, the Ways and Means Committee—with its jurisdiction over the IRS—should consider if her conclusion applies just as well to groups defending terrorism and calling for the destruction of Israel.

Leslie Lenkowsky is professor emeritus at Indiana University and a member of the philanthropic studies faculty of the IU Lilly Family School of Philanthropy.

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Image: architectural details of the Longworth House Office Building in Washington, D.C., where the Ways and Means Committee resides. (*Architect of the Capitol*)

**Leslie Lenkowsky: Professor Emeritus in Public Affairs and Philanthropy
Indiana University**



Dr. Leslie Lenkowsky is an expert in volunteering and civic engagement, nonprofits and public policy, civil society in comparative perspective, education and social welfare policy, and social entrepreneurship. A leading scholar on philanthropy, Lenkowsky was a member of SPEA's faculty since 2004, and, for five years, was the director of Graduate Programs at the Lilly Family School of Philanthropy in Indianapolis. He also served for many years as professor of philanthropic studies and public policy at Lilly. He has now retired.

In 2001, President George W. Bush appointed Lenkowsky to be CEO of the Corporation for National and Community Service, a position he held for three years. The Corporation engages more than a million Americans of all ages in improving local communities through three initiatives: AmeriCorps, Learn and Serve America, and the National Senior Service Corps. President Bill Clinton appointed Lenkowsky as one of the founding directors of the Corporation when it was created in 1993.

Among his other positions, Lenkowsky has served as president of the Institute for Educational Affairs, deputy director of the United States Information Agency, research fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, adjunct faculty member at Georgetown University, director of the Philanthropy Roundtable, and director of research at the Smith Richardson Foundation. He has also served on a number of for-profit and nonprofit boards, as well as in the administrations of four presidents.

For seven years (1990-97), Lenkowsky served as president of Hudson Institute, an internationally renowned public policy research institution headquartered in Indianapolis. During Lenkowsky's tenure, Hudson developed an innovative set of programs aimed at providing practical solutions to the nation's most pressing domestic problems, such as crime, welfare dependency, and inadequate educational skills. A graduate of Franklin and Marshall College, Lenkowsky received his doctorate from Harvard University. His writing has appeared in such publications as *Commentary*, *The Weekly Standard*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Public Interest*, *The Chronicle of Philanthropy* and the *Indianapolis Business Journal*. He has spoken frequently to educational and philanthropic groups throughout the United States and internationally, as well as been awarded three honorary degrees.

