NATIONAL STUDENTS FOR JUSTICE IN PALESTINE (NSJP)

ANTISEMITISM, ANTI-AMERICANISM, VIOLENT EXTREMISM AND THE THREAT TO NORTH AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES

2024

THE INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF GLOBAL ANTISEMITISM & POLICY
ISGAP is dedicated to scholarly research into the origins, processes, and manifestations of global antisemitism and other forms of prejudice, including various forms of racism, as they relate to policy in an age of globalization.

On the basis of this examination of antisemitism and policy, ISGAP disseminates analytical and scholarly materials to help combat hatred and promote understanding.

For further information contact:
The Institute for the Study of Global Antisemitism and Policy

Email: info@isgap.org
www.isgap.org

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Glossary

- ACLU — American Civil Liberties Union
- ADC — American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee
- AJP — Americans for Justice in Palestine
- AMP — American Muslims for Palestine
- BDS — Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions
- CAIR — The Council on American-Islamic Relations
- CCR — Center for Constitutional Rights
- FJP — Faculty for Justice in Palestine
- HLF — Holyland Foundation
- IAP — Islamic Association for Palestine
- ICNA — Islamic Circle of North America
- JVP — Jewish Voice for Peace
- MAS — Muslim American Society
- NLG — National Lawyers Guild
- NSJP — National Students for Justice in Palestine
- PFLP — Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine
- PSLS — Palestine Solidarity Legal Support
- SJP — Students for Justice in Palestine
- SSWG — Student Speech Working Group
- USCMO — US Council of Muslim Organizations
- USPCN — US Palestinian Community Network
- USPCR — US Campaign for Palestinian Rights
- WOL — Within our Lifetime

\(^1\) Formerly, Education for Just Peace in the Middle East.
**Executive Summary**

ISGAP, in October 2019, released a comprehensive report entitled, “The Contextualization of the National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP).” The report exposed the antisemitic roots of Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and its direct connection to the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood. In addition to providing conclusive evidence for this, the report also examined SJP’s connections to organizations that support or previously supported violence and terror.

Following the Hamas terror attack on October 7, 2023, and the subsequent explosion of antisemitism on university campuses, especially in North America, led by SJP, this report provides an updated assessment of the activities of both SJP and its umbrella organization, National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP).

Antisemitism is rising globally as the radical left, the far right, and political extreme Islamism attack the institutions of the democratic center, including, perhaps, the most important democratic institutions, namely institutions of higher education. After all, universities are the place where young people, future leaders, scholars, journalists, and others learn values, ethics, and what it is to be a citizen in a democratic society. Sadly, the frontline of the struggle against the Jewish people, Israel, and democratic principles is being waged in the classrooms and on the campuses of our finest universities. It is also becoming normalized on university campuses throughout the West, through pressure to silence, demonize, marginalize and attack students and faculty who are identifiably Israelis, Zionists, Jews or their supporters.

Campus politics now feature disturbing alliances between Islamists, who have started using progressive rhetoric and adopting progressive causes, and those on the progressive left, who are perhaps unaware of or indifferent to the Islamist agenda. This alliance encourages the delegitimization of Israel, Zionism and Jewish peoplehood. The language and actions of these groups are becoming more extreme and violent, and their antisemitic/anti-Israel rhetoric is becoming bolder.

SJP and NSJP are at the forefront of this ideological warfare on campus, coordinating student organizations, working with radical faculty, and distributing propaganda on campus. They coordinate and work with often

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2 Islamism refers to the extremist ideology of political Islam, not the religion of Islam itself.

unsuspecting students and student organizations that provide them with financial aid, legal aid and assistance in organizing campaigns and activities.

SJP is a student-led organization that denies the right of Jewish self-determination (in other words, the right of Israel to exist in any form), diminishes and, at times, denies the Holocaust, and supports global intifada (violent resistance) against Jews and Israel. Since October 7, more SJP rallies and rhetoric actually call for and justify the violence, mutilation, and rape of “colonialist settlers” of Palestinian land, and blame the violence on their presence, which necessitates “resistance” by any means necessary. Some SJP chapters have declared their support for terrorist groups such as Hamas and openly call for the dismantling of Israel as the homeland of the Jewish people. In fact, the SJP Toolkit, released after October 7, 2023, SJP openly declared themselves to be part of the “movement” (which refers to Hamas’ October 7 attacks), and not just supporters.

SJP’s ideology and actions amount to antisemitism as defined by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA): “Antisemitism is a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews. Rhetorical and physical manifestations of antisemitism are directed toward Jewish or non-Jewish individuals and/or their property, toward Jewish community institutions and religious facilities.”

Furthermore, under the pretense and cover of freedom of speech, SJP’s discourse and conduct directly contravene the IHRA definition, especially in the case of the organization’s anti-Israel and anti-Zionist activity, in the following areas:

- Denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, for example by claiming that the existence of a State of Israel is a racist endeavor.
- Applying double standards by requiring of Israel a behavior that is not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation.
- Using symbols and images associated with classic antisemitism (e.g., claims of Jews killing Jesus or blood libel) to characterize Israel or Israelis.
- Drawing comparisons of contemporary Israeli policy to that of the Nazis.

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7 Ibid.
• Holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel.

This report examines SJP and its umbrella organization NSJP, as well as some of their key supporters and enablers.

NSJP is a national umbrella network that represents more than 250 university chapters of SJP across the United States and Canada.\(^8\)

More broadly, SJP chapters maintain nationwide links through NSJP, which provides thought leadership, consistency in messaging, legal assistance, and other forms of support to its campus affiliates across the country.\(^9\)

The ability of NSJP and SJP to operate effectively and in a coordinated manner is based on a foundational operational structure consisting of three critical pillars: financing, legal assistance and campaigns.

**NSJP/SJP Operational Foundations: The Three Pillars**

**Finance** – Tax-exempt funding is furnished by entities such as the Westchester Peace Action Committee (WESPAC), American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) – an anti-Israel and antisemitic organization with strong ties to pro-Hamas individuals and organizations\(^10\) – and Americans for Justice in Palestine (AJP), which is linked to barred Hamas financiers. AMP has also admitted to funding Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP). Neither NSJP nor SJP have been set up as charitable entities (under 501 (c)(3)), which means that they are not subject to fiscal reporting restrictions or regulations.\(^11\) However, many of their supporting entities are charitable entities, thus making it possible to examine their financing and operational activities. Additionally, US universities finance local chapters in the framework of the university budget for student societies.\(^12\)

**Legal Aid** – Advocacy organizations such as Palestine Legal, which is backed by Rockefeller funds, justify rhetoric bordering on incitement as protected speech.\(^13\) The fiscal sponsor of Palestine Legal is Tides (which provides it with

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the 501(c)(3) “umbrella” of a non-profit organization. The Adalah Justice Project (Adalah) is another organization that provides legal resources. Adalah is sponsored by the Tides Center and the WESPAC Foundation and is described as a grassroots anti-Israeli advocacy group, standing with the Palestinian people’s right to defend themselves. These organizations provide support by defending local chapters and their activities against claims while also formulating legal attacks against opposition groups.

**Campaigning** – Force multipliers like the US Campaign for Palestine Rights (USCPR), AMP, WESPAC, and SJP assist NSJP in advancing events and activities on campus to demonize Israel during advocacy weeks and stifle dissent.

NSJP relies on this interconnected infrastructure across three critical fronts to propagate its activities. This operational structure allows NSJP to operate chapters spreading radical ideology in US universities from behind a façade of grassroots campus activism. Meanwhile, NSJP continually circumvents restrictions on its activities, bankrolls operations via tax-exemption, and maximizes influence through a façade of scattered initiatives while coordinating campus chapters, national events and lobbying.

Student governments and university administrators provide space and resources and award privileges to NSJP chapters despite their extremist rhetoric, which would appear to warrant sanctioning under university codes of conduct.

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Figure 1: The relationships between the various organizations.

ISGAP suggests that this network may well contravene IRS regulations governing non-profit speech, anti-terror financing statutes prohibiting aid for banned groups, Title VI protections against student harassment, and state and federal higher education guidelines prohibiting partisan politicking using university resources and more.

The following may provide evidence as to why:

- **Program service disclosures:** To justify tax-exempt status, non-profit organizations must describe their largest initiatives and account for associated expenses. However, key activities and their financing are not properly itemized, inhibiting evaluation.

- **Volunteer labor and lobbying:** The number of unpaid volunteers and the resources spent lobbying elected officials are subject to accurate disclosure. However, contradictions, inaccuracies and omissions exist across these disclosures, further obscuring transparency.

- **Financial trails to terror entities:** The above-mentioned network includes personnel with traceable ties to criminal organizations like the Holy Land Foundation (HLF), which was shut down for funneling millions of dollars to Hamas. Key leaders have promoted Hamas manifestos at prior entities.\(^{16}\) Ongoing exposure suggests that IRS prohibitions against material support to banned terror groups are potentially being violated.

This report will discuss SJP activities on North American university campuses since October 7, 2023, the background and founding of NSJP, followed by deeper examination into the three main pillars that support NSJP. The report will close with eight policy recommendations.

Since October 7, 2023, a mass movement has emerged that incites against Israel and Jewish students and faculty across North America. The environment is becoming increasingly violent. On December 5, 2023, the United States House Committee on Education and the Workforce held a hearing on antisemitism on college campuses. The committee called upon the presidents of Harvard University, the University of Pennsylvania, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) to testify on the explosion of antisemitism that had erupted on these campuses following Hamas’s terrorist attack on Israel on October 7, 2023. On April 17, 2024, the House Committee on Education and the Workforce held a Congressional hearing investigating Columbia University’s “failure to ... protect Jewish students” amid an explosion of on-campus antisemitism following October 7, 2023.17

SJP chapters throughout the United States and Canada have not only praised Hamas for its slaughter, rape, and abduction of citizens in Israel, but have openly declared themselves to be part of the “movement” (which refers to Hamas’ October 7 attacks) according to their own toolkit in the aftermath of the pogrom.18 Hamas has been designated as a terror organization in the United States and the United Kingdom, as well as in numerous other countries.

On campuses throughout the United States and Canada, NSJP and allied chapters spread inflammatory propaganda aimed at delegitimizing Israel’s existence. SJP campus chapters have proposed dozens of Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) resolutions to student governments, including on or around Jewish holidays when Jewish students are off campus.19 Activists have intimidated and harassed Jewish and pro-Israel students and aggressively disrupted pro-Israel campus events.20 Physical security on university campuses is not guaranteed to Jewish and or pro-Israel students and faculty, as rhetoric and ideology is leading to intimidation and threats of attacks.

SJP protests feature chants like “Resistance is justified” and “From the river to the sea, Palestine will be free,” which reflect a genocidal objective to

19 “Pro-Palestinian Students Criticized for Launching Campaign ‘Demonizing Israel’ on Passover, When Jewish Students Are Away from Campus,” Camera on Campus, April 5, 2018, https://cameraoncampus.org/blog/pro-palestinian-students-criticized-for-launching-campaign-demonizing-israel-on-passover-when-jewish-students-are-away-from-campus/
20 Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP),” ADL, October 19, 2023, https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounders/students-justice-palestine-sjp
eradicate Israel. In October 2023, SJP confirmed that “this is what it means to Free Palestine: not just slogans and rallies, but armed confrontation with the oppressors.”

On April 20, 2024, NSJP put out a call to action for its local SJP chapters to encourage university students, staff, and faculty to “join the Popular University for Gaza” and “take back our institutions,” adding “we will seize our universities and force the administration to divest.” On April 22, 2024, NSJP released the “mission statement” of these “Popular University for Gaza” protests, declaring that “we will seize control of our institutions, campus by campus, until Palestine is free.”

American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), Dissenters, Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), Palestine Action, Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM), Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL), Samidoun, Students for Democratic Society (SDS), Young Democratic Socialists of America (YDSA), and other campus anti-Zionist organizations have supported these recent calls for action.

University encampments began in April 2024, and, as of April 30, 2024, are active on at least 50 university campuses in the US. There has been particularly explicit support for violence at Columbia University, where on April 17, 2024, one protestors declared: “We are Hamas,” while others chanted: “Al-Qassam [in reference to the Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, Hamas’s military wing] you make us proud, kill another soldier now!”

On April 18, a group of anti-Israel protestors reportedly threatened a group of Jewish students, saying “Never forget the 7th of October... The 7th of October is about to be every f***ing day for you. You ready?”

Protesters at both Columbia and Yale have glorified individuals affiliated with US-designated terror groups, including, for example the al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigade and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Indeed, encampments have been set up at Yale University, where

\textsuperscript{23} @nationalsjp, Instagram, April 22, 2024, https://www.instagram.com/nationalsjp/
\textsuperscript{24} “Campus Antisemitism Surges Amid Encampments and Related Protests at Columbia and Other U.S. Colleges,” ADL, April 22, 2024, https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/campus-antisemitism-surges-amid-encampments-and-related-protests-columbia-and-other
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{26} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{27} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{28} Ibid.
47 pro-Palestinian student protestors were arrested on April 22, 2024.²⁹

New York Mayor Eric Adams has insinuated that “outside agitators” have caused problems with the authorities on university campuses in New York.³⁰ Adams stated that “There are people who come, they have nothing to do with an issue and they want to aggrivate.”³¹ Northeastern University released a statement with a similar message on April 27, 2024, arguing that a student demonstration on its campus “was infiltrated by professional organizers with no affiliation to Northeastern.”³²

Furthermore, in the immediate aftermath of the deadly Hamas terrorist attack on October 7, 2023, many affiliates voiced expressed support for Hamas and its actions, for example:

- On October 10, 2023, Swarthmore College’s SJP chapter released a statement justifying Hamas’s violence, stating, “Since early Saturday morning, Palestinians in Gaza and the West Bank have valiantly confronted the imperial apparatus that has constricted their livelihoods for the past seventy-five years.” The statement also said that “decolonization is far from a metaphor confined to the classroom” and that “there exists only a colonizer and colonized, an oppressed and an oppressor. To resist is to survive, and it is our right.”³³

- As the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) has demonstrated, some chapters have also adopted the image of a paraglider as a symbol of their call for resistance. This is a clear reference to the fact that some Hamas terrorists used paragliders to perpetrate their massacre of Israeli civilians on October 7, 2023.³⁴ The same ADL report shows how some SJP chapters have posted pro-Hamas messaging and/or promoted violent anti-Israel propaganda on their social media.

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³³ “Anti-Israel Activists Celebrate Hamas Attacks That Have Killed Hundreds of Israelis,” ADL, October 7, 2023, https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/anti-israel-activists-celebrate-hamas-attacks-have-killed-hundreds-israelis
³⁴ “Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP),” ADL, October 19, 2023, https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounder/students-justice-palestine-sjp
accounts. For example, the SJP chapter at the University of Illinois shared a video showing what appears to be a Hamas terrorist filming himself from inside the home of an Israeli family during the attack.\(^{35}\)

- SJP protesters at Stanford University disrupted a session on antisemitism, that was chaired by university leadership and featured Israel’s special convoy for combating antisemitism, Michal Cotler-Wunsh, whom they accused of representing “a government actively committing genocide, [...] one who personally expresses explicitly genocidal rhetoric.”\(^{36}\) At the same event, students who attended the session reported receiving threats including, “We’re going to find out where you live” and “Zionist, Zionist, you can’t hide.”\(^{37}\)

- In November 2023, SJP was a signatory on a joint statement calling on “U.S. labor unions to cut all ties with Israeli unions” and “failure to do so amounts to organized labor’s complicity with, and support for, the ongoing genocide.”\(^{38}\)

- Cornell SJP was founded in 2012 and has the support of several professors at the university.\(^{39}\) Cornell SJP is responsible for numerous incidents of incitement and violence against Jewish and pro-Israel students. Some activists have glorified Hamas’s terrorist attacks and promote violence against Israel.\(^{40}\) There is evidence of SJP activists disrupting pro-Israel events on campus.\(^{41}\) Several activists spread antisemitic propaganda and call for the elimination of Israel. There are claims by the American Jewish Committee (AJC) that SJP activities

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\(^{35}\) Ibid.


\(^{38}\) “UAW BDS Sign-On Letter,” GoogleDocs, https://docs.google.com/document/u/4/d/e/2PACX-1vOV4BajLq1Bb7uwocTysvFBE9wlI__H7v1FyUtufm12aS73S9IL2BDSMhoXhosFBEVqrdA79-fstGo0B/pub

\(^{39}\) Cornell SJP, Twitter, https://twitter.com/cornellsjp


violate student conduct policies and threaten the security of students. Cornell Professor Eric Cheyfitz has compared Israel to Nazi Germany, promoted antisemitic conspiracy theories, and expressed support for BDS activists, while Professor Russell Rickford has praised Hamas war crimes and glorified terrorists.

- Current (as of April 2024) members of the NSJP Steering Committee, including Sean Eren, have glorified Hamas. Eren has said the SJP tool kit issued in the immediate aftermath of October 7—which called the terrorist attacks a “historic win” and paid “glory to our resistance, to our martyrs”—was “iconic” and has no regrets about promoting its use.

This ongoing activity, involving a growing number of chapters with a growing number of students operating within them, has contributed directly to the creation of an overwhelmingly hostile environment for Jewish students and faculty members.

**Activities of SJP Affiliate Groups**

At Concordia University in Montreal, Canada, Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights (SPHR), an affiliate of SJP, is the dominant pro-Palestinian organization on campus. In fact, on its Instagram page, SPHR Concordia announced that “We are all SJP!” and that it would follow “in the footsteps of our comrades” of SJP chapters at Columbia, Rutgers, and Tufts University in the “Popular University for Gaza” initiative. There has been an increasing “climate of fear” at Concordia since October 7, 2023, as university president Graham Carr was forced to admit in a statement in November 2023, addressing an “escalation” in “incidents of antisemitism, violence, and intimidation ... targeting the Jewish community.” In one example, in November 2023, shows, Jewish students were verbally assaulted (with racial

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46 @sphrconu, Instagram, April 20, 2024, https://www.instagram.com/sphrconu/

slurs, such as k*ke, reportedly used) in a confrontation that ended in several injuries and arrests.48

Similarly, at York University, Toronto, the Palestine Solidarity Collective, a different affiliate of SJP, has called for “shutting down” streets against the “Zionist genocide.”49 In fact, across Ontario campuses, there have been some 400 antisemitic incidents, a threefold increase on previous years.50

**Universities that Have Suspended or Banned SJP Activities on Campus**

Brandeis University has banned the campus chapter of NSJP, and the university’s president, Ronald Liebowitz, stating that “chants and social media posts calling for violence against Jews or the annihilation of the state of Israel must not be tolerated.”51 In fact, in his letter addressing the decision, President Liebowitz asserted that “SJP openly supports Hamas.”52

Columbia University suspended its chapters of SJP and Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) in November 2023 for failing to show “a commitment to compliance with university policies.”53 Columbia SJP and JVP have allied with the group Within Our Lifetime, to express support for Houthi attacks on Red Sea shipping.54 Additionally, Columbia University Apartheid Divest, a non-university-recognized coalition formed following the suspensions of SJP and JVP, threatened a tuition strike if their demands for the university to divest from companies connected to Israel were not met.55

The SJP chapter at Rutgers University was suspended in December 2023. However, the suspension was dropped in January 2024, with a member of SJP

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49 @psc_yorku, Instagram, March 26, 2024, [https://www.instagram.com/psc_yorku/](https://www.instagram.com/psc_yorku/)
50 Dave Gordon, “York University students disappointed, but ‘kind of used to’ Jew-hatred on campus,” Jewish News Syndicate, February 8, 2024, [https://www.jns.org/york-university-students-disappointed-but-kind-of-used-to-jew-hatred-on-campus/](https://www.jns.org/york-university-students-disappointed-but-kind-of-used-to-jew-hatred-on-campus/)
52 President Ronald Liebowitz, “A space for free speech, not hate speech,” Office of the President, Brandeis University, November 8, 2023, [https://www.brandeis.edu/president/letters/2023-11-08-free-speech-not-hate-speech.html](https://www.brandeis.edu/president/letters/2023-11-08-free-speech-not-hate-speech.html)
55 Daksha Pillai, Shea Vance, Joseph Zuloaga, “Pro-Palestinian student groups hold ‘divestment now’ rally on Low Steps, call for tuition strike,” Columbia Spectator, January 19, 2024, [https://www.columbiaspectator.com/news/2024/01/19/pro-palestinian-student-groups-hold-divestment-now-rally-on-low-steps-call-for-tuition-strike/?fclid=1wARZEO54pDp_xPAKZf0szKntnPglEoSc8wNkXzEfsoIo3w6dOzKmxY8TE&src=bulkemail&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=all-emails](https://www.columbiaspectator.com/news/2024/01/19/pro-palestinian-student-groups-hold-divestment-now-rally-on-low-steps-call-for-tuition-strike/?fclid=1wARZEO54pDp_xPAKZf0szKntnPglEoSc8wNkXzEfsoIo3w6dOzKmxY8TE&src=bulkemail&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=all-emails)
arguing that the group had been suspended due to “Zionist pressure,” not, as the university cited, due to its “disruptive or disorderly conduct” and its having “posed a substantial and immediate threat to the safety and well-being of others.” Notably, the chapter received student government funding in Fall 2023 despite its suspension. This funding continued into 2024.

In November 2023, George Washington University suspended its SJP chapter for 90 days after the organization projected anti-Zionist slogans onto the Estelle and Melvin Gelman Library on campus. The university said the group was suspended for violating university policies, including one regarding the use of the library and another regarding non-compliance, as SJP members did not stop projecting the slogans when they were first asked to do so. The suspension meant that the SJP chapter could not host events on campus or use university facilities for 90 days. Additionally, the group was not allowed to post communications on campus until the end of the academic year.

At the time of writing, the American University has placed its SJP chapter on disciplinary probation. The SJP demonstration, that appeared to spark the probation of SJP, ended with a call for the American University to “divest from any programs or funding related to Israel.” The SJP branch responded to the probation by claiming that the decision was made in an attempt to “appeal to Zionist donors and influence.”

McGill University in Canada banned its Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights (SPHR) chapter – an affiliate of SJP – from using the school’s name

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58 Ibid.
62 Ibid.
63 Ibid.
after the campus group posted on social media a statement that celebrated Hamas’s “heroic” October 7 terrorist massacre.64

Notably, the state of Florida has ordered its state universities to ban SJP chapters, claiming that the organization was giving material support to terrorist groups. Governor Ron DeSantis said it was “not a First Amendment issue” because “these groups, Students for Justice [in] Palestine, they have said that they are in cahoots with Hamas.”65 Political and university leaders, in addition to senators and congressional members in Florida should be applauded for their consistent strength when dealing with the issues of SJP and condemnation of Hamas and its supporters.

ISGAP calls upon other universities and states to follow the example set by the aforementioned universities and the state of Florida as regards the suspension or banning of SJP chapters.

Faculty for Justice in Palestine Network

According to the Faculty for Justice in Palestine (FJP) website, FJP “is a decentralized, national network of affiliated campus chapters whose faculty and staff members support the cause of Palestinian liberation through education, advocacy and action. FJP supports and amplifies the work of Students for Justice in Palestine along with other pro-Palestinian student groups and campus unions.”66 This network is not in replacement of SJP chapters, but is emerging alongside them.

This network was first revealed on February 13, 2024 with 82 new chapters, and, in late April 2024, this figure grew to 95 chapters.67 The domain of FJP-Network was registered on February 1, 2024, but some chapters registered new university websites earlier than this.68

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
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<td>Stanford University</td>
<td>stanfordfjp.com</td>
<td>2023-11-2869</td>
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67 Ibid.
68 “fjp-network.org,” Whois, [https://who.is/whois/fjp-network.org](https://who.is/whois/fjp-network.org)
Figure 2: FJP website examples.

In the University of Virginia (UVA) announcement of the establishment of their FJP chapter, among their principles of unity, they declared that "FJP supports, amplifies, and protects the work of SJP and other pro-Palestinian students and student groups at UVA."74

Furthermore, in their resources page, the FJP UVA chapter includes in their resources Palestine Legal, SJP UVA and the US Campaign for the Academic and cultural boycott of Israel (USACBI).75

According to USACBI, "USACBI has issued a call to form Faculty for Justice in Palestine (FJP) groups on campuses in order to support NSJP, protect local SJP organizers, offer faculty defense, organize teach-ins and other actions, and engage in Palestine solidarity work generally. Faculty at several campuses (NYU and Claremont Colleges most recently, and University of Hawai‘i, UC Davis, Kent State University, University of Florida, UMass Boston, and Purdue University previously) have launched FJP groups that include faculty, graduate employees, and staff."76

The advisory board included Archbishop Desmond Tutu as honorary board member, Hamid Dabashi (Columbia University), Lawrence Davidson (West Chester University), Bill Fletcher, Glenn Ford, Vijay Prashad (Trinity College), Illan Pappe, Lisa Taraki (Birzeit University) and a founding member of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel.77

75 “Resources,” Faculty for Justice in Palestine UVA Chapter, https://fjpuva.com/resources/

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<td>Yale University</td>
<td><a href="https://www.yalefjp.org/">https://www.yalefjp.org/</a></td>
<td>2024-01-29</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northwestern University</td>
<td><a href="https://www.nuejp.org/">https://www.nuejp.org/</a></td>
<td>2023-12-14</td>
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</table>
While the US Campaign for Palestinian Rights, which is a financial pillar of the SJP, is a tax-exempt 501(c)(3) organization, donating to the USACBI takes you to AL-AWDA Palestinian Right to Return Coalition, whose address is P.O. Box 8812 Coral Springs, FL 33075. Donating to AL-AWDA is done via SquareUp.com. The Al-AWDA Youth representative is Nerdeen Kiswani from New York. Kiswani is the co-founder and chair of Within Our Lifetime (WOL) - United for Palestine. Kiswani was the former chair of SJP-NYC. In fact, until 2019, WOL was known as the New York City branch of SJP, going by NYC SJP.

Kisawani organized, what the New York Post described, as a "pro-terror radical launched 2-hour anti-Israel tirade at Columbia University event weeks before protests exploded: ‘Nothing wrong with being a Hamas fighter.’" In fact, following the October 7, 2023 Hamas massacre, Kisawani refused to condemn the “resistance” of the terrorist group. According to the ADL, Kisawani has additionally propagated classical antisemitic tropes, including a “Zionist” control over media and politics.

81 Ibid.  
84 Ibid.
The Founding of National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP)

To better understand NSJP in addition to the ideology and mission of the organization, we must examine its origins and historical development, as well as the premise and fundamental principles of its ideological worldview. It is important to understand the influence, ideology, work and mission of this student organization.

NSJP emerged under the umbrella of actors including known backers of Hamas, Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ), and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). PIJ is a Gaza-based, Iran-sponsored organization that pursues terrorist activity against Israel. Hamas is an Islamist militant group that spun off from the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in the late 1980s. It took control of the Gaza strip in 2006. The PFLP is a terrorist group that combines Arab nationalism with a Marxist-Leninist ideology and views the destruction of Israel as integral to the struggle to remove Western capitalism from the Middle East. The group ultimately aims to establish a Communist Palestinian state.

The Palestinian national movement was originally established by Yasser Arafat (1929-2004) through the formation of Fatah in 1959 and then through the creation of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in 1964. With the outbreak of the Second Intifada in 2000, PLO leaders Yasser Arafat and Marwan Barghouti founded the Palestinian National and Islamic Forces (PNIF), a consortium of jihadist terrorist organizations that includes Hamas.

The first SJP chapter, Berkeley Law Students for Justice in Palestine (LSJP), was founded in 2001 at the University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley) by Professor Hatem Bazian, as an offshoot of the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) at San Francisco State University (SFSU), to advocate for Palestinian rights and educate on the Israel-Palestine conflict. The organization then expanded to campuses across the United States and Canada, with the official goal of promoting Palestinian national

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87 Ibid.
89 Ibid.
90 Charles Asher Small and David Patterson, “The Contextualization of National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP),” Journal of Contemporary Antisemitism (2021), https://doi.org/10.26613/jca.4.1.73
liberation and human rights.

Bazian has reportedly promoted religious antisemitism and defended Hamas. In 2004, while the Second Intifada was ending in Israel, Bazian called for “intifada” in America.92 Since the early 2000s, the term “intifada” has carried the connotation of violence.

Another reported co-founder of SJP was anti-Israel professor Snehal Shingavi, who has silenced pro-Israel students and has reportedly been criticized for using his literature course as a vehicle for promoting anti-Israel propaganda.93

Until 2010, SJP functioned as a standalone organization, when American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) and the US Palestinian Community Network (USPCN) created NSJP.

There are currently over 250 SJP chapters at American and Canadian universities and colleges, as well as chapters in New Zealand and Qatar.94 All chapters follow the so-called “Points of Unity,” which stem from the 2005 BDS call for guidelines that make up the BDS movement. The “Points of Unity” statement was adopted by NSJP at its conference in 2011 at Columbia University.95

It calls for:96

1. “ending Israel’s occupation and colonization of all Arab lands and dismantling the Wall;”
2. “recognizing the fundamental rights of the Arab-Palestinian citizens of Israel to full equality;” and

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96 Ibid.
3. “respecting, protecting and promoting the rights of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homes and properties as stipulated in UN Resolution 194.”

Key Actors:

• **Hatem Bazian** – A professor at UC Berkeley and a founder of AMP. Linked to charity “Kindhearts,” which, according to US Treasury Department was involved in funding terrorism. 97 Bazian has accused Israel of having a policy of harvesting organs from Palestinians. 98

• **Osama AbuIrshaid** – Linked to the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), which in turn was linked to terrorist funding via the Holy Land Foundation (HLF). 99

• **Taher Herzallah** – Stated in December 2023 that Zionists should feel “very uncomfortable on campus.” Also stated that the “Zionists are really going to regret the day they made Muslims their enemy,” and claimed that the Jews colonized Palestine in order to be accepted into “whiteness.” 100

• **Salah Sarsour** – Named in an Israeli police report as a Hamas activist. 101 Has fundraised for Hamas, 102 promoted incitement, 103 and expressed support for terrorists. 104

• **Rafeeq Jaber** – Has glorified terrorism 105 and was named in a lawsuit for his role in funneling support to Hamas via US-based charities. 106

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98 “Who Are the Primary Groups Behind the US anti-Israel Rallies?,” ADL, October 20, 2023, [https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/who-are-primary-groups-behind-us-anti-israel-rallies](https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/who-are-primary-groups-behind-us-anti-israel-rallies)


102 “By Liaison,” Investigative Project, [https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/466.pdf#page=48](https://www.investigativeproject.org/documents/case_docs/466.pdf#page=48)

103 Ibid.


• **Abdelbasset Hamayel** – Former executive director[^107] and secretary general of the defunct IAP, which in turn had links to terrorist funding via the HLF.[^108]

**Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS)**

NSJP promotes Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaigns against Israel, inspired by the anti-apartheid movement. NSJP lobbies universities to divest from companies profiting from “Israel’s occupation” and views BDS as a moral imperative for human rights.

SJP chapters organize anti-Israel campaigns, such as the annual Israeli Apartheid Week (IAW). These activities are often carried out in collaboration with campus chapters of Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) and the Muslim Students Association (MSA), in addition to other organizations with radical anti-Israel and antisemitic ideologies, which are increasingly under scrutiny by university administrations for their extreme activities.[^109] Events like “Israeli Apartheid Week” incorporate overt antisemitic blood libels about Israel “targeting children” and constitute thinly veiled intimidation efforts against Jewish and Zionist students.[^110] SJP has been a major force in promoting the BDS movement on campus.

SJP chapters have also whitewashed and promoted terrorism, portraying it as a legitimate response to the occupation, compared Zionists to Nazis and have demonized pro-Israel campus organizations and Jewish and Israeli students and faculty as the enemy within the university community.[^111] SJP chapters use multiple strategies to achieve their objectives, for example by promoting divestment resolutions and petitions, amending student government bylaws, and inviting anti-Israel faculty or influencers to speak at campus events. Their resolutions consistently work to delegitimize Israel, accuse Israel of


[^111]: “Anti-Israel Activists Celebrate Hamas Attacks That Have Killed Hundreds of Israelis,” *ADL*, October 7, 2023, [https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/anti-israel-activists-celebrate-hamas-attacks-have-killed-hundreds-israelis](https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/anti-israel-activists-celebrate-hamas-attacks-have-killed-hundreds-israelis)
occupation, apartheid, genocide, and human rights violations, and intimidate students and faculty who support Israel.\textsuperscript{112}

Currently, SJP has a partnership with the Muslim Students Association (MSA) and organizes events such as “Israeli Apartheid Week” – a week of often virulent anti-Israel and antisemitic events.\textsuperscript{113} These activities have spread to dozens of cities and college campuses around the world. While MSA advocates an Islamist agenda in keeping with that of the Muslim Brotherhood, SJP appeals to a larger network of so-called “leftist” individuals and organizations to push its political agenda under the guise of progressivism and human rights.\textsuperscript{114} Both organizations use Muslim Brotherhood tactics, including “coalitions from within” and temporary alliances.\textsuperscript{115} Working with the Muslim Brotherhood and its offshoots, such as Hamas, SJP shares a common goal with them, namely the destruction of Israel.

**NSJP and Palestinian Student Organizations on Campus**

In 2010, AMP and the US Palestinian Community Network (USPCN) assisted SJP activists in founding NSJP as an umbrella organization to coordinate campus SJP chapters across North America.\textsuperscript{116}

USPCN (US Palestinian Community Network) is a radical anti-Israel activist group founded in 2006. The organization has a national office and is run through local chapters.\textsuperscript{117} USPCN has espoused antisemitic stereotypes and has endorsed terrorism against Israel. For example, in 2023, USPCN spearheaded a boycott campaign against Jewish-owned food company Sadaf, using antisemitic tropes accusing it of being a “Zionist profiteer” with “sneaky ways.”\textsuperscript{118} USPCN has partnered with SJP and Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) for campus events and rallies. In June 2010, the USPCN

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\textsuperscript{114} For a thorough account of the origins and essence of the Muslim Brotherhood, see David Patterson, *A Genealogy of Evil: Anti-Semitism from Nazism to Islamic Jihad* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), ch. 4.


\textsuperscript{117} “Who are the Primary Groups Behind the U.S. Anti-Israel Rallies?,” *ADL*, October 20, 2023, [https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/who-are-primary-groups-behind-us-anti-israel-rallies](https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/who-are-primary-groups-behind-us-anti-israel-rallies)

\textsuperscript{118} Ibid.
organized the Palestine Program at the US Social Forum.\textsuperscript{119} The Forum included an AMP call to establish NSJP and provided AMP’s phone number as the contact.\textsuperscript{120}

AMP ran training for SJP at the Muslim American Society’s Islamic Circle of North America (ICNA) Convention in 2010.\textsuperscript{121}

Composed of students, a national steering committee, and recent graduates, NSJP serves as a unifying umbrella organization for numerous Palestinian student organizations across the United States and Canada, most prominently SJP.\textsuperscript{122}

Individual SJP chapters are autonomous, and some student organizations choose their own names. These include (but are not limited to): Students Against Israeli Apartheid (SAIA); Students for Peace and Justice in Palestine (SPJP); Students For Palestine (SFP); Students United for Palestinian Equal Rights (SUPER); Students Allied for Freedom and Equality (SAFE); Palestine Solidarity Alliance (PSA); Palestine Solidarity Committee (PSC); and Solidarity for Palestinian Human Rights (SPHR).

NSJP guides the student groups’ agendas and actions by coordinating inter-campus events, planning national campaigns, such as the “Right to Education Tour,” curating a national newsletter, assisting chapters with boycott and divestment resolutions, organizing media and press, connecting chapters and individuals with legal aid and, most notably, since 2011, planning the annual NSJP conference.\textsuperscript{123}

The national conference encourages student organizers to attend skill-building and political development workshops and meet with fellow organizers. By providing a space for the promotion and dissemination of antisemitic ideas and tropes, as well as violent extremism, the conference allows the NSJP steering committee and NSJP’s founders, AMP specifically, to control and radicalize the discourse on numerous college campuses.

\textsuperscript{122} “About,” National SJP, https://www.nationalsjp.org/
This discourse often illustrates what Nathan Sharansky refers to as the “3D Test of Anti-Semitism: Demonization, Double Standards, Delegitimization.” Often compared to Nazi Germany, the Jewish state is typically tagged as a perpetrator of evil, enacting anything from colonialism to racism, from apartheid to human rights violations. It is attacked for defending itself, and its very existence is deemed illegal.

As of January 2021, NSJP listed the WESPAC Foundation as its fiscal sponsor. In 2018, WESPAC raised funds for the 2018 National SJP Conference and reportedly collected and managed funds for the 2016 Conference as well.

NSJP and individual SJP branches on campuses across America are not registered as 501(c)(3) non-profit organizations. Therefore, they are not subject to the laws requiring financial disclosure that apply to 501(c)(3) organizations.

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**Figure 3:** A selection of SJP chapters.127

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An Examination of SJP’s Messaging and Recruitment Tactics

SJP presents tangible elements of the “Palestinian struggle” in an effort to elicit an emotional response. They then connect these emotional elements to prominent historical injustices like apartheid in South Africa and the oppression of Native Americans. This frames the Israeli-Palestinian conflict in a way that associates Israel with oppressive, racist regimes of the past. Gradually, they transition to using charged terminology like “colonialist settlers” and make links to broader concepts like imperialism and Marxism.

Figure 4: Social media post outlining NSJP’s message and recruitment tactics.

Ultimately, SJP tries to shape new members’ understanding of the Palestinian cause by linking it to “progressive” movements and ideologies that are then hijacked for their own agenda. They rely on emotional appeals and narratives that cast Israel as an oppressor, while framing the Palestinian struggle as one of liberation and resistance against colonialism and racism. This allows them to secure ideological commitment to anti-Zionist positions. Their methods

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exploit moral passions and the lack of nuanced knowledge many students have regarding the complex history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

**NSJP Instructs Student Activists to Operate Secretively**

Recent social media posts reveal that NSJP is advising student activists to use covert tactics and maintain secrecy due to increasing backlash.¹²⁹ NSJP is directing local chapters and members to use aliases online, disable social media accounts, avoid real names in virtual meetings, encrypt communications and refrain from documenting identifiable activities, essentially guiding students to obscure their involvement. While protecting privacy can be reasonable, the explicit direction toward clandestine operations raises concerns about radicalization, evasion of oversight and intent to conduct controversial or harmful activities out of public view. This context merits further examination of NSJP’s mission, objectives and tactics when mobilizing youth activists on complex geopolitical issues.

**National Week of Action for Palestine**

Relevant dates and events from documents regarding SJP’s lauding of Hamas’s terror attack:¹³⁰

- October 9, 2023 – SJP held national strategy call to plan “Day of Resistance.”
- October 12, 2023 – SJP’s national “Day of Resistance.”
- October 18-25, 2023 – SJP national “Palestine Action Week” in response to Gaza rocket fire.
- October 20, 2023 – SJP called for global general strike as part of “Palestine Action Week.”

¹²⁹ @nationalsjp, Instagram, October 11, 2023,
https://www.instagram.com/p/CyRBoRQLORe/?img_index=4
Figure 5: Example of NSJP instructions on operating covertly.\textsuperscript{131}

\textsuperscript{131} @nationalsjp, Instagram, https://www.instagram.com/p/CyRBoROLORe/?img_index=6
In light of recent events (April 2024), which have been outlined in the section entitled “SJP Post-October 7,” the rhetoric of NSJP is shifting from calling for a ceasefire to advocating for violence and the destruction of Israeli cities and people. This transition is rapidly evolving. As Congressman Jared Moskowitz has argued, the discourse is shifting from a call for a peaceful “ceasefire now” to one which calls to “bomb Tel Aviv” with pro-Hamas statements.\footnote{Congressman Jared Moskowitz, “Moskowitz on CNN Recounts Columbia University Visit amid Antisemitic Protests,” CNN, YouTube, April 23, 2024, \url{https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ys_ZZ_vvRIJ}}

**Alleged behaviors, such as comparing Israel to Nazi Germany, promoting antisemitic conspiracy theories, glorifying terrorism, and disrupting events, not only violate the norms of respectful academic discourse but also contribute to a hostile environment on campus.**

In an academic setting, justifications of Hamas terrorism and the downplaying of antisemitism undermine the core values of open dialogue and intellectual exchange. Such actions may create an unwelcoming...
atmosphere for students and hinder the free exchange of ideas that universities are meant to foster.

While academic freedom is essential, it is not designed to be used as a shield for promoting hate speech, violence against any group of people, or the glorification of terrorist activities by organizations designed as terror groups by US law. Universities have a responsibility to ensure a safe and inclusive environment for all students, irrespective of their backgrounds and beliefs.

**NSJP’s Involvement with and Support for the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP)**

The forum at which NSJP was founded was sponsored in part by the BDS Movement’s National Committee (BNC). The primary constituent of the BNC is known as the Palestinian National and Islamic Forces (PNIF). The PNIF was founded by Yasser Arafat and Marwan Barghouti (imprisoned for his leadership role in the First and Second Intifadas) and comprises five US-designated terrorist organizations: Hamas, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the Popular Front – General Command (PFLP-GC), the Palestine Liberation Front and Palestinian Islamic Jihad (PIJ). The BNC has sponsored a plenary called “The Way Forward: Strategy, Tactics and Seeding Boycott Divestment and Sanctions in the US,” and Jamal Juma, a co-founder of the BNC, has spoken live via video from Ramallah.

SJP chapters on US campuses spread propaganda from terror groups like the PFLP. The PFLP has carried out deadly airplane hijackings, suicide bombings, and other violent terrorist acts targeting civilians. Although the PFLP is responsible for many deadly terror attacks, the SJP chapter at Cornell University used a PFLP poster to promote a BDS campaign, later claiming it...

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was a mistake. In a similar vein, the SJP chapter at Temple University praised the PFLP founder as a “freedom fighter” despite his terrorist history.

Figure 7: SJP support for the PFLP on social media.

SJP glorifies terror groups and figures and their violent history as legitimate “resistance.” The Cornell and Temple University cases showcase how radical ideology and historical revisionism enable the glorification of terrorist acts on US university campuses. While perhaps claiming to be accidental “mistakes,” the incidents expose an underlying extremism among the SJP leadership that is contrary to stated principles.

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We urge university administrators to firmly respond to protect student safety and institutional reputation. Notably, Cornell University’s president has firmly rejected SJP’s call to boycott Israel, arguing that BDS harms academic freedom.\textsuperscript{141}

Nevertheless, SJP chapters persist in spreading in hateful anti-Israel activism by exploiting free speech protections and obscuring links to extremism.

Figure 8: At the 2018 NSJP Conference, Mohammad Nabulsi, NSJP leader, led hundreds of student attendees in a chant calling for violence: “Intifada, Intifada, long live the Intifada.” The video has since been removed from social media.\textsuperscript{142}

NSJP has promoted Palestinians who have been convicted of violent crimes and terrorism, including in a 2018 post glorifying PFLP terrorist Ghassan Kanafani.\textsuperscript{143} Kanafani was a leading member of the Political Bureau of the PFLP. In its post, NSJP praised “his voice” as “one of the Palestinian revolution and the Palestinian people” and posted a link on X about Kanafani that included images in support of violent “resistance.”\textsuperscript{144}

\textsuperscript{142} On the Beat, “REC0024 January 23 2023 outside the Fairmont Hotel, Austin, Texas,” YouTube, February 14, 2023, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hvItiEgSa54&t=509s
\textsuperscript{143} National SJP, “Interview with Ghassan Kanafani of the PFLP,” Facebook, July 8, 2018, https://www.facebook.com/nationalsjp/videos/1769237946447494/
\textsuperscript{144} @NationalSJP, Twitter, July 9, 2018, https://twitter.com/NationalSJP/status/1016179411115180032
Background and History of SJP

Yasser Arafat, the former leader of Fatah and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO), obtained his ideological indoctrination from the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin al-Husseini, who was a Nazi collaborator and war criminal, played a leading role in the formation of the Muslim SS killing units that operated in the Balkans during World War II and was a leading Muslim Brotherhood intellectual and spiritual leader.\textsuperscript{145}

Under the tutelage of al-Husseini, Arafat joined the Muslim Brotherhood in 1946 and received military training from other Nazi war criminals who had found refuge in Egypt after World War II and the Holocaust.\textsuperscript{146} The Muslim Brotherhood’s agenda, as detailed by the movement’s most influential ideologue, Sayyid Qutb, includes the destruction of Israel.\textsuperscript{147}

In 1953, Arafat became chairman of the General Union of Palestinian Students (GUPS) at the University of Cairo.\textsuperscript{148} GUPS was a precursor to NSJP. In fact, in 2001, Hatem Bazian changed the name of the GUPS chapter at the University of California Berkeley, to SJP Berkeley.\textsuperscript{149} Bazian understood that GUPS’s open support for and identification with the Muslim Brotherhood was preventing large-scale student recruitment and impeding its development. Bazian therefore branded SJP as a human rights organization with a focus on defending Palestinians.

Until 1993, the PLO’s defining mission included “the annihilation of the Zionist entity in all of its economic, political, military, and cultural manifestations.”\textsuperscript{150}

In 1991, Mohamed Akram, a member of the Board of Directors for the Muslim Brotherhood in North America and senior Hamas leader, wrote a report, entitled “An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America,” in which he outlined the Muslim Brotherhood’s strategy to increase its presence and influence in the United States.

\textsuperscript{145} For a full account of Haj Amin al-Husseini and his ties to the PLO, see David Patterson, A Genealogy of Evil: Anti-Semitism from Nazism to Islamic Jihad (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2010), chs. 2 and 7.
\textsuperscript{147} Sayyid Qutb, “Our Struggle with the Jews,” in Ronald L. Nettler, Past Trials and Present Tribulations: A Muslim Fundamentalist’s View of the Jews, Studies in Antisemitism (Oxford, UK: Pergamon, 1987), 86-87. For more information on the Muslim Brotherhood’s attitudes toward the West and how combative jihad is an “obligation” for all Muslims (from their perspective), see ISGAP’s 2023 report “The Qatari Regime, Hamas and the Muslim Brotherhood.”
States and Canada. The stated goal was “to enable Islam in North America to become an Islamic movement led by the Muslim Brotherhood which adopts Muslims’ causes domestically and globally.” To achieve this, the report called for the establishment of a network of Islamic organizations in various fields – political, social, cultural, educational and more. The report also identified several pro-Palestinian organizations as potential allies and recommended cooperating with them and coordinating activities to promote common goals.

Among the organizations mentioned:

- Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), which has raised funds for Hamas;\(^{152}\)
- United Association for Studies and Research (UASR) – which is suspected of having ties to Hamas;\(^ {153}\)
- Occupied Land Front (OLF) – which has transferred funds to families of terrorists.\(^ {154}\)

It is important to note that the relevance of this report to the Muslim Brotherhood’s current strategy is open to question. The document appears to have been written as a proposal by a junior member of the Brotherhood, not as a binding directive. However, what is relevant is that the above-mentioned organizations were regarded by the author (and potentially by others) as Muslim Brotherhood fronts and/or assets in the United States.

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\(^{153}\) Ibid.

\(^{154}\) Ibid.
Figure 9: List of American Muslim organizations mentioned in “An Explanatory Memorandum on the General Strategic Goal for the Group in North America.”

Holy Land Foundation (HLF)

The Holy Land Foundation (HLF) was a Texas-based Islamic charity founded in the 1980s. It claimed to be the largest Muslim charity in the United States prior to its closure. The organization collected tens of millions of dollars in donations, ostensibly for humanitarian aid.

The Federal authorities found that HLF was actually a front for funding Hamas. The organization was designated as a terrorist organization by the US government and its assets were seized in 2001. HLF and five of its leaders were convicted in 2008 of financing terrorism. After its closure, many former HLF activists went on to found groups like AMP.

AMP was founded by former members of charities shuttered due to ties with terror organizations, including Hamas and HLF. AMP’s leadership and donors have numerous links to Hamas. AMP organizes pro-Hamas protests across the United States, sometimes using antisemitic rhetoric, and supports extremist anti-Israel campus activism through a student network.

David Boim vs. AMP

In 1996, David Boim, a 17-year-old US citizen studying in Israel, was murdered by Hamas terrorists. In 2000, his parents, Stanley and Joyce Boim, sued several American organizations for funding terrorism under the Anti-Terrorism Act. The organizations included:

- Quranic Literacy Institute
- Holy Land Foundation for Relief and Development
- Islamic Association for Palestine
- American Muslim Society
- American Middle Eastern League for Palestine
- United Association for Studies and Research

The court awarded the parents $156 million in damages, but the defendant organizations dissolved themselves in order to avoid paying. In 2017, Boim’s parents filed a new lawsuit against AMP, claiming it was the same organization that had dissolved itself in order to avoid paying damages, but under a new name.161 They demanded the new organization pay the remaining unpaid portion of the damages.

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159 Ibid.
The US Department of Justice alleged that HLF had provided significant financial resources to Hamas, known Hamas leaders and key strategists and that it had intentionally cloaked its financial support to Hamas. The indictment also stated that HLF provided more than $12 million in funding to Hamas through various means. The organization and five individual defendants were convicted without representation at trial.

**American Muslims for Palestine (AMP)**

There is substantial evidence linking American Muslims for Palestine (AMP) to the US-designated terrorist group Hamas.

AMP was founded and staffed by former members of organizations such as the Holy Land Foundation, which was forced to close because it provided material support for Hamas. AMP’s leadership and donors include individuals with established links to Hamas operatives.

AMP is an anti-Israel and antisemitic organization with strong ties to pro-Hamas individuals and organizations. While AMP refers to itself as an educational organization focused primarily on raising awareness for Palestinian causes, it has been described by human rights organizations and the ADL as “the leading organization providing anti-Zionist training” in the United States.

Multiple individuals associated with AMP have ties to organizations that have been implicated by the federal government for offering support to terrorist entities such as Hamas and Palestinian Islamic Jihad. To illustrate, at a 2014 AMP conference, a lecturer invited attendees to “navigate the fine line...
between legal activism and material support for terrorism.” AMP has been accused of serving as a de facto rebrand of a group called the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), which shut down shortly after a 2004 judgement implicating it and several similar Muslims groups in the provision of “material support” to Hamas. A subsequent lawsuit alleged that AMP had essentially the same leaders, mission and initiatives as the IAP. AMP has contested these claims, denying the allegedly shared leadership and insisting that there was a two-year gap between the old organization shutting down and its own launch.

AMP plays a key role in facilitating vitriolic anti-Israel protests and campus activism, often employing hateful rhetoric and imagery that echoes longstanding antisemitic tropes. As a 501(c)(3) non-profit, AMP’s involvement in such overtly political activities merits scrutiny.

Like SJP and NSJP, AMP and Americans for Justice in Palestine Educational Foundation (AJP) have origins that can be traced to now-shuttered organizations that have financed Hamas terror activity. This shared legacy is manifested through political and material support for violence against Israeli civilians. Annual conferences showcase radical speakers, and NSJP chapters routinely glorify suicide bombers as heroic “martyrs” in social media posts and protests organized with other radical allies.

It would seem that the evidence warrants opening a formal investigation against AMP by the relevant bodies, including the Department of Justice (FBI), on the charge of potential material support for terrorism under 18 U.S. Code § 2339B. The law prohibits knowingly providing material support to foreign terrorist organizations, including resources, personnel, facilities and services.

If the investigation establishes direct financial or organizational ties between AMP and Hamas, the Department of Justice should take swift action to halt

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171 “United We Stand,” Muslim Legal Fund of America, https://mlfa.org/united-we-stand/
172 Ibid.
173 “American Muslims for Palestine (AMP),” Influence Watch, https://www.influencewatch.org/non-profit/american-muslims-for-palestine/
AMP's activities and hold accountable those responsible for flouting US counterterrorism laws.

Figure 10: AMP's hybrid corporate structure.176

Figure 11: March on Washington for Gaza flyer.177

177 @ampalestine, Instagram, https://www.instagram.com/p/C2CBuSYgDFY/
**Figure 12:** Example of an AMP march organized with 350 organizations, demonstrating a structure that changes from event to event.

Social media posts and photos showing AMP and NSJP activists jointly participating in anti-Israel protests on university campuses demonstrate a high degree of ideological alignment, support, and activities. Furthermore, testimony from former AMP employees details how they worked to organize NSJP conferences by arranging venues, speakers and logistics, which indicates operational coordination. Additionally, internal AMP documents that discuss how to advance campaigns through guidance on messaging and protest tactics suggest that AMP provided NSJP with advisory support. It is essential to understand and consider the importance and impact of this ideological and political symmetry.

**AMP Founder and Activist Profiles:**

*Hatem Bazian*

Hatem Bazian is a professor of Asian American and Asian Diaspora Studies at the University of California Berkeley. Bazian has co-founded two anti-Israel groups: SJP and AMP. Bazian cofounded SJP in 2001, which promotes BDS on college campuses. He helped found AMP in 2005 and serves as its national chairman. He organizes AMP’s annual conferences, which feature speakers who praise Hamas and violent jihad.

In 2010, Bazian and his associates established NSJP. As a result, Bazian plays a triple role in AMP, NSJP and SJP.

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181 Bio of Hatem Bazian, Department of Ethnic Studies, UC Berkeley, [https://ethnicstudies.berkeley.edu/people/hatem-bazian/](https://ethnicstudies.berkeley.edu/people/hatem-bazian/)

182 “Who Are the Primary Groups behind the US anti-Israel Rallies?,” *ADL*, November 2023, [https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/who-are-primary-groups-behind-us-anti-israel-rallies](https://www.adl.org/resources/blog/who-are-primary-groups-behind-us-anti-israel-rallies)

183 Ibid.
He has come under scrutiny for making inflammatory statements against Israel and Jews.\textsuperscript{184} Importantly, his pivotal role in both SJP and AMP demonstrates the ideological links between these networks.

\textbf{Figure 13}: Image of an Orthodox Jewish man smiling and raising his arms above the caption: “I can now kill, rape, smuggle organs & steal the land of Palestinians.” Shared on Twitter by Bazian in 2017.\textsuperscript{185} This is one example of Bazian engaging in antisemitic and anti-Zionist propaganda.

\textit{Osama Abuirshaid}\textsuperscript{186}

Osama Abuirshaid is a Palestinian-American activist based in Chicago, whose associations reveal ongoing ties between the Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP) and AMP. Abuirshaid served as editor of the IAP’s \textit{Al-Zaytounah} newspaper in the 1990s and wrote articles praising Hamas and defending suicide bombings against Israelis.\textsuperscript{187} He was also a founding board member of AMP and has served as the national executive director of AMP since 2009.

AMP representatives participated in the organization’s annual “Palestine Advocacy Days” lobbying event in the US Congress on October 23-24, 2023, shortly after Hamas’s pogrom in Israel on October 7, 2023.\textsuperscript{188} It appears that, despite its ties to Hamas, AMP continues to enjoy a warm welcome from some members of Congress.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{184} “AMP Seeks to Coordinate Student anti-Israel Activity,” \textit{ADL}, December 21, 2010, \url{https://www.adl.org/resources/news/amp-seeks-coordinate-student-anti-israel-activity}
\item \textsuperscript{186} “HRW, Other NGOs Join ‘Apartheid’ Event, along with Hamas, Islamic Jihad, Hezbollah, PFLP,” \textit{NGO Monitor}, June 17, 2021, \url{https://www.ngo-monitor.org/hrw-apartheid-event-hamas-islamic-jihad-hezbollah-pflp/}
\item \textsuperscript{187} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{188} Benjamin Baird, “US Still Welcomes Hamas Lobby on Capitol Hill – Opinion,” \textit{Jerusalem Post}, November 9, 2023, \url{https://www.jpost.com/opinion/article-772317}
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Abuirshaid appeared in a photograph with a “Free Palestine” sign that had been placed above the nameplate of Democratic House Minority Leader Hakeem Jeffries, who has expressed support for Israel.\textsuperscript{189} AMP activists also participated in a disruptive “sit-in” in Jeffries’s office and plastered the entrance to the office with post-it notes featuring the names of Palestinian “martyrs.”\textsuperscript{190}

\textbf{Taher Herzallah}

Taher Herzallah is a Palestinian-American activist who serves as the Associate Director of Outreach and Grassroots Organizing for AMP.\textsuperscript{191} In this role, he coordinates AMP’s support for anti-Israel campus groups like SJP. This includes helping SJP chapters across the country obtain funding, materials and speakers to further their activism. Herzallah has been deeply involved in confrontational anti-Israel campaigns on college campuses, including appearing on a panel on BDS during Georgetown University SJP’s 2019 Israeli Apartheid Week.\textsuperscript{192}

While campus activism is considered constitutionally protected free speech, Herzallah’s rhetoric crosses lines by spreading unsubstantiated allegations and arguing that Zionism itself needs to be dismantled. By demonizing Israel as an illegitimate, racist state and excusing religious hatred against Jews, his messaging risks inciting discrimination and hostility against Jewish and Zionist students.

\textsuperscript{189} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{190} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{191} “Our Team,” AMP, \url{https://www.ampalestine.org/about-amp/our-team}
AMP and Americans for Justice in Palestine (AJP)

Americans for Justice in Palestine Educational Foundation (AJP) is a Palestinian-interests advocacy group and the fiscal sponsor of AMP.\(^{194}\)

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Figure 16: Same address registered for AJP and AMP: 6404 Seven Corners Place, Suite N, Falls Church, VA 22044, USA
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name and title</th>
<th>Average hours per week (list any hours for related organizations below dotted line)</th>
<th>Position (do not check more than one box, unless person is both an officer and a director/trustee)</th>
<th>Compensation for elected officers and directors</th>
<th>Compensation for key employees</th>
<th>Compensation for other employees</th>
<th>Total compensation</th>
<th>Estimated amount of other compensation from the organization and related organizations</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

Figure 17: AMP and AJP Annual Salaries 2021 (USD).\textsuperscript{196}

\textsuperscript{196} “AJP Educational Foundation Inc,” ProPublica, https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/271365284/202310939349300001/full
The Virginia Investigation

On October 31, 2023, Virginia Attorney General Jason Miyares announced that the Office of the Attorney General’s Consumer Protection Section had opened an investigation into AJP Educational Foundation Inc. for potential violations of Virginia’s charitable solicitation laws. AJP has its headquarters in Falls Church, Virginia.

AJP was placed under investigation for soliciting contributions in the Commonwealth before having registered correctly. In addition, allegations that the organization may have used funds raised for impermissible purposes under state law, namely benefiting or providing support to terrorist organizations, were also investigated.\(^\text{198}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Key Data from AJP’s Form 990 report (2021)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contributions and grants</td>
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<tr>
<td>Direct expenses to activities</td>
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<tr>
<td>General and management expenses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other expenses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Expenses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Employees with salaries</td>
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<tr>
<td>Volunteers</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 18**: Data from AJP’s Form 990 report (2021).\(^\text{199}\)

Deficiencies in AJP’s Form 990 Financial Reporting

As a 501(c)(3) entity, AJP must comply with strict IRS regulations relating to non-profit tax-exempt status. Key compliance obligations include:\(^\text{200}\)

- Refraining from political campaigning and limiting lobbying.
- Maintaining accurate financial records with proper oversight.
- Reporting all income sources and expenditures annually on Form 990.
- Utilizing funds solely for stated charitable purposes.

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198 Ibid.


In the Form 990 report (2021), revenue components were not disclosed:

In the Form 990 report (2021), there is a mismatch between the following reported items. Under federal and Virginia law, AJP must obtain independent audit statements. According to the form, there are no such statements:

In the Form 990 report (2021), there is a false lobbying disclosure:
As shown above, there are several discrepancies and/or omissions in AJP's Form 990 financial reporting for the year ending December 31, 2021, including:

- **Failure to provide audited financial statements**

  According to Virginia state law, audited financial statements must be submitted if annual revenue exceeds $1 million. Pursuant to federal regulations, audited financial statements must be submitted if federal grants received for the entity’s activities and paid through the entity exceed $750,000.
annually. On page 3, line 12a, it was reported that the entity did not include audited financial statements. On page 12, line 2b, it was reported that audited financial statements were not included. With contributions and grants revenue of $1,563,640, audited financial statements were required but not provided.

- **Discrepancies in source of support**
  On page 1, line 7, it was reported that a significant portion of support was from governmental or public sources. However, on page 2, line 14, it was stated that all support was from the public (100 percent).

- **Inadequate breakdown of contributions**
  On page 9, line 1f, and page 2, line 1, contribution revenue was reported as one total without the required breakdown.

- **Volunteer labor not disclosed**
  The entity used nine volunteers, equal to the number of 10 paid employees. Volunteer labor was neither reported in financials nor disclosed as required.

- **Lobbying activities misreported**
  On page 3, the entity reported that no lobbying activities occurred, but on page 10, line 11d, $52,500 in lobbying expenses were disclosed.

- **Insufficient program service details**
  On page 2, line 4a, only a general overview of activities was provided. Specific details and financial data on the three largest program services were not included.
Figure 20: Map of the connections between Hamas leaders and HLF and AMP. 201

It is clear that individuals who previously worked for Hamas-linked charities are now a driving force behind AMP and hence NSJP/SJP. It is imperative to comprehend the connections between the Muslim Brotherhood and AMP – in addition to the committed relationship between the Muslim Brotherhood and Qatar.

201 Ibid.
Figure 21: Flowchart explaining the transfer of activities from designated terrorist organizations to new organizations in the United States.\textsuperscript{202}

**The First Pillar: Finance**

There are clear efforts to obfuscate and hide financial information. Based on limited available information, it is difficult to definitively state the average yearly budget of a local SJP chapter. The funding sources for SJP chapters vary, with money potentially coming from:

- the university budget for student associations;
- member students;
- small donations (which do not fall under 501(c)(3)).

Individual SJP chapters receive different levels of monetary support from the above sources. Based on local campus factors, including chapter size, types of programming and events, and funding success with student governments or administrators. Smaller, less active chapters may operate on budgets closer to a few hundred or a few thousand dollars a year. Well-organized chapters at larger schools likely have access to larger amounts of annual funding, in the five-figure range.

Several universities are directly funding activities and campaigns undertaken by SJP. For example, Rutgers University Student Assembly gave over $20,000 to its SJP chapter for several events over the course of a year, according to a review of public records by *Campus Reform.*

In the Spring 2024 budget, SJP at Rutgers is due to receive $3,976.98 in student government funding for a “Palestinian History Day, Event and Teach-In” event. The group will also receive $868.70 in organizational maintenance funds. Clearly there are other funds available to the efforts of SJP at Rutgers that is not being reported through formal channels.

According to Greg McRay, fiscal sponsorship involves an existing 501(c)(3) non-profit entity offering to provide its tax-exemption and associated benefits to another entity, usually in the context of a charitable project. The project should generally be aligned with the overall mission of the sponsoring organization.

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Donors wishing to support the activity give directly to the sponsoring organization, designating their gift to the activity. Tax-deductibility of the gift is provided by the fact that the sponsor has 501(c)(3) status.207

National SJP and individual SJP branches on campuses across the United States are not registered as 501(c)(3) non-profit organizations. Therefore, they are not subject to laws requiring financial disclosure under 501(c)(3).

Since NSJP/SJP is involved with over 250 SJP chapters at US and Canadian universities, we believe that its interpretation of the relevant reporting requirements should be revised.

Several of the pro-Palestinian groups mentioned in this report use two main fiscal sponsors for donations and funding:

- **WESPAC Foundation:** “WESPAC Foundation has been a leading force for progressive social change in Westchester County, New York, since 1974.”208

- **Tides:** “Tides is a partner for justice in the social sector, working closely with doers and donors to build the power of historically excluded groups who face systemic barriers. We provide fiscal sponsorship, donor advised funds, impact investing, and a variety of grantmaking solutions to advance social justice and equity.”209

### WESPAC

WESPAC is a 501(c)(3) registered non-profit organization, located in Westchester, New York, and serves as the fiscal sponsor of NSJP.210 WESPAC’s 2021 revenue was $1.1 million, but most of its funding sources are not transparent. Public records show donations from foundations and charities run by donors. On its website, WESPAC presents itself as a progressive group for social justice that focuses on a wide array of local issues. Its funding report notes that NSJP does not publish transparent financial records since its campus chapters are not registered organizations.

In essence, **WESPAC enables NSJP to receive tax-deductible donations without transparently disclosing its funding sources or the extent of support given to NSJP. This allows NSJP to advance its goals on campuses without full financial transparency.**

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207 Ibid.
209 “About,” Tides, https://www.tides.org/about/
As NSJP’s main fiscal sponsor, WESPAC is largely responsible for its activities, while providing it with a legitimate façade for its actions.

WESPAC serves as a “fiscal sponsor” for the following organizations:

1. National Students for Justice in Palestine (NSJP)
2. US Palestinian Community Network (USPCN)
3. Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM)
4. Adalah New York
5. International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network (IJAN)
6. Palestine Freedom Project (PFP)

Figure 22: NSJP's donations go to Wespac Foundation Inc.

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Figure 23: Total 501(c) funding for AMP, AJP, SJP and WESPAC, as reported in an electronically filed Form 990 report.\textsuperscript{214}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{lrrrrr}
\hline
\textbf{Total Grant Amounts} & \textbf{AMP} & \textbf{Reach Education Fund/AMP} & \textbf{SJP} & \textbf{WESPAC} & \textbf{Total} \\
\hline
THE BAFRAYUNG FUND & $30,000 & $30,000 & & & \\
ELIAS FOUNDATION & $100,500 & $100,500 & & & \\
MORGAN STANLEY GLOBAL IMPACT FUNDING & $100,000 & $100,000 & & & \\
THE SPARKPLUG FOUNDATION & $97,700 & $97,700 & & & \\
NETWORK FOR GOOD & $49,366 & $47,865 & $97,231 & & \\
FIDELITY INVESTMENTS CHARITABLE GIFT FUND & $57,300 & $30,425 & $87,725 & & \\
ROCKEFELLER PHILANTHROPY ADVISORS INC & $80,000 & $80,000 & & & \\
OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE & $41,400 & $41,400 & & & \\
United Hands Relief Inc & $20,000 & $15,000 & $35,000 & & \\
Groundswell Fund & $32,500 & & $32,500 & & \\
THE ZAKAT FOUNDATION OF AMERICA & $25,000 & & $25,000 & & \\
UNITED MISSION FOR RELIEF & DEVELOPMENT & $25,000 & & $25,000 & \\
COMMON COUNSEL FOUNDATION & $25,000 & & $25,000 & & \\
AMERICAN ONLINE GIVING FOUNDATION INC & $22,504 & $30,425 & $87,725 & & \\
BAITULMAAL INC & $20,000 & & $20,000 & & \\
THE VIOLET JABARA CHARITABLE TRUST & $15,000 & & $15,000 & & \\
THE COMMUNITY FOUNDATION FOR GREATER & $15,000 & & $15,000 & & \\
SCHWAB CHARITABLE FUND & $12,655 & & $12,655 & & \\
MAXIMUM DIFFERENCE FOUNDATION & $10,000 & & $10,000 & & \\
AHED INTERNATIONAL INC & $11,000 & & $11,000 & & \\
GRASSROOTS INTERNATIONAL INC & $10,000 & & $10,000 & & \\
BARZINJI FAMILY FOUNDATION & $10,000 & & $10,000 & & \\
UNITED WAY OF WESTCHESTER AND PUTNAM INC & $7,577 & & $7,577 & & \\
Cultures of Resistance Network Foundation & $6,000 & & $6,000 & & \\
AMERICAN ENDOWMENT FOUNDATION & $5,685 & & $5,685 & & \\
PACIFICA FOUNDATION & $1,650 & $3,500 & $5,150 & & \\
MUTUAL OF AMERICA FOUNDATION & $5,000 & & $5,000 & & \\
THE DUPAGE COMMUNITY FOUNDATION & $5,000 & & $5,000 & & \\
THE BENJAMIN FUND INC & $3,500 & & $3,500 & & \\
EL-GAOUNY & LEE FOUNDATION & $3,000 & & $3,000 & & \\
Hope and Justice Educational Foundation & $1,500 & & $1,500 & & \\
Waleed B Ali Foundation & $2,500 & & $2,500 & & \\
THE FARHAN FOUNDATION & $1,500 & & $1,500 & & \\
THE AFR FOUNDATION & $1,000 & & $1,000 & & \\
THE DFL FOUNDATION & $1,000 & & $1,000 & & \\
OBD FAMILY FOUNDATION INC & $1,000 & & $1,000 & & \\
NATL CHRISTIAN CHARITABLE FDN INC & $1,000 & & $1,000 & & \\
KIBLAWI FOUNDATION & $500 & & $500 & & \\
MARNI & MORRIS PROPP II FAMILY FOUNDATION INC & $217 & & $217 & & \\
SAMR AND GRACE TUMA FOUNDATION & $200 & & $200 & & \\
THE HARTMAN FAMILY FOUNDATION & $160 & & $160 & & \\
AMAZONSMILE FOUNDATION & $34 & $114 & & & \\
Dasankop Family Foundation & $100 & & $100 & & \\
Amin & Rubina Chikhalia Foundation & $100 & & $100 & & \\
ICNA DALLAS & $- & & $- & & \\
\hline
\textbf{Total} & $269,322 & $1,236,518 & $1,650 & $966,518 & \\
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Figure 24: WESPAC organizes demonstrations with NSJP.\(^{215}\)

According to publicly available Form 990 reports, the fiscal sponsor of NSJP is WESPAC Foundation. WESPAC Foundation is a 501(c)(3) organization that has provided funding and support to multiple anti-Israel groups.\(^{216}\)

In recent years, WESPAC Foundation has reported a total of $1,236,518 in 501(c) funding allocated to American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), American Jews for Peace (AJP), SJP, and their own organization.\(^{217}\) Additionally, WESPAC has directly funded anti-Israel activities such as buses to transport anti-Israel protestors to demonstrations in the United States.\(^{218}\) The board chair of WESPAC, Howard Horowitz – a left-wing, anti-Zionist Jewish activist – has

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\(^{215}\) wespacefoundation, Instagram, November 2, 2023, https://www.instagram.com/p/CzKAXZRzsv/?hl=en


\(^{217}\) Ibid.

\(^{218}\) wespacefoundation, Instagram, November 2, 2023, https://www.instagram.com/p/CzKAXZRzsv/
described Israel’s actions as “genocidal.” Horowitz is additionally a member of the local chapter of the anti-Zionist Jewish Voice for Peace.

The breakdown of WESPAC funding to NSJP and other beneficiary entities is not publicly reported. However, given that WESPAC’s 501(c) annual funding was over $1.2 million recently, there is a reasonable basis to estimate that NSJP receives substantial financial support for its operations from this arrangement.

This funding flows through non-transparent 501(c)(3) sponsors like the WESPAC Foundation, which shares personnel with now-defunct organizations that were criminally convicted of financing Hamas terror activity. Millions of dollars in tax exempt donations also come from AMP/AJP and other allies with links to banned groups.

501(c)(3) non-profit organizations such as WESPAC, AMP/AJP, Palestine Legal, and their fiscal sponsors (such as Tides) provide over $3 million a year in funding to NSJP chapters and activities. Furthermore, notably, it has now been confirmed that JVP is being funded by AMP. The attorney of AMP Christina Jump denied any wrongdoing or links to Hamas, but confirmed that they give between $500 and $2,000 of grants to pro-Palestine student groups including SJP and JVP, for “tangible expenses for specified events, such as food or copying costs for specifically identified gatherings.”

Recurrent reporting gaps inhibit public accountability for the use of $3 million in tax-subsidized funds annually. The organizations’ partisan advocacy and oversight deficiencies – such as non-disclosure of lobbying expenses – risk revocation of tax-exempt status by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS).

Some of these organizations also fail transparency duties, including providing audited financial statements, detailing revenue sources, quantifying volunteer labor and accurately disclosing lobbying expenses.

219 “Donations to major pro-Palestinian groups go through this Jewish-chaired NY nonprofit,” The Times of Israel, February 2, 2024, https://www.timesofisrael.com/donations-to-major-pro-palestinian-groups-go-through-this-jewish-chaired-ny-nonprofit/
220 Ibid.
222 Josh Boswell, “Pro-Palestine campus group behind Columbia University protests received over $3million a year in funding from ‘charities’ linked to Hamas,” Daily Mail, May 1, 2024, https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-13363943/Pro-Palestine-group-Columbia-University-protests-funding-linked-Hamas.html
There needs to be greater transparency in this area, and the IRS should initiate an investigation to examine potential breaches.

Tides

Tides is a left-of-center organization that is part of the Tides Nexus collection of “pass-through” groups. Tides has been described as “a philanthropic partner and nonprofit accelerator dedicated to building a world of shared prosperity and social justice. Tides works at the nexus of funders, changemakers, and policy to solve society’s toughest problems: equality and human rights; sustainable environment; healthy individuals and communities; and quality education.”

Adalah Justice Project (Adalah)

The Adalah Justice Project (Adalah) is sponsored by the Tides Center and the WESPAC Foundation. Adalah is described as a grassroots anti-Israeli advocacy group, standing with the Palestinian people’s right to defend themselves.

Adalah is connected to the Adalah organization in Israel and works in the US to strengthen the connection between the Palestinian struggle and US social movements such as Black Lives Matter.

**Figure 25**: Adalah Israel\(^{228}\) and Adalah USA\(^{229}\) mentioned by MIT Coalition Against Apartheid (CAA), a pro-Palestinian chapter at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT).\(^{230}\)

**Bafraylung Fund**

Based on our analysis of publicly available IRS 990 Form filings of the Bafraylung Fund (BF) from 2018 – 2022, we identified $236,000 worth of grants, which directly funded SJP chapters, or are in collaboration with SJP chapters.

While not all of these funds went exclusively to NSJP, the organizations receiving these grants, such as Jewish Voice for Peace, the Arab American Action Network, the Arab Resource and Organizing Center, work closely with SJP and fund projects and initiatives in alignment with SJP's mission and activities in universities campuses.

In the 990 Form for 2022, a $20,000 grant was given Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM). In the 990 Forms for 2018-2021, the donation was directed TO WESPAC Foundation PYM for general operating.\(^{231}\) The WESPAC Foundation serves as the fiscal sponsor for both the NSJP\(^{232}\) and the PYM.\(^{233}\)

In reviewing the BF 990 Forms from 2018-2022, there exist donations to foundations that Tides Foundation is a fiscal sponsor for.\(^{234}\) The Tides Foundation is facing scrutiny from the House Ways and Means Committee for serving as a conduit to hide the identity of donors to its grantees.\(^{235}\)

In addition, there exist additional BF donations to The Tides Centre, which were received for the purpose of "General Operating."\(^{236}\)

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\(^{229}\) @AdalahJustice, “#EndTheSiegeOnGaza,” Twitter, July 21, 2023, [https://twitter.com/AdalahJustice/status/1682416691907641345](https://twitter.com/AdalahJustice/status/1682416691907641345)

\(^{230}\) @mit_caa, MIT Coalition Against Apartheid, Twitter, [https://twitter.com/mit_caa?lang=en](https://twitter.com/mit_caa?lang=en)

\(^{231}\) “Bafrayung Fund,” *ProPublica*, [https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578](https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578)

\(^{232}\) “Donate,” *NationalSJP*, [https://nationalsjp.org/donate](https://nationalsjp.org/donate)


\(^{234}\) In 2021, four donations totaled $140,000; “Bafrayung Fund,” *ProPublica*, [https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578](https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578)


\(^{236}\) In 2020: $30,000; in 2021: $155,000; in 2022: $30,000; “Bafrayung Fund,” *ProPublica*, [https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578](https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578)
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Figure 26: Funds from Bafrayung Fund (BF).

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237 Bafrayung Fund, ProPublica, [https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578](https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578)

238 Bafrayung Fund, ProPublica, [https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578](https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578)

239 Bafrayung Fund, ProPublica, [https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578/202131349349102173/full](https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578/202131349349102173/full)
Oversight Difficulties Caused by the Fluid Structure of SJP

Unlike traditional student groups, SJP chapters on university campuses do not operate as part of a centralized national organization with robust bylaws, leadership hierarchies, and binding platforms. Instead, they function independently as loose local networks.\textsuperscript{242}

This flexible, decentralized structure allows each SJP chapter to strategically adapt its messaging, activities, partnerships, and tactics to best resonate in their specific campus landscape. They can shift their emphasis fluidly, at times foregrounding human rights and non-violence when useful to expand their appeal, while in other contexts adopting a more confrontational and aggressive activities.\textsuperscript{243}

The informal organizational structure enhances discretion for local SJP activists, making it more difficult to track membership lists, donor information, and decision-making processes. Individuals can fade in and out of involvement informally without records, and identifying lines of authority or formality within SJP chapters is disguised.

This fluidity facilitates rapid adaptation and plausible deniability, while requiring minimal central coordination.

Based on our analysis, NSJP and SJP chapters should be viewed as a consolidated entity when investigating anti-Israel activities on university campuses.

The lack of a formal organizational structure enhances discretion for local SJP activists, making it harder to track membership lists, donor information, and decision-making processes. Individuals can fade in and out of involvement informally without records. This opaque and transient system poses challenges for groups like college administrators seeking to clearly identify lines of authority or formality within SJP chapters.

In essence, SJP operates akin to a social movement rather than an established organization. This fluidity facilitates rapid adaptation and plausible deniability, while requiring minimal central coordination. It allows antisemitic/anti-Israel sentiment to spread quickly between student groups under an SJP banner, but with no official national SJP entity ultimately responsible for their actions.

\textsuperscript{240} Bafrayung Fund, ProPublica, \url{https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578}

\textsuperscript{241} Bafrayung Fund, ProPublica, \url{https://projects.propublica.org/nonprofits/organizations/832811578}

\textsuperscript{242} “Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP),” ADL, October 19, 2023, \url{https://www.adl.org/resources/backgrounder/students-justice-palestine-sjp}

\textsuperscript{243} Ibid.
There are collaborative connections between geographically proximate SJP chapters on college campuses locally, regionally and nationally. Specifically, SJP groups in the same state or region work together to magnify the impact of their advocacy through coordinated anti-Israel demonstrations and events. Combining multiple SJP contingents from various universities helps concentrate their collective power, for example by staging amplified protests.

To demonstrate, below are examples of North American organizations which have provided donations and assistance to NSJP:

- **Palestinian Youth Movement** – Palestinian youth movement
- **ANSWER Coalition** – Act Now to Stop War and End Racism Coalition, a radical leftist US organization
- **The People’s Forum** – Radical leftist organization
- **Al-Awda** – Palestinian organization calling for the right of return
- **US Palestinian Coordination Network (USPCN)**
- **Arab American Association of New York (AMA)**
- **Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP)** – Radical leftist anti-Zionist Jewish organization
- **The Council on American-Islamic Relations (CAIR)** – US-based Muslim advocacy group. CAIR has represented SJP chapters at US universities, such as in November 2023, when CAIR represented the University of South Florida’s chapter of SJP. Notably, following October 7, 2023, the Head of CAIR, Nihad Awad, spoke of the massacre that he was “happy” to see Gazans “break the siege.”
- **Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM)** – Radical Palestinian youth movement
- **US Palestinian Community Network (USPCN)** – US-based Palestinian community network
- **Within Our Lifetime (WOL)** – Radical leftist group from the Palestinian community in New York
- **Party for Socialism and Liberation** – Political party

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247 Jacob Magid, “US Muslim leader ‘happy to see Gazans breaking siege on Oct. 7,’” *The Times of Israel*, December 7, 2023, [https://www.timesofisrael.com/us-muslim-leader-i-was-happy-to-see-gazans-breaking-the-siege-on-oct-7/](https://www.timesofisrael.com/us-muslim-leader-i-was-happy-to-see-gazans-breaking-the-siege-on-oct-7/)
The Second Pillar: Legal Aid

Founded in 2012, Palestine Legal is an independent organization that works closely with several other organizations, including the Center for Constitutional Rights and the National Lawyers Guild, to provide legal support to activists around the country.248

Palestine Legal is a fiscally sponsored project of the Tides Center, a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization. This fiscal sponsorship arrangement allows Palestine Legal to carry out its mission under the administrative and financial oversight of Tides.

Palestine Legal is a legal advocacy organization that provides support to anti-Israel activists in the United States, including SJP, Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP) and IfNotNow.

Palestine Legal’s activities include assistance with BDS campaigns; drafting campus BDS resolutions; tracking legislation targeting Palestinian advocacy; publishing guides for activists on staging protests, checkpoints, and marches; defending activists who make violent threats or antisemitic statements; campaigning against the adoption of the IHRA definition of antisemitism; and defending PFLP terrorists Rasmea Odeh and Leila Khaled.249

Palestine Legal is active on university campuses (as demonstrated in the case studies below) and publishes guides for students on avoiding lawsuits when organizing anti-Israel activities. Critics argue that, under the guise of free speech, it defends anti-Israel activism that can be regarded as antisemitic or supportive of extremism.

Palestine Legal lacks financial transparency.

Palestine Legal works closely with a number of organizations and individuals to provide legal support to Palestine activists, including:250

- The Center for Constitutional Rights (CCR) – The CCR is Palestine Legal’s founding partner.
- The National Lawyers Guild (NLG) – Palestine Legal work closely with NLG attorneys around the country, with the NLG’s Palestine

Subcommittee and with the National Executive Committee to provide advocacy support for the Palestine solidarity movement.

- Advancing Justice – Asian Law Caucus (ALC) – The ALC partners with Palestine Legal in an effort to guarantee that Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian students’ civic engagement on campus is not undermined in the post-9/11 environment.

**Palestine Solidarity Legal Support (PSLS)**

In collaboration with the National Lawyers Guild (NLG) and other organizations, groups and individuals, the CCR established the Palestine Solidarity Legal Support (PSLS) initiative to protect and advance the constitutional rights of Palestinian rights activists across the United States.  

PSLS is a fiscally sponsored project of the Tides Center, a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization.  

As a 501(c)(3) entity, Tides is legally obligated to comply with IRS regulations relating to its non-profit tax-exempt status. Its sponsored projects, which include Palestine Legal and PSLS, are likewise expected to follow these rules, which include refraining from political campaigning and limiting lobbying, reporting all income sources and expenditures annually using Form 990, and utilizing funds solely for stated charitable purposes.

**Violations of Key Legal Obligations**  

As 501(c)(3) tax-exempt charities, organizations like ActBlue (through which donations to Palestine Legal are made), Palestine Legal and NLG Chicago must adhere to strict IRS and state regulations governing their conduct. However, evidence suggests potential violations of these key legal duties:

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• **Refraining from partisan campaigning and limiting lobbying** – Legal analysis indicates ActBlue blatantly engages in political campaign funding and lobbying beyond permitted thresholds. Palestine Legal and NLG Chicago also appear to exceed appropriate advocacy levels in their polarizing Israel-Palestinian activism.²⁵⁵

• **Maintaining accurate financial records** – Concerns exist over accounting and oversight processes, especially in relation to foreign donations reaching terror-affiliated groups.

• **Utilizing funds solely for approved charitable purposes** – Funding overtly political campaigns, transmitting donations to questionable overseas charities, and granting subsidies to extremist campus networks contradict the declared non-profit missions of the organizations concerned. This merits regulatory investigation.

Additionally, involvement in boycott or “cancel culture” tactics aimed at harming Israel or its supporters potentially places these organizations in breach of public policy standards for lawful conduct by charities. Systematic discrimination should face strict scrutiny.²⁵⁶

Palestine Legal, the NLG and the CCR wrote a letter to congressional representatives regarding a potential vote on military aid to Israel.²⁵⁷ In this letter, they argued that providing military aid to Israel could incur legal liability for aiding and abetting genocide, war crimes and crimes against humanity under international law.

According its website, Palestine Legal is a fiscally sponsored project of the Tides Center, a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization.²⁵⁸ Palestine Legal does not currently have its own 501(c)(3) non-profit status but is required to adhere to its agreement with the Tides Center, which does. Like the Tides Center, Palestine Legal cannot be involved in political campaigns by advocating for any candidate for office to be elected or supported. Political campaign activity is distinct from legislative advocacy and lobbying. Entities with 501(c)(3) status can engage in advocacy and lobbying but only in accord with IRS laws and regulations, which limit the amount of staff and resources that can be used for such activities. Although these percentages are not laid down in law, typically any amount under 5 percent of an entity’s budget is


²⁵⁸ “About,” Palestine Legal, https://palestinelegal.org/about
acceptable for lobbying purposes, but amounts above 16-20 percent of the budget raise questions concerning the lobbying activities of the entity and can trigger a review by the IRS. These findings (one of many instances) may well warrant an impartial investigation by the IRS into the resources of Palestine Legal and the Tides Center that are being used for lobbying and other legislative advocacy.

As a fiscally sponsored project, Palestine Legal should maintain a clear separation between its operations and finances and those of the Tides Center. Evidence indicates potential resource sharing and comingling that dilutes independence. This intertwining threatens both entities’ tax-exempt status. The Tides Center is obligated to maintain discretion and oversight over funds raised under its fiscal sponsorship of Palestine Legal. Yet it remains unclear whether Tides exercises adequate control, as it is required to do in order to retain its tax exemption. While Palestine Legal provides valuable rights protections, some tactics like aggressive protesting may be construed as contrary to 501(c)(3) charitable requirements in terms of serving the public interest. Such activity endangers its IRS standing.

![Diagram showing the structure of Tides, Palestine Legal, and associated organizations.

Figure 27: Palestine Legal structure.](image)

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259 “Palestine Legal,” NGO Monitor, [https://www.ngo-monitor.org/ngos/palestine_legal/](https://www.ngo-monitor.org/ngos/palestine_legal/)
In summary, substantial evidence indicates that there may well be substantial non-compliance with legal duties intended to govern non-profit behavior. **While Palestine Legal may provide valuable legal advocacy, it may be necessary to question whether it has exceeded the permitted amount of staff time and resources it devotes to advocacy and legislative activism. This could jeopardize the Tides Center’s 501(c)(3) status and the fiscal sponsorship that Palestine Legal currently enjoys.**

**Case Studies of Palestine Legal**

Palestine Legal’s efforts demonstrate a pattern of attempting to shield activists from accountability for unlawful conduct, including discrimination and intimidation based on national origin (anti-Israel activism).

1. **Case Name: Lokas v. George Washington University**
   - **Date:** December 2, 2022
   - **Parties Involved:** Palestine Legal is representing Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) and its president Lance Lokas in a disciplinary hearing at George Washington University. GW SJP and Lokas were charged with damaging property after putting up posters criticizing an Israeli military operation.

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officer who was hosted by the local branch of the Hillel Jewish campus organization. Palestine Legal argues that SJP’s actions were legal and common activism and that the personal charges against Lokas are discriminatory.

2. **Case name:** University of California Berkeley  
   **Date:** October 18, 2022  
   **Main topics:**
   A. Support for UC Berkeley law students facing attacks over pledge not to host speakers supporting Israeli apartheid. Palestine Legal attorneys were quoted in the media defending students’ free speech rights.  
   B. Promotion of a webinar on October 19, 2022, on the IHRA definition of antisemitism, featuring Palestine Legal’s Advocacy Manager Lina Assi.  
   C. Expression of solidarity with Palestinian communities under siege by Israeli military, including Shu’fat refugee camp and West Bank communities facing mass arrests and repression. In a newsletter, Palestine Legal expresses support for activism and civil disobedience against the Israeli occupation, calls out allegedly false accusations of antisemitism by Israel lobby groups and promotes Palestine Legal’s advocacy work.

3. **Case Name:** State Orders Universities to Disband pro-Palestinian Student Group  
   **Date:** October 25, 2023  
   **Parties Involved:** Florida Governor Ron DeSantis, Florida University System. DeSantis ordered universities to ban the pro-Palestinian student group Students for Justice in Palestine, alleging illegal support of the militant Hamas group.

4. **Case Name:** Rodrigues Order Spurs First Amendment Fight  
   **Date:** November 20, 2023  
   **Parties Involved:** University of Florida Students for Justice in Palestine, Florida University System Chancellor Ray Rodrigues. The University of Florida Students for Justice in Palestine group filed a lawsuit challenging an order targeting pro-Palestinian organizations. The lawsuit alleges violations of the organization’s First Amendment rights.

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263 #StandWithBerkeleyLSJP, *Palestine Legal Mailchimp*, October 18, 2022, [https://mailchi.mp/palestinelegal/berkeley-media?bclid=1wAR3sNRRdBM3c6spXT45meo9MaOATslyvW9UQ8o4Xm4fQ0wp%2032/273Stx0iGt9KV](https://mailchi.mp/palestinelegal/berkeley-media?bclid=1wAR3sNRRdBM3c6spXT45meo9MaOATslyvW9UQ8o4Xm4fQ0wp%2032/273Stx0iGt9KV)


265 Ibid.
5. **Case Name**: Conservative Group Sends Mobile Billboards to Harass Berkeley Law Students
   
   **Date**: January 18, 2023
   
   **Parties Involved**: Accuracy in Media Group, UC Berkeley Law Students. A conservative group harassed Berkeley law students at their Texas homes over adopting a bylaw excluding Zionist speakers from campus events. This followed an antisemitism complaint.

6. **Case Name**: Berkeley Law Facing Complaint Alleging Antisemitism
   
   **Date 1**: December 27, 2022
   **Date 2**: December 21, 2022
   

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The Third Pillar: Campaigning

Force multipliers like the US Campaign for Palestine Rights (USCPR), AMP, WESPAC and SJP assist NSJP in advancing events and activities on campus to demonize Israel during advocacy weeks and stifle dissent.

The US Campaign for Palestinian Rights (USCPR) was founded in 2001, as a “national coalition working to end all US support for Israel’s military occupation and apartheid policies toward Palestinians.” The organization, formerly known as the US Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation (ETO), is a coalition of anti-Israel organizations that lobbies the US government to end support for Israel and adopt policies against it.

Members of the USCPR’s leadership, including Executive Director Yousef Munayyer, a Palestinian-American, have spread unsupported allegations of Israeli discrimination, and Director of Grassroots Organizing, Ramah Kudaimi, has called for Israel’s destruction. USCPR aids campus groups in promoting divestment resolutions against Israel, pressures artists to cancel performances in Israel and has supported the defense of convicted terrorist Rasmea Odeh. Odeh was convicted in Israel of masterminding two deadly bombings in 1969 before lying on US immigration forms about her past.

In 2019, USCPR shifted from a formal coalition to a looser network to remove barriers to entry and work more flexibility with groups that may not focus specifically on Palestinian rights but share the goal of opposing oppression. As views critical of Israel become more mainstream, USCPR aims to provide a political home for Palestinian rights activism without excluding newer or under-resourced groups.

On its website, the USCPR has mapped 328 groups and organizations that are affiliated with the USCPR, including 37 SJP chapters and various AMP affiliates.

On its website, USCPR states that, “the parallels between the United States and Israel run deep. Both countries were founded as European settler colonies,”

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273 Ibid.
colonial outposts, created through the ethnic cleansing of native peoples in order to gain control of maximum land and resources for a white ruling class. European settlers arrived in both Turtle Island (the pre-Columbian name for North America) and Palestine not to live in harmony with the native population, but to replace them. Through systematic dispossession, forced relocation, and massacres, native populations were killed and exiled, their holy sites desecrated, and their communities terrorized by military occupations.  

USCPR draws concerning parallels between the founding of the United States and Israel, portraying both as unjust European colonialism and ethnic cleansing. However, the complex histories of these countries warrant more nuanced analysis. By accusing both states of founding and maintaining systems of colonial oppression, the rhetoric risks justifying harm against civilians in the name of “resistance.”

Policy Recommendations

Comprehensive action across regulatory, legal, and academic avenues is needed to enforce existing prohibitions against the extremist and antisemitic conduct of NSJP/SJP. Allowing these activities to continue unobstructed will facilitate radicalization and unlawful harassment, which is growing at alarming rates nationwide.

Based on this lengthy report, we offer the follow recommendations:

1. A congressional hearing should be convened immediately to investigate how NSJP/SJP operates, examine its links to terrorist entities such as Hamas and other key individuals and determine whether it should be allowed to continue operating on campus.

2. Since October 7, 2023, most SJP chapters have praised Hamas for its slaughter, rape and abduction of citizens in Israel. Several SJP chapters have openly declared themselves to be part of Hamas which has been designated as a terror organization by the United States, the United Kingdom, and numerous other countries. NSJP/SJP should be designated as an organization that promotes hatred and antisemitism and be treated accordingly.

3. The Department of Education (DoE) should carry out an immediate investigation into which universities are funding and/or supporting NSJP/SJP activities and instruct those universities to cease such funding and/or support.

4. Universities should follow the example set by Brandeis University and George Washington University and suspend all NSJP/SJP activities on campus until a formal review is carried out and the DoE issues guidelines on how these organizations should be viewed.

5. States should follow the example set by the State of Florida and ban the SJP chapters at their state universities.

6. The Department of Justice (FBI) should open a formal investigation into American Muslims for Palestine (AMP), one of the founding organizations of NSJP/SJP, on the charge of potential material support for terrorism under 18 U.S. Code § 2339B. The law prohibits knowingly providing material support to foreign terrorist organizations, including resources, personnel, facilities and services.
7. Greater transparency is required from fiscal sponsors, and the IRS should investigate whether such entities are acting in contravention of charitable regulations and reporting requirements.

8. Based on the congressional hearings relating to Columbia University, Harvard University, MIT and the University of Pennsylvania, it is clear that Jewish students and faculty currently face threats of violence, as well as a risk of their academic work and studies subsequently being affected. There is a need for physical security and for local and other police to safeguard these members of the university body against threats and intimidations led by SJP and their allies. ISGAP calls for SJP (and its affiliated organizations) to be banned from university campuses and for Jewish students to be protected.