

**Scholars for Peace in the Middle East Presentation to John B. Oakley Chair,
Academic Senate, University of California**

January 29, 2007

- I. **The Problem**: University of California Policies of The Board of Regents and the Academic Personnel Manual are being violated with impunity on many UC college campuses, creating a potentially hostile environment for Jewish and pro-Israel students, in conflict with the recently issued guidelines by the US Civil Rights Commission, in potential violation of the federal civil rights law (Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964), and at times, bordering on anti-Semitism in effect, if not intent. The governance of the UC system has ignored these violations and thereby tacitly condoned them. The consequence of these violations is both short-term and long-term damage to individual students and to the credibility and integrity of the entire UC system. UC already bears the stigma of being the first state university system to have one of its universities as the subject of a first-ever Title VI investigation by the federal government (the Office for Civil Rights in the U.S. Dept. of Education).

II. **Evidentiary Material**

A. **Anti-Israel/anti-Zionist political advocacy and bias in classrooms, at departmentally-sponsored events and in departmental publications and websites**

1. **In the classroom**

- a. **UCB**: A graduate student instructor titled his section of a class on remedial writing “The Politics and Poetics of Palestinian Resistance” and wrote a course description which vilified Israel and ended with the sentence: “Conservative thinkers are encouraged to seek other sections”. The course description was subsequently modified and this last sentence omitted, but the revised course description and the course reading list, which were both approved by senior UC Berkeley faculty members and administrators, projected a clear anti-Israel bias. (See **Appendix 1** for original and revised course descriptions and the approved reading list of this course).

- b. **UCD:** In a unit on Israel and the Middle East, the professor of a History class on world history assigned only anti-Israel readings and would not allow students to use other sources for class assignments. (See **Appendix 2** for student testimony).
- c. **UCLA:** The course content of a History class on the Arab-Israeli Conflict, taught by a professor who announced his antipathy towards Israel on the first day of class, had a clear anti-Israel bias. (See **Appendix 3** for UCLA Professor's review of course text).
- d. **UCSB:** A professor of a History class on the history of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict was described by her students as being extremely biased, "blatantly anti-Israel" and that "her goal was to propagandize and brainwash". (See **Appendix 4** for student reviews).
- e. **UCSB:** A teacher workshop funded under Title VI of the Higher Education Act, held by the Middle East Studies Center of UC Santa Barbara, distributed materials that had a clear anti-Israel bias and were lacking in balance and academic rigor. (See **Appendix 5** for excerpts from article "AJ Congress Title VI Petition")
- f. **UCSC:** a Community Studies class on "The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict" had a clear anti-Israel bias in its content and readings, and the instructor encouraged students via the class website to engage in anti-Israel activities. (See **Appendix 6** for student testimony, review of course texts and documentation from website).
- g. **UCSC:** The professor of a Community Studies class on women's health activism invited into the class a guest lecturer who gave a slide presentation and discussed the brutal and ruthless way Israeli soldiers treat Palestinians. The presentation, which ran for a full class period, had no thematic connection to the course. (See **Appendix 7** for student testimony).

2. At departmentally-sponsored events

- a. **UCB:** of 30 events that had to do with the Arab-Israeli conflict sponsored by the Center for Middle East Studies from fall 2001 to fall 2006, 28 had a clear anti-Israel bias or were presentations by well-known critics of Israel. (See **Appendix 8** for list of events).
- b. **UCD:** All of the speakers in a panel discussion, “*Cycles of Violence in the Long Hot Summer of 2006: Israel, Palestine and Lebanon*”, co-sponsored by the Department of Political Science, the Program in Middle East/South Asia Studies, the Program in Jewish Studies and the Institute for Governmental Affairs, were unreservedly critical of Israel (See **Appendix 9** for letter from three UC Davis faculty to the Chancellor about this event).
- c. **UCSB:** Several events sponsored by the Middle Eastern Studies Center that had to do with Israel or the Arab-Israeli conflict from winter 2002 to fall 2006 had a clear anti-Israel bias or were presentations by well-known critics of Israel. (See **Appendix 10** for list of events).
- d. **UCSC:** Several events dealing with the Israeli-Palestinian conflict sponsored by the departments of Politics, Community Studies, and Feminist (Women’s) Studies, as well as the Center for Global and International Research Studies, the Center for Justice, Community and Tolerance, and Cultural Studies, were biased against Israel (See **Appendix 11** for list of events and departmental sponsors).

3. In departmental publications or websites demonizing Israel or misstating historical facts

- a. **UCSC:** “The Wave 2002”, newsletter of Women’s Studies, contained two articles with anti-Israel bias. (See **Appendix 12** for review of newsletter)
- b. **UCD:** The MESA website lists Palestine as one of 22 countries that comprise the Middle East.

4. Stifling of academic freedom/free speech:

- a. **UCSC:** refusal by several departments to co-sponsor 3 different speakers with legitimate alternative perspectives on the Middle East, or to announce to students (**Appendix 13** for Ilan Benjamin’s testimony).
- b. **UCSC:** A student witnessed a professor pulling down flyers on campus advertising a talk about Palestinian children being trained as suicide bombers. Academic charges were filed against the professor, but the charges were dismissed by the Senate Charge Committee. (See **Appendix 14** for student testimony)

B. Hostile/intimidating environment and discrimination against Jewish and pro-Israel students

1. Links between anti-Israelism/anti-Zionism and anti-Semitism: The U.S., the United Kingdom, and the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe now define anti-Israelism/anti-Zionism, when it demonizes and delegitimizes Israel, or attacks Israel with classic anti-Semitic stereotypes, as anti-Semitism.

- a. **The U.S. Department of State in their Global Anti-Semitism Report, 2005, mandated by the Global Anti-Semitism Review Act of Congress of 2004,** defined anti-Semitism as: “hatred toward Jews individually and as a group that can be attributed to the Jewish religion and/or ethnicity. An important issue is the distinction between legitimate criticism of policies and practices of the State of Israel, and commentary that assumes an anti-Semitic character. The demonization of Israel, or vilification of Israeli leaders, sometimes through comparisons with Nazi leaders, and through the use of Nazi symbols to caricature them, indicates an anti-Semitic bias rather than a valid criticism of policy concerning a controversial issue. Global anti-Semitism in recent years has had four main sources... (one of which is) strong anti-Israel sentiment that crosses the line between objective criticism of Israeli policies and anti-Semitism.”
- b. **United States Commission on Civil Rights, Report on Campus Anti-Semitism, July 2006:** “On many campuses, anti-Israeli or anti-Zionist

propaganda has been disseminated that includes traditional anti-Semitic elements, including age-old anti-Jewish stereotypes and defamation. This has included, for example...anti-Zionist propaganda that exploits ancient stereotypes of Jews as greedy, aggressive, overly powerful, or conspiratorial. Such propaganda should be distinguished from legitimate discourse regarding foreign policy. Anti-Semitic bigotry is no less morally deplorable when camouflaged as anti-Israelism or anti-Zionism.”

- c. **All Party United Kingdom Parliamentary Inquiry into Antisemitism** (<http://thepeca.org/report.pdf>): “While criticism of Israel - often hard-hitting in the rough and tumble of student politics - is legitimate, the language of some speakers too often crosses the line into generalised attacks on Jews.”
- d. **Working Definition of Anti-Semitism from the Organization of Security and Cooperation in Europe, with 55 participating states including the United States** includes: “denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, e.g. by claiming that the existence of the State of Israel is a racist endeavor; applying double standards by requiring of it a behavior not expected or demanded of any other democratic nation; using the symbols and images associated with classic anti-Semitism... to characterize Israel or Israelis.”
- e. **2003 Annual Report of the Stephen Roth Institute for the Study of Contemporary Anti-Semitism and Racism**: “In the last three years the link between extreme anti-Israel rhetoric and deeds directed against Jewish individuals and communities has become an observable global trend, manifested in two ways: The first is blaming the Jews for Israel’s actions... Since Jews and Israel are perceived as a single evil entity, any Jew has become a potential target. The second is the integration of anti-Semitic stereotypes and Nazi vocabulary into the anti-Israel campaign.”

2. **Anti-Semitic acts on UC campuses (See Appendix 15 for anti-Semitic incidents reported to the Anti-Defamation League 2001 - 2006)**
3. **University of California student testimonies of hostile/intimidating environments in classrooms and on campus (See Appendix 16)**
4. **Legal complaint against UC Irvine for discrimination against Jewish students in violation of Title VI, U.S. 1964 Civil Rights Act (See Appendix 17 for excerpts from the complaint).**

III. The Violations:

- A. **Anti-Israel/anti-Zionist political advocacy and bias in classrooms, at departmentally-sponsored events and in University supported newsletters and websites, in violation of**
 1. **The Policy on Course Content of The Regents of the University of California, approved June 19, 1970 and amended September 22, 2005:** They (The Regents) are responsible to ensure that public confidence in the University is justified. And they are responsible to see that the University remain aloof from politics and never function as an instrument for the advance of partisan interest. Misuse of the classroom by, for example, allowing it to be used for political indoctrination, for purposes other than those for which the course was constituted, or for providing grades without commensurate and appropriate student achievement, constitutes misuse of the University as an institution.”
 2. **Directive issued by Charles J. Hitch, President of the University of California, September 18, 1970, "Restrictions on the Use of University Resources and Facilities for Political Activities"(still in effect):**
 - a. “The name, insignia, seal, or address of the University or any of its offices or units shall not be used for or in connection with political purposes or activity except as consistent with University regulations.”
 - b. “In correspondence, statements, or other material relating to political activities or issues, the University title of a faculty or staff member shall be

used only for identification: if such identification might reasonably be construed as implying the support, endorsement, or opposition of the University with regard to any political activity or issue, the identification shall be accompanied by an explicit statement that the individual is speaking for himself and not as a representative of the university or any of its offices or units.”

- c. “University equipment, supplies, and services--- duplicating machines, telephones, mail and messenger services, vehicles, computers, stationery, and other equipment, supplies or services---shall not be used for or in connection with political purposes or activities.”

3. **Academic Personnel Policy (APM) 015 - Faculty Code of Conduct:** Types of unacceptable conduct: “Unauthorized use of University resources or facilities on a significant scale for personal, commercial, **political**, or religious purposes.”
4. **Academic Personnel Policy (APM) 010 Academic Freedom 1934 – 2003 (The following was removed in 2003 in response to the controversy surrounding a politically motivated and politically biased writing course at UC Berkeley in 2002, “The Politics and Poetics of Palestinian Resistance”):** “The function of the university is to seek and to transmit knowledge and to train students in the processes whereby truth is to be made known. To convert, or to make converts, is alien and hostile to this dispassionate duty. Where it becomes necessary, in performing this function of a university, to consider political, social, or sectarian movements, they are dissected and examined, not taught, and the conclusion left, with no tipping of the scales, to the logic of the facts... In order to protect [academic] freedom, the University assumes the right to prevent exploitation of its prestige by... those who would use it as a platform for propaganda.”
5. **Preamble to APM-015:** “The University seeks to provide and sustain an environment conducive to sharing, extending, and critically examining knowledge and values, and to furthering the search for wisdom.”
6. **APM-010:** “The University also seeks to foster in its students a mature independence of mind, and this purpose cannot be achieved unless students and faculty are free within the

classroom to express the widest range of viewpoints in accord with the standards of scholarly inquiry and professional ethics.”

B. Intimidation of and discrimination against Jewish and pro-Israel students in violation of:

1. **APM-015:** “Discrimination, including harassment, against a student on political grounds, or for reasons of race, religion, sex, sexual orientation, ethnic origin, national origin, ancestry, marital status, medical condition, status as a covered veteran, or, within the limits imposed by law or University regulations, because of age or citizenship or for other arbitrary or personal reasons.”
2. **The U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights, responsible for enforcing Title VI, 1964 Civil Rights Law,** states that Jewish students, on the basis of national origin, must be protected under federal law from actions that could create a hostile, anti-Semitic environment. Their dictum is buttressed by the recent recommendations of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.

IV. Consequences

- A. The core values of the university system, as adumbrated by the Regents decades ago, are undermined by these violations. This ineluctably erodes the quality of education, and thereby the future viability of the university and its competitive excellence as well.
- B. Because these violations involve infringements upon students’ rights per the USCCR findings (esp. recommendations # III and IV), and guidelines in APM-010 and APM-015, and federal civil rights guidelines, failure to correct these violations could impact federal funding for the UC system.

V. Our Recommendations

We respectfully request:

- A. ***The implementation of the following recommendations of the United States Civil Rights Commission on each UC campus:***
 1. **USCCR Recommendation III: “Colleges and universities should ensure that students are protected from actions that could create a hostile anti-Semitic environment. University**

leadership should set a moral example and denounce anti-Semitic and other hate speech”:

- a. *Issue an Academic Senate resolution defining anti-Semitism that includes demonization and delegitimization of Israel and Zionism, condemning it, and outlining the faculty’s responsibility for ensuring that the campus is free of anti-Semitism.*
- b. *Issue a request to UC President Dynes to issue such a statement on behalf of UC Administration.*

2. USCCR Recommendation IV: “Colleges and universities should ensure that all academic departments maintain academic standards and respect intellectual diversity. Federal funds should not be used in a way that supports discriminatory conduct”:

- a. *Issue an Academic Senate resolution reiterating the prohibition against the politicization of the classroom and university-sponsored events, stated in APM 015.*
- b. *Implement an educational initiative among faculty that educates faculty as to what constitutes violations of APM 015 prohibiting the use of university auspices for political advocacy and discriminatory behavior against students.*
- c. *Re-evaluate the changes made to APM 010 in 2003 in light of the USCCR recommendations, with particular consideration to the way in which the absence of the deleted paragraphs may lead to a diminution of academic standards as well as discriminatory behavior in violation of both APM 015 and Title VI.*
- d. *Issue a directive to faculty on each UC Campus to review course descriptions and course materials in the Humanities, Social Sciences and other curriculums in which issues are raised about Israel and Zionism, whether central or peripheral to the course description, to ensure that courses are forums for intellectual inquiry and that the full range of legitimate scholarly views about Israel and Zionism is presented. When academic units sponsor or co-sponsor outside speakers, the academic units*

also should ensure that the full range of scholarly views are presented.

- B. *Appoint an independent task force to implement the USCCR recommendations, and to monitor the implementation on each UC campus.***

Appendix 1

Original and revised course description and course reading list for “The Politics and Poetics of Palestinian Resistance”, a section of English R1A taught in fall 2002 at UC Berkeley

Both the revised course description and the approved reading list of English R1A “The Politics and Poetics of Palestinian Resistance” were reviewed and approved by senior members of UC Berkeley faculty and administration, yet both show an unambiguous anti-Israel bias:

1) Course description

Original Course Description: Since the inception of the *Intifada* in September of 2000, Palestinians have been fighting for their right to exist. The brutal Israeli military occupation of Palestine, an occupation that has been ongoing since 1948, has systematically displaced, killed, and maimed millions of Palestinian people. And yet, from under the brutal weight of the occupation, Palestinians have produced their own culture and poetry of resistance. This class will examine the history of the Palestinian resistance and the way that it is narrated by Palestinians in order to produce an understanding of the Intifada and to develop a coherent political analysis of the situation. This class takes as its starting point the right of Palestinians to fight for their own self-determination. Conservative thinkers are encouraged to seek other sections.

Revised Course Description (approved by the UC Berkeley Academic Senate):

This is a course on Palestinian resistance poetry. It takes as its point of departure the Palestinian literature that has developed since the creation of the state of Israel in 1948, which has displaced, maimed, and killed many Palestinian people. The Israeli military occupation of historic Palestine has caused unspeakable suffering. Since the occupation, Palestinians have been fighting for their right to exist. And yet, from under the weight of this occupation, Palestinians have produced their own culture and poetry of resistance. This class will examine the history of the Palestinian resistance and the way that it is narrated by Palestinians. This class takes as its conceptual starting point the right of Palestinians to fight for their own self-determination. Discussions about the literature will focus on several intersecting themes: how are Palestinian artists able to imagine art under the occupation; what consequences does resistance have on the character of the art that is produced (i.e., why are there so few Palestinian epics and plays and comedies); can one represent the Israeli occupation in art; what is the difference between political art and propaganda and how do the debates about those terms inflect the production of literature; how do poems represent the desire to escape and the longing for home simultaneously (alternatively, how do poems represent the nation without a state); what consequence do political debates have on formal innovations and their reproduction; and what are the obligations of artists in representing the occupation? This 1A course offers students frequent practice in a variety of forms of discourse leading toward exposition and argumentation in common standard English. The course aims at continuing to develop the students' practical fluency with sentence, paragraph, and thesis-development skills but

with increasingly complex applications. Students will be assigned a number of short essays (two to four written pages) and several revisions.

2) Course Reading list

The following books, which were on the course reading list, were read by Chancellor Berdahl, the Dean of Arts and Humanities, the Chair of the English Department and other senior administrators and faculty members. All believe that these books are appropriate material for the purpose of this section:

Men in the Sun and Other Palestinian Stories, Ghassan Kanafani; *Born Black*, Suheir Hammad; *Drops of This Story*, Suheir Hammad; *Enemy of the Sun*, Naseer Hasan Aruri; *The Adam of Two Edens : Selected Poems*, Mahmud Darwish; *Memory for Forgetfulness : August, Beirut, 1982*, Mahmud Darwish; *Victims of a Map : A Bilingual Anthology of Arabic Poetry*, Mahmud Darwish; *Image and Reality of the Israel-Palestine Conflict*, Norman G. Finkelstein; *The Question of Palestine*, Edward W. Said; *Blaming the Victims: Spurious Scholarship and the Palestinian Question*, Edward W. Said; *The Politics of Dispossession: The Struggle for Palestinian Self-Determination, 1969-1994*, Edward W. Said; *Intifada*, Phil Marshall.

Appendix 2

Student testimony regarding anti-Israel bias in a UC Davis World History class

In my very first quarter at UCD (Fall 2004), I took History 4c, a World History course which is required for the International Relations Major. The instructor, Professor Hagen, made it clear from the outset that we would not be allowed to use sources outside the ones he assigned. When we came to the unit on Israel and the Middle East, he assigned two readings: An essay by Edward Said, a noted anti-Israel academic, and a personal account of tragedy by a Palestinian woman. Clearly, he had a political agenda by telling the class that these two readings were representative of the Israeli/Palestinian situation as a whole. In addition, I remember him stating in class several times that Israel was just one example of European colonialism and its negative effects on indigenous populations. By refusing to allow students to bring in contrary evidence, not only was he openly trying to force students to write an anti-Israel essay, he was violating the principles of academic responsibility and the free exchange of ideas which are supposed to characterize the University. I was shocked. I refused to write the paper, and I got a C in the class.

Appendix 3

Review by UC Los Angeles Professor of course text of a UCLA History class on the origins of the Arab-Israeli conflict

Review of James Gelvin "The Israel-Palestinian Conflict" (This book is approved as an undergraduate text by the academic senate, and is used as the textbook by about 90 students each year.)

This book has all the facade of a "balanced" view of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict but, in fact, the title is misleading. A more appropriate title would be: "The Israel-Palestinian Conflict from an anti-Israeli viewpoint "

About the author:

James Gelvin is a professor of history at UCLA. He is long known among UCLA students as a passionate anti-Israel advocate, resentful of both pro-Israel students and students who question his biased assumptions in class. One Israeli-born student has complained about persistent intimidation by Gelvin. Another told this reviewer that, in the first meeting of his class, Gelvin instructed students to refrain from reading unassigned material: "to avoid confusion". Among student comments, we find: "He announces his view against Israel on the first day of class," "Gelvin is a very knowledgeable yet very biased man," writes another. "You should avoid Gelvin if there is anyway you can take this class with another prof."

(www.bruinwalk.com/professorprofile.asp?ID=145)

Gelvin is a non-speaker of Hebrew and Arabic, ignorant of much of Jewish literature and history. He relies on secondary sources which are carefully filtered by political considerations, perhaps influenced by his marriage to a Palestinian. In 2002 he was one of a dozen UCLA professors who signed a petition calling for the University of California to divest itself from any companies doing business in Israel; He has signed a letter to the Chancellor, objecting to the establishment of Israel Studies at UCLA.

To create a facade of "balance," Gelvin selects elements from both the Israeli and the Palestinian narratives and intersperses them in various chapters so that neither side could feel unrepresented. The chapter titles, likewise, are glowing in two-sided symmetry. The anti-Israel bias surfaces through the style of presentation which is quite sophisticated and subtle. It is this deceptive technique that makes the book dangerous and misleading.

Gelvin is both contemptuous and ignorant of Jewish history, hence his account contains gross omissions that fit his agenda. For example, his brief account of Jewish history is designed to prove that Jewish sovereignty in Israel was short lived and insignificant. Accordingly, he omits the entire era of the Hashmonaim dynasty, 165- 63 BC, which has given rise to Jews' celebrated holiday, Hanukah, a holiday also recognized by non-Jewish Americans.

Along this track of omission, Gelvin denies or belittles the role that the holy land played in Jewish life throughout history. He mocks the continuous aspirations of the Jews to return to their homeland as a creation of the Israeli Ministry of Education, founded in 1948, and ignores the more than 2,000 years of daily prayers, legends, poetry and actual immigration, all attesting to the reality of such aspirations during the past two millenia. For example, the 16th century Kabbalists' community in Safed was a product of these aspirations but is not mentioned at all by Gelvin. Similarly, the story of Massada, a struggle of Jews against the Romans, documented by Josephus, historian to the Romans, is presented as a possible fraud.

Gelvin's portrayal of peace efforts between Israel and its neighbors is grotesquely one-sided: Arabs are painted as saintly peace seekers and Israel as a chronic aggressor and the spoiler of peace. Take for example the Arab Summit conference in Khartoum, August 1967, in which the Arab leaders decided on the famous "three no's": "No recognition, no negotiation, no peace [with Israel]." Not according to Gelvin. On Page 180 he tells us that the three No's were actually a negotiation offer from the Arabs. "In fact, the three no's marked a subtle tactical shift." Gelvin writes. "The Arab states agreed to unify effort to "eliminate the effects of aggression" -- not eliminate Israel. And they agreed to take political, not military, action. Although the Arab heads of state agreed not to negotiate with Israel, they did not agree not to negotiate." Gelvin's mental acrobatics knows no limits.

And how does Gelvin interpret terrorist attacks against innocent civilians? Are they peace overtures too? On page 209, we learn: "Thus, many of the most spectacular terrorist incidents coincided with initiative to reach some sort of accord, whether between Israel and Palestinians or between Israelis and their neighbors." In Gelvin's logic, terror automatically becomes an instrument of peace, if executed by an Arab.

Gelvin takes a convenient position on nationalism: all nationalist movements are based on myths, therefore, none can be trusted and each can be distorted at will. Yet, the Palestinian narrative is presented with compassion and admiration, the Jewish story is presented with contempt and ridicule.

How? Through a clever choice of narrators. The Jewish story is invariably told in third person, (e.g., so and so said), while important parts of the Palestinian story are told by Gelvin himself as an indisputable, objective summary of true facts.

The Palestinian story is told by eyewitnesses, women, children, poets, and other sympathy-evoking players. The Israeli story is told by politicians, bureaucrats, PR people, and post-Zionist academicians. Nowhere is there an expression of the great human stories of town builders, kibbutzniks, visionary social reformers, swamp-drainers, Holocaust survivors, and refugees from the Arab countries.

A grotesque example of this technique is presented in Chapter 7 (pp 145-164) titled: "Zionism and Palestinian Nationalism: A Closer Look" On the surface, we have here a

comparison of two national narratives, laid side by side in the same chapter. Alas, the Jewish narrative is presented through the prism of a Zionist pavilion at the 1939-1940 New York World's Fair -- a public relation exhibit staged for external consumption, which automatically evokes a sense of artificiality and superficiality. The Palestinian narrative, in contrast, is delegated to admirable poets who speak passionately to their fellow countrymen about: Oh Palestine, Mt. Carmel, lemon trees, blood, tears and suffering. Gelvin perhaps is unaware of Hebrew poetry that for more than 2,500 years has spoken about the very same passions: Oh Zion, Mt. Carmel, palm trees, tears and suffering. For Gelvin, Jewish nationalism is necessarily void of human face. It must be! Gelvin after all has an agenda to serve in this book.

Another technique worthy of attention is Gelvin's use of length imbalance. For example, Israel's Independence Day is named by the Palestinians as the day of Naqba (the "Disaster"). Strangely, the former is given half a page (126), the latter twenty. Moreover, the major event that followed Independence Day/ Naqba, i.e. the 1948 invasion of (the United Nations' newly created state of) Israel by armies from five Arab countries, is allotted one sentence (page 126), to read: "The surrounding Arab states, which invaded Palestine ostensibly in defense of the Palestinian people, refused to recognize Israel."

In comparison, the attacks by Arabs against Jews in 1936-1939, during the British mandate, are glorified by Gelvin under the title "The Great Revolt" and given seventeen pages (102-117).

In summary, because the Israeli narrative is presented superficially and with such utter contempt and disrespect, the claims and narrative of the Palestinian side suffer too, and the book never gets down to discuss the contentious problems that lie at the root of the conflict: mutual recognition of each other's narrative.

Appendix 4

Three student reviews (of 8) from RateMyProfessor.com of Professor Nancy Gallagher's teaching of History 146T "The History of the Israeli Palestinian Conflict" at UC Santa Barbara

3/6/06

Gallagher does know a lot and she does have boring lectures, but most importantly **she is blatantly antiIsrael although she tries to be subtle about it. If you're proIsrael or plainly pro objectivism, then you will find Gallagher unbearable to listen to.** Don't bother arguing though, she has facts against your argument hidden in every orifice of her body.

3/26/06

The problem with Gallagher is that she has no interest in teaching--she wants to propagandize and brainwash. The good news is she's so hideously ineffective that she succeeds in convincing no one! What a disgrace to have such an important topic as the Middle East taught by a repulsive apologist like Gallagher.

6/7/06

By far the MOST BIASED professor I have ever had. She presents only one side of the argument in an attempt to brainwash the students into believing it. I think it is ridiculous that we have a professor that is so unopen to the other side's point of view at our university. Her class is easy though...

Appendix 5

Excerpts from “AJ Congress Title VI Petition” (4/8/06) regarding anti-Israel bias in teachers workshop held by the Middle East Studies Center, UC Santa Barbara

<http://www.ajcongress.org/site/News2?page=NewsArticle&id=6139>

Federal tax dollars are funding Middle East seminars exclusively promoting one-sided anti-American and anti-Israel views. To correct this distortion, American Jewish Congress is petitioning the Secretary of Education to amend the selection criteria required to be employed by the Secretary in evaluating an application for a grant to fund comprehensive National Language and Area Centers Programs authorized under Title VI of the Higher Education Act. Title VI authorizes federal funding of Middle East language and study centers at universities for teachers of primary and secondary schools.

AJCongress acted because of persistent reports and persuasive documentary evidence that at least some Middle East centers have conducted outreach programs for teachers of primary and secondary schools that were compromised by bias, lacked balance, and academic rigor...

For example, materials distributed at a teachers workshop entitled "The September 11 Crisis: A Critical Reader," held by the Middle East Studies Center, University of California, Santa Barbara on October 13, 2001, claimed that the September 11 attacks were the harvest of American policies that resulted in "millions killed in Korea, Vietnam, and Cambodia, the 17,500 killed when Israel - backed by the US - invaded Lebanon in 1982, the 200,000 Iraqis killed in Operation Desert Storm, the thousands of Palestinians who have died fighting Israel's occupation of the West Bank. And the millions who died, in Yugoslavia, Somalia, Haiti, Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador, the Dominican Republic, Panama, at the hands of all the terrorists, dictators and genocidists whom the American government supported, trained, bankrolled and supplied with arms.

Not one article distributed at the Santa Barbara October workshop blamed Islamic Fundamentalism as an explanation for Bin Laden's attack on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon.

An effort to provide "balance," in the case of the alleged massacre at Deir Yassin during the 1948 Arab-Israel War, has nine pages supporting the Palestinian version, as compared to two pages devoted to the Israeli version.

Resource materials distributed by this same Middle East Center during a June 18-21, 2002 workshop on the Israel/Palestine conflict give an exclusively anti-Israel account of the origins of the Palestinian refugee tragedy.

The "facts" shared about Israel's governance of the territories are unfailingly bleak: Israel has deported hundreds of Palestinian political activists, confiscated tens of thousands of

acres of Palestinian land and uprooted thousands of trees. Torture of Palestinian prisoners has been a common practice since at least 1971, and dozens of people have died in detention from abuse or neglect.

Appendix 6

Anti-Israel bias and political advocacy in “The Israeli-Palestinian Conflict”, a course taught in summer 2006 in the Community Studies department at UC Santa Cruz

1) Student testimony

My last class at UC Santa Cruz was a Community Studies (CMMU 120) course on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. What I thought would be an interesting and informative course exploring the two sides of a very complex conflict, turned out to be so outrageously one-sided and anti-Israel as to make a mockery of the educational system. The professor used her lectures, classroom discussions and course readings as a vehicle for her own personal vendetta against the state of Israel, against Zionism, against Israelis and against Jews. She even used the class website to distribute information about anti-Israel protests occurring in the Bay Area and to invite her students to attend. Many times when I would confront the professor in class or on WebCT, she would argue with me so harshly that I felt personally assaulted by her. This class went against everything that the academic world should stand for. It was not about the presentation of diverse ideas so that students can use the valuable information they learn to construct their own opinions. Students were fed lies, twisted truths and one sided information- all presented as facts.

2) Review of course texts

The first section, Zionism, has some original Zionist material dating back to the beginning of the 20th century, followed by more recent writings, all very anti-Zionistic. Absent are modern essays that are either neutral or pro-Zionist to counter the modern anti-Zionist writings. Thus, the readings of this first section seem intended to convey to the student the irrationality and illegitimacy of Zionism. Clearly, a biased approach.

The next section, 1948, is even more biased. The six readings are all the product of Israelis and Arabs who are avowedly anti-Israel. The absence, among a surfeit of American, British, and Israeli scholarly works, of neutral or pro-Israel studies of this early segment of Israeli history renders this section deeply skewed. There is no way that a neophyte student can gain a critical, scholarly view of the early years of pre-state and nascent Israel from the selections that this teacher has made.

The same is true, to varying degrees, for the following three sections: Arab-Jews, Settlers, and Walls. The teacher seems to have disregarded his/her obligation to present facts and offer the broadest possible spectrum of resources for data and history; and instead has selected almost exclusively only those works that seek to demonize Israel.

The sections on Suicide and Women are more balanced. Barbara Victors' Army of Roses analyzes the phenomenon of Arafat's approach to the use of women as suicide bombers.

The plight of the woman in the Arab world is presented. But even withal, there is still an absence of any counter-material. What do Palestinian leaders say about the justice and righteousness of the suicide bomber? Nowhere are there represented the Moslem clerics who declare that suicide bombing and terrorism are the essence of a just and mindful Jihad against usurper Jews and a non-believing West. Their side should be represented too.

The penultimate section, Solidarity, reverts back to the issues discussed above. The thrust of the reading seems to be exclusively to vilify Israel.

The approach reflected in the choice of readings is not education. It seems to be more akin to political indoctrination. The approach focuses on the events of Israeli history almost exclusively from the point of view of the Arabs, the Palestinians, and their supporters. It omits the Israeli viewpoint almost entirely.

David Meir-Levi
Menlo Park, CA USA

Mr. Meir-Levi is the Director of Research and Education at the Israel Peace Initiative (IPI), a grass-roots not-for-profit organization in the San Francisco Bay area working to educate the American public and its leaders about the history of the Arab-Israel conflict and realistic options for resolution.

3) Instructor's web posting to students

Author: Dalit Baum (CMMU120_Baum)
Date: Friday, July 14, 2006 10:43am

PLEASE CIRCULATE WIDELY.

Join us for a rally.

MONDAY JULY 17, 2006, AT NOON
ISRAELI CONSULATE, 456 MONTGOMERY STREET, SAN FRANCISCO
A CALL BY BAY AREA JEWS: Break the Siege on Gaza! No War on Lebanon

BEFORE OUR EYES, the people of Gaza are being brutally and collectively punished by Israel. Israel is using a single captured Israeli soldier as a pawn to employ its enormous military might and terrorize an entire people. With the bombing of civilian targets in Lebanon, Israel threatens to escalate the current crisis into a regional war, with potentially devastating consequences

for people throughout the region.

The humanitarian situation in Gaza, already dire from 39 years of occupation, and a recent Israeli blockade of basic supplies, is now desperate. Israel's bombing of power stations and bridges and cutting off fuel supplies in Gaza deprives people of electricity, refrigeration, pumped drinking water, and sewage disposal. The relentless and deadly attacks by the Israeli military are compounded by the threat of epidemics and starvation.

Presenting this as an isolated hostage-taking incident ignores Israel's regular abduction of Palestinians from their homes. Israel holds over 9,000 Palestinians in prison, including almost 400 children. Thousands of these prisoners are held in "administrative detention" without charges or trial. They too need to be returned to their families.

With the recent arrest of 64 members of the Palestinian Parliament and many members of the Palestinian cabinet, Israel is also using this opportunity to wage an assault on Palestinian democracy. All of this is being done with diplomatic support and \$3 billion in tax-funded annual aid to Israel from the U.S. government.

As Jews, we cannot and will not remain observers of crimes committed in our name. We call on other Jews and all people who believe in justice and peace to take a principled stand against this brutality.

Here's what you can do.

SUPPORT ISRAELIS protesting against their government's destructive actions: Gush Shalom (zope.gush-shalom.org), Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions (www.ICAHD.org <<http://www.icahd.org/>>), New Profile (www.newprofile.org <<http://www.newprofile.org/>>).

WRITE TO YOUR REPRESENTATIVES to demand that the US government stop funding Israel's war crimes and act to achieve an immediate ceasefire.

MAKE YOUR VOICES HEARD! JOIN WITH US TO PROTEST THE SIEGE OF GAZA--

Organized by: Break the Silence, Jewish Voice for Peace, Jews for a Free Palestine

STOP THE US/ISRAEL ATTACKS ON GAZA NOW! NO WAR ON LEBANON

Appendix 7

Student testimony regarding anti-Israel bias in a UC Santa Cruz Community Studies class

I am a third year student at the University of California Santa Cruz. I am currently a community studies and anthropology major. I was fulfilling my last upper division community studies class by taking a woman's health activism class with Professor Nancy Stoller. I was very excited to take the class to learn about different ways in which I could make my voice heard in the community as a woman and an activist.

Each week a different speaker would come and speak to us about topics which we had read about: violence against women, fat activism, transgender issues, and many other things. One week I came into class to find my professor not present and the teacher assistants introducing our speaker for the week as a woman that would speak to us about occupation in Palestine. As a Jewish and an Israeli student I was very curious to hear what she was going to speak about and how it related to our class. Apparently she was an artist that works with the group "Breaking the Silence" and paints murals and art in the occupied territories for the people there. I thought, wow what an interesting thing to do; this was until she began showing her slide show. All of the slides that were shown were of Palestinian people blind-folded and made to sit in corners while armed Israeli soldiers stood behind them smiling. Along with these disturbing photos she continued to show a video of Israeli soldiers that came into a Palestinian community and were beating and cutting down their olive trees. When asked by a student how this topic related to our class, the speaker replied that she didn't know and that the professor had simply told her to come. She didn't even know what subject was being taught in our class. She was supposed to demonstrate the use of art as a form of healing, but her presentation showed none of this and was extremely saturated with her political views.

By the end of the lecture I was feeling uncomfortable, outraged, and upset. I raised my hand and asked a question. "So I see that you went to the occupied territories and produced art with them to have an outlet for their anger towards the occupation, but have you ever been to Israel and made murals and art projects with the people there and heard the stories of people affected by the violence there?" I was answered by a resounding NO. After that I raised my hand again to ask another question and she looked at me and told me she wanted to give other people who have not spoken a chance to speak. I looked around and no one else had their hand up. She continued to bombard us with statistics of Palestinian people that were killed. Many of her charts and numbers were very weighted towards the Palestinian people; more Palestinian people were killed than Israelis. All the information, photos, and videos were given to us with no background information or historical time periods. It all had no context in which the students could challenge the information. We were just shown pictures of humiliated Palestinians and dangerous border crossings.

Being a student in a fairly liberal university I was surprised that no one in my class questioned her information or said that her information seemed very one sided, other than me. Her defense of not showing both sides was that she said that the Palestinian people are not represented in the media and most people knew about the conflict from the Israeli point of view. The fact that no students questioned her information goes to show how little most students actually know about the topics. In fact, when we were asked to critique the speaker afterwards, most students reacted positively to her talk. It scares me that most students are uneducated on this topic, and they walk away given only one side and are ok about it; the students don't know any better.

I'm not a complete pro-Israel person, so if the speaker came and gave a talk about the violence and oppression happening only to the Israeli people I would still protest that it was one-sided. I feel that if the topic is going to be presented within an academic atmosphere, it needs to be represented and presented equally, in order to allow the students to formulate their own opinions and ideas about the topic. There are too many people that are not educated about the struggle in Israel and will take whatever information that they are given as the entire truth.

Appendix 8

Anti-Israel biased events and talks by well-known critics of Israel sponsored by the Center for Middle East Studies at UC Berkeley

Fall 2001 – Fall 2006

- 09/06/01** – “*The New Historiography: Israel Confronts its Past*”, Professor Benjamin Morris, Department of History, Ben Gurion University, Israel
- 11/04/01** - “*Relegitimizing Peace*”, Hanan Ashrawi
- 03/07/02** - “*Biblical or Mediterranean? The Arab Village, Jerusalem and Israeli Architectural Discourse*” Dr. Alona Nitzan-Shiftan CASVA, The National Gallery, Washington D.C.
- 10/03/02** - “*Gender and Nationalism: Women's Representation in Palestine's (1948) Nakba*”, Professor Rema Hammami, Gender Studies, Birzeit University, Palestine
- 10/04/02** – “*Update on Israel and Palestine: Two Scholars' Perspectives*”, Prof. Oren Yiftachel, Geography, Ben Gurion University of the Negev, Israel, and Prof. Rema Hammami, Gender Studies, Birzeit University, Palestine
- 10/07/06** - “*Israel's Land Policies and Palestinian Resistance: 1948-2002*”, Professor Oren Yiftachel, Geography Department, Ben-Gurion University of the Negev, Israel
- 10/10/02** - “*Waiting for Palestine: Time and History in the Cinema of Elia Suleiman*”, Introduction by Tarek Elhaik
- Cyber Palestine* - Elia Suleiman (Palestine, 2000, 15 mins)
- Chronicle of a Disappearance* - Elia Suleiman (Palestine, 1996, 85 mins)
- 10/14/02** - “*Jerusalem: A Metropole or Sectarian Ghetto?*”, Professor Salim Tamari, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Birzeit University, Birzeit, Palestine
- 02/13/03** - “*The Visible and Invisible Layers of Peace Making in the Middle East*”, Ilan Pappé, Haifa University February 13, 2003
- 02/19/03** - “*The U.S., the Islamic World, and the Question of Palestine*”, Professor Edward Said Department of English and Comparative Literature, Columbia University, New York

- 10/02/03** - "*History and Memory: Palestinian Recollections of Life Before 1948*", Dr. Rochelle Davis Sultan Postdoctoral Fellow, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of California, Berkeley
- 10/23/03** - "*Thoughts about Suicide Bombers and their Families*", Ms. Amira Hass Haaretz Correspondent in the Palestinian West Bank and the Gaza Strip
- 10/30/03** - "*The Black Panthers (in Israel) Speak*"—Eli Hamo and Sami Shalom Chetrit (Israel, 2003, 53 min.)
- 03/08/04** - "*Beyond Sharon and Arafat*", Dr. Tom Segev Journalist, Ha'aretz Newspaper, Israel
- 03/10/04** - "*A Civilian Occupation; The Politics of Israeli Architecture*", Reception/Exhibit Opening, Lecture by Rafi Segal and Eyal Weizman
- 09/22/04** - "Scenes from Daily Life Under Occupation: Pictures and Commentary", Prof. Beshara Doumani, Dept. of History, University of California, Berkeley
- 10/21/04** - "*l'Art de Vivre by Khalil Bendib*" EXHIBIT AND RECEPTION (including exhibition on massacre at Deir Yassin)
- 11/04/04** - "*Truth Against Truth: Confronting the Myths of the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict*", Uri Avnery Journalist, Writer, Peace Activist
- 02/03/05** - "*Hamas and the Destruction of Risk Society*", Professor Neve Gordon Visiting Scholar, Center for Middle Eastern Studies, University of California, Berkeley Department of Politics and Government, Ben Gurion University, Israel
- 09/12/05** - "*Waiting for Salah El-Din*" - Tawfik Abu Wael (Palestine, 2001, 53 minutes)
- 09/12/05** - "*Local Angel: Theological Political Fragments*" - Udi Aloni (U.S.A. and Israel, 2002, 70 minutes)
- 09/19/05** - "*Arna's Children*" - Juliano Mer Khamis and Danniell Danniell (Israel and The Netherlands, 2003, 84 minutes)
- 09/26/05** - "*500 Dunam on the Moon*" - Rachel Jones (U.S.A. and France, 2002, 48 minutes)
- 10/10/05** - "*Avenge But One of My Two Eyes*" - Avi Mograbi (France and Israel, 2005, 104 minutes)

02/23/06 - "*An Evening with Elias Khoury*"

until 4/06 - "*Borders Crossing Bodies*" – a photo exhibition by Dana Erekat, documenting the daily lives of Arab and Muslim people in the West Bank and Gaza

10/16/06 - "*Lebanon II and Prospects for Arab-Israeli Peace*", Professor Galia Golan, Hebrew University of Jerusalem (emerita), and the Interdisciplinary Center, Herzliya

10/19/06 - "'Rights' of Return for Palestinians and Jews: Lessons for the Negotiation of Usable Truth", Professor Ian Lustick, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania

Appendix 9

Letter to UC Davis Chancellor from three faculty members about the anti-Israel bias of a panel discussion sponsored by the Department of Political Science, the Program in Middle East/South Asia Studies, the Program in Jewish Studies and the Institute for Governmental Affairs

Chancellor Larry N. Vanderhoef November 6, 2006
University of California, Davis

Dear Chancellor Vanderhoef:

We write to express our deep concern about the content and implications of the panel, “Cycles of Violence in the Long Hot Summer of 2006: Israel, Palestine and Lebanon” that took place on the UC Davis campus October 18, 2006. This event was co-sponsored by the Department of Political Science, the Program in Middle East/South Asia Studies, the Program in Jewish Studies and the Institute for Governmental Affairs. The panel missed an important opportunity to present a balanced, scholarly program to the UC Davis community, most importantly to our students, and promote dialogue and improve understanding of a complex issue. Rather, all speakers were unreservedly critical of Israel.

While we do not wish to give a detailed description of all comments, a few examples are instructive. Dr. Zeina Zaatari introduced her talk with reference to Israel’s creation as a hostile act and continued with a paean to Hezbollah for 30 minutes. She was followed by Dr. Zeev Maoz, who spent his time criticizing the Israeli government. The concluding speaker was Dr. Beshara Doumani who stated that Israel had committed war crimes in Lebanon and Gaza. There was no effort by either Dr. Zaatari or Dr. Doumani to present scholarly talks backed by meaningful analysis. Although presented as an educational event, the panel was basically political propaganda that presented a single anti-Israel perspective without any context or counterpoint. The event lacked academic integrity and was an alarming example of a cynical use of academic freedom.

In July, 2006, the US Commission on Civil rights issued a report on anti-Semitism on American college campuses. They found a direct link between unbalanced anti-Zionist rhetoric in classrooms and at campus events, and hostility towards Jewish students. The USCCR recommended: “University leadership should ensure that students are protected from actions that could engender a hostile environment in violation of federal law... (and) that all academic departments maintain academic standards, respect intellectual diversity and ensure that the rights of all students are fully protected.”

Clearly the October 18 panel violated these principles. While we strongly support the academic freedom of all faculty members, with this freedom comes the need for faculty and administrators to act with academic integrity and responsibility. A recent op ed. in the UC Davis student newspaper, The California Aggie, signed by several Jewish student

leaders, highlights these concerns. The students wrote, “While this event was advertised to the campus as an academic forum, it lacked the qualities of fairness and balance, which are vital to academic integrity...It is our deep concern that events such as “Cycles of Violence” may be the beginning of an institutionalized anti-Israel sentiment on campus, which puts all Jewish students at risk.”

Unfortunately, on university campuses and elsewhere, the issue of falsified, fabricated and politicized information, often masquerading as scholarship, specifically in regard to the Middle East, has become a serious and important issue. We would like to avoid at UC Davis what is happening on other academic campuses. Intimidation has occurred against Jewish students and faculty and other university members sympathetic to Israel and the Jewish people at San Francisco State University, UC Santa Cruz, UC Berkeley, Columbia University, Duke University and other campuses throughout the world.

The above concerns, as well as prior events, have led us to form a chapter of Scholars for Peace in the Middle East (SPME). The SPME mission statement reads, “Our mission is to inform, motivate, and encourage faculty to use their academic skills and disciplines on campus, in classrooms, and in academic publications to develop effective responses to the ideological distortions, including anti-Semitic and anti-Zionist slanders that poison debate and work against peace. SPME welcomes scholars from all disciplines, faiths groups and nationalities who share our desire for peace and our commitment to academic integrity and honest debate.”

We would like to meet with you at your convenience to discuss your plans to ensure that there is a diversity of legitimate scholarly opinion regarding Israel and Zionism in the presentation of these subjects in the classroom and at events at UC Davis.

Sincerely,

Moshe Rosenberg, D.Sc.
Professor and Specialist, Dairy Technology and Engineering
Head, UC Davis Chapter Scholars for Peace in the Middle East

David Siegel M.D., M.P.H.
Professor and Vice Chair, Department of Medicine

Michael J. Singer Ph.D.
Professor of Soil Science

Appendix 10

Anti-Israel biased events and talks by well-known critics of Israel sponsored by the Middle East Studies Center at UC Santa Barbara Winter 2002 – Fall 2006

2/2/02 – “*The New History and Israeli Public Culture*”, a symposium featuring the following panelists:

Joel Beinin, Stanford University
Gershon Shafir, UC San Diego
Zachary Lockman, New York University
Gabi Piterberg, UCLA
Richard Hecht, UCSB
Lisa Hajjar, UCSB
Nancy Gallagher, UCSB

10/23/03 - “*Israel/Palestine in Crisis*”, a session in a day-long forum, featuring the following speakers:

Catherine Cook, Media Coordinator, Middle East Research and Information Project
Salah Hassan, Michigan State University
Joel Beinin, Stanford University
Lisa Hajjar, UCSB

5/13/05 - “*Withdrawal from Gaza: Prelude to Two States or Palestinian Bantustans*”,
Salim Tamari

“*NABLUS: Scenes from Daily Life Under Occupation*”, Beshara Doumani

10/27/05 - “*Making of the Arab-Israeli conflict, 1947 – 1951*”, Ilan Pappé

10/07/06 - “*Lebanon, Palestine, Israel and Beyond: Perspectives on Conflict in the Middle East*”, a panel discussion featuring the following panelists:

Prof. Juan Campo, Religious Studies
Prof. Richard Falk, Global Studies
Prof. Mark Juergensmeyer, Global Studies
Prof. Gershon Shafir, Sociology, UC San Diego
Prof. Salim Yaquob, History

Appendix 11

Anti-Israel biased events sponsored by several departments at UC Santa Cruz Fall 2001 – Fall 2006

- 5/12/01** - Video: *“Two Palestinian Women Political Prisoners” (1999)*
Photo Exhibit: *Palestinian Women Refugees in Lebanon and Palestine*
- From the *“Women of Color Film & Video Festival”*, sponsored by: Art History; Center for Cultural Studies; Center for Global, International, and Regional Studies; Center for Justice, Tolerance and Community; Chicano/Latino Research Center; Community Studies; Film and DigitalMedia History of Consciousness; Institute of Humanities Research; Latin American and Latino Studies; Literature; Politics and Legal Studies; Sociology; Women's Studies.
- 1/28/02** – *“Israel and Palestine: The Search for Justice and Security”*, a talk by Joel Beinin
- Sponsored by: Cultural Studies
- 5/24/02** - *“Exposing the Conflict: On the Road to Peace, A Panel Discussion on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict”*
- Sponsored by: Center for Justice, Tolerance and Community, Center for Global, International and Regional Studies, Sociology
- 1/30/03** – *Israeli Palestinian Conflict Video and Dialogue Night: “Crossing the Lines”*
- Sponsored by the Center for Global, International and Regional Studies
- 3/4/03** – *“NO PRIDE IN THE OCCUPATION”* -- Talk & video clips, Dalit Baum
- Sponsored by Community Studies, GLBT Resource Center, Center for Justice Tolerance & Community & Women's Studies.
- 5/22/03** – *“Palestine and Iraq: A New Century of Imperialism in the Middle East”*, a talk by Richard Falk
- Sponsored by the Center for Global, International and Regional Studies, Center for Justice, Tolerance and Community, Politics, Sociology, Community Studies
- 2/5/04** - *“Holy Land: Common Ground”*, Alicia Dwyer Filmmaker and

Documentarian
Sponsored by the Center for Global, International and Regional Studies

10/21/04 - A Talk on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict by Hedy Epstein, member of the International Solidarity Movement

Sponsored by Women's Studies

4/27/05 - Feminisms and Global War Seminar: "Up against the Wall - Making the Concrete Bloom in Israel/ Palestine", Dalit Baum

Sponsored by Feminist Studies

5/25/05 - Bereaved Families

Sponsored by Center for Global, International and Regional Studies,
Center for Justice, Tolerance and Community

10/9/06 – “*Space, Time, and Violence in the Palestinian Occupied Territories*”, Adi Ophir

Sponsored by: Cultural Studies

10/25/06 - “*Breaking the Silence: ex-Israeli soldiers expose their crimes against Palestinians in the Occupied Territories*”

Sponsored by Cultural Studies, Center for Global, International and Regional Studies and the Politics department

Appendix 12

Two examples of articles with anti-Israel bias in “The Wave 2002”, newsletter of Women’s Studies at UC Santa Cruz

(Excerpted from “University of California and Loss of Public Trust” by Leila Beckwith:<http://www.spme.net/cgi-bin/articles.cgi?ID=1111>)

“[In] an article featured in “The Wave” which reported on the UN World Conference Against Racism held in Durban, South Africa in September 2001, the author, Dr. Maylei Blackwell, offered effusive praise of the conference’s “anti-racist activists” for their progress in several key areas, including “a growth in solidarity with the Palestinian struggle against 54 years of Israeli occupation”. At the same time, Blackwell was highly critical of the US delegates for walking out of the conference. However, an essential point of information which Ms. Blackwell conveniently neglected to mention was that the US delegates boycotted the conference because it had become what one scholar described as “the largest and best-publicized international anti-Semitic rally in history.” Indeed, many of the same “anti-racist activists” with whom Blackwell was so enamored drafted a resolution which justified violence and terror against Israel, made speeches claiming that the Nazi Holocaust was nothing more than “a Jewish lie”, and threatened physical violence against Jews who attended the conference. For Blackwell to report on the UN World Conference Against Racism, without making mention of the virulent anti-Semitism that wracked it, suggests that her political bias resulted in an insidious form of academic dishonesty”

“Included in the departmental newsletter is a piece by [then Women’s Study department chair] Bettina Aptheker about working as faculty advisor to an undergraduate who was writing her senior thesis on the plight of Palestinian women under Israeli occupation. Aptheker described her student as “a particularly thorough scholar”, giving as evidence for this the fact that the student’s thesis began with “a historical background of the Palestinian people beginning with the Biblical Era.” The notion that the Palestinians of today are descendants of a people living in biblical times is one which no serious historian would consider, and the fact that Aptheker called a student who would make such a claim “a thorough scholar” is testament to the corruption of all standards of scholarship in the department which Aptheker headed. Interestingly, Aptheker unwittingly exposed the source of this corruption when she noted that her student’s sympathy with Palestinian women “is evident in her detailed study of their history.” In other words, the student’s and Aptheker’s identification with Palestinian women’s cause blinded them to historical fact. Aptheker concluded the article by writing that her student’s “commitment to a peace process” instilled in Aptheker herself an appreciation for activism and resistance to the Israeli occupation. Aptheker’s remarks about her student’s work reveal quite clearly the extent to which rigorous scholarship takes a back seat to political passion and activism in the UCSC Women’s Studies department.”

Appendix 14

Testimony of a UC Santa Cruz student after witnessing a professor pulling down flyers for an event which her student organization was sponsoring

(The following testimony was taken from the Noindoctrination.org website, http://www.noindoctrination.org/cgi-bin/display_record.cgi?uid=466 . The students of the organization whose flyers were removed attempted to file academic charges against the professor in question, but the UC Santa Cruz Judicial Affairs Officer never passed the students' charges along to the Senate Charge Committee. Nevertheless, charges were filed against the professor by Prof. Leila Beckwith, a member of the faculty organization sponsoring the event, on March 25, 2005. However, Prof. Beckwith was informed by the UCSC Executive Vice Chancellor that the Senate Charge Committee dismissed the charges)

I have been a student at the University of California, Santa Cruz for the past three and a half years, and at the end of this quarter I am due to graduate. Over the years I have heard rumors of injustice on our campus: a denial of free speech to some students, hate speech directed at friends, and flyers for organizations' events being torn down. This could never happen at my school, I thought; not at UCSC, the center of free speech and progressive thought! Unfortunately I was proven wrong.

On March 10th, Itamar Marcus came to speak at our campus, invited by Scholars for Peace in the Middle East and co-sponsored by Students for Peace in the Middle East (a group I had recently joined), The Chabad Student Center and the Santa Cruz Hillel Foundation. The director of the Palestinian Media Watch, Marcus had testified before the U.S. Senate in 2003 about Palestinian incitement and indoctrination, and was to give sworn testimony before the U.S. Congress in the weeks following his lecture. The night of the event, Dr. Marcus showed translated clips from Palestinian music videos, children's shows, and newspapers, that documented the way in which the Palestinian Authority indoctrinates school children, as young as pre-schoolers, to become "Shahadas" (martyrs, suicide bombers).

During the week prior to the event, members of the sponsoring groups posted flyers around campus to publicize the event. The flyer depicted the topic of Marcus' talk by displaying an actual photograph of a small child dressed up as a suicide bomber found in the family album of a Palestinian terrorist in Hebron, distributed by the Associated Press and Reuters. Three times students posted flyers on bus stops and bulletin boards on campus, and three times the flyers were either torn down or defaced with slogans such as "Zionism is Racism" or "Occupation is Murder". On Tuesday March 8th, I personally posted a flyer outside of my 8am class in the Social Sciences building. After class, I saw a middle-aged woman, obviously upset, holding a large stack of flyers in one hand and my newly posted flyer in the other, speaking to a younger female student. I approached the two women, asked if there was a problem, and informed them that I was the one who had posted the flyer they had removed. The woman, whom I later identified as Nancy

Stoller, a tenured professor in Community Studies and Women's Studies, and on the steering committee of the UCSC Research Center for Justice, Tolerance and Community, informed me that she was removing the flyers because they were offensive to her. In addition, since she assumed that the speaker was not supported by any official campus groups, we had no right to post on campus property. In fact, the cosponsoring organizations were official student groups.

Professor Stoller also told me that what we had posted was hate speech because our flyers implied that the Palestinians were killing their own children. She stated, in a bit of logic that was difficult for me to grasp, that we may as well have put up pictures of young American boys playing with G.I. Joes, because that was the same kind of military gender role stereotyping as the Palestinian family dressing up their one-year-old child as a suicide bomber.

I was outraged that a professor who supposedly educates about justice, tolerance and community would suppress the free speech of those who expressed dissenting views to hers. As stated in the Faculty Code of Conduct (APM-015) [<http://www.ucop.edu/acadadv/acadpers/apm/apm-015.pdf>] *"The following are considered central to a university: free inquiry and exchange of ideas; enjoyment of constitutionally protected freedom of expression."* It also clearly states in the Student Judicial Handbook, Hate/Bias Incident [<http://www2.ucsc.edu/judicial/handbook04-05/appendixm.htm>] that *"All members of the campus community share responsibility for maintaining civility and openness. However, principal responsibility rests with university officials, especially staff and faculty. The primary objective of this policy is to help sustain a campus climate of tolerance and civility and to ensure that there are appropriate responses available to maintain the University's commitment to the free and open exchange of ideas."*

As far as I can see, Professor Stoller's behavior was intolerant, violated civility, impeded the constitutional right to freedom of speech of the students and faculty who co-sponsored the lecture, and attempted to suppress a free and open exchange of ideas. If professors do not follow the basic rules of the University, how can we expect students to support and critically evaluate dissenting ideas? As a UCSC student, I am extremely offended by what this professor did. I believe that such behavior should not be tolerated from any member of the academic community, but especially not from a well-known professor who is an educator and role model for hundreds, even thousands, of students at this university.

I am currently filing a formal grievance against Professor Stoller with the University. I feel that as a member of the Santa Cruz community and a student, it is partially my responsibility to see that instructors such as Nancy Stoller are reprimanded for their egregious behavior and that students be protected from educators who abuse the University and use it as a platform for their own political views.

Appendix 15

Anti-Semitic incidents occurring on University of California campuses which were reported to the Anti-Defamation League, 2001 to 2006

(According to the Associate Director of the Anti-Defamation League of the Pacific Southwest Region, most bias-motivated incidents or crimes go unreported. The following incidents, therefore, should be seen as representative examples rather than an exhaustive list of anti-Semitic incidents on UC campuses)

UC Berkeley

10/01 - Complainant left religious services at Berkeley Hillel to go to Sproul Plaza. On his way back to Hillel (on Bancroft & Telegraph), he saw one young man in seig heil salute and goose stepping. Young man hit complainant in the eye. Witnesses saw him get hit. There were 3 assailants at incident. Complainant declined medical attention.

2/02 - Pro-Palestinian students staged a protest at UCB, calling Israel an "apartheid state" and Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon a war criminal. Demonstrators also staged a skit, during which cardboard models of "Palestinian homes" were crushed by students holding photos of Prime Minister Sharon in front of their faces.

3/02 – The UCB Hillel Center was vandalized with anti-Israel and anti-Semitic graffiti and the glass front door was smashed in with a cement block.

4/02 - Muslim student groups at UCB and UCSD posted fliers featuring fabricated, distorted and out-of-context quotations from the Talmud and other rabbinical literature. Many of these anti-Semitic "quotations" are easily found on extremist Web sites. Samples include:

-- "A Jew is permitted to rape, cheat and perjure himself, but he must take care that he is not found out, so that Israel may not suffer."

-- "A Gentile girl who is three years old can be violated."

-- "The Jews are human beings, but the nations of the world are not human beings but beasts."

-- "When the Messiah comes, every Jew will have 2800 slaves."

9/03 – On September 8th, 2003 at about 7:00 AM, a person reported the vandalism via spray paint inside of LeConte Hall on the University of California, Berkeley campus. Someone had spray painted anti-Semitic symbols and slogans inside several classrooms, hallways, and on several doors. The time frame of the crime was 5:00 PM September 7th, to the time of the report. There are no suspects as of September 11th.

4/04 - On the evening of 04/21/04 when emptying the charity box at the Berkeley Hillel, the receptionist found a paper bill with anti-Semitic remarks written on it.

10/04 – On his way to class at UC Berkeley, complainant saw graffiti described as a Star of David and the phrase "Jews Smell." He reported it to campus police and it was removed.

2/06 – The word KIKE was written in white paint on a Jewish fraternity house's porch at UC Berkeley.

2/06 – A Professor at UC Berkeley made the following statement in class. "I am surprised that *Paradise Now* won the Golden Globe because hollywood is controlled by Jews."

8/06 – Middle Aged Asian Man nicknamed "Happy Happy Happy," holding sign on UC Berkeley campus which said: "Israel Is #1 Terrorist. Christians = 666. Old Testament is Satanic. Israeli God is Satan."

11/06 - Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at UC Berkeley made statement in class "Israel was created by terrorists."

UC Davis:

9/01 - Complainant's dormitory door was graffitied with "FUCK YOU JEW," "NEW GENERATION," and "NGA." A mezuzah on the door was stolen. Reported to police-took pictures, attempted to take fingerprints. Filed as hate crime and petty theft.

11/03 – Mona Alfie, the Director of Hillel at UC Davis first called ADL about this matter. Donnie is active on the UC Davis campus in Jewish and Israel-related affairs. He received a series of harassing calls on his cell phone from a woman with an Arabic accent. Her phone number was restricted. In the first call, she said "Why have you killed Arab children?" and then threatened him with "We're [or I'm] going to kill you." Donnie contacted Davis city and campus police, who took a report, but he thought otherwise didn't take him seriously. He also contacted the FBI who took him more seriously and followed up. In subsequent phone calls, she harassed him in other ways. For example, she was lewd to him in one call. In another call, she said she worked at a mosque and "threw stones."

UC Irvine

4/02 – (See UC Los Angeles)

UC Los Angeles

4/02 - Al-Talib, the Muslim newsmagazine at UCLA and and Al Kalima, the Muslim newsmagazine at UC - Irvine, jointly published a highly anti-Israel publication entitled "Zionism: the Forgotten Apartheid." The magazine publicly lauds and promotes both Hamas and Hizbullah as legitimate and noteworthy resistance movements. The magazine has also been distributed at UC San Diego.

1/03 - Anti-Semitic flyer found on table at UCLA's north campus cafeteria.

5/05 - A swastika was spray painted outside a Jewish Co-op at UCLA called "Bayit".

11/06 - Anti-Semitic graffiti was found on the UCLA campus in a restroom in Kerckhoff Hall. The graffiti read "Fuck Jews" and had 4 swastikas drawn around the writing.

11/06 - Complainant, who lives in UCLA University-owned apartments, was harassed by his neighbor and a friend of the neighbor's. The perpetrator lived across the hall from complainant and his roommate, who had a mezuzah on the door. Allegedly, the two men came home in the early morning hours on Sunday after drinking (and possibly other substances) and started to yell very loudly "Fucking Jews" over and over again. Then as the complainant's roommate watched out the peephole, he saw the two men taking turns spitting on their door. Finally, they removed the mezuzah, and may have made scratches on the complainant's door with it, before proceeding to throw it down the hallway.

11/06 - A student parked car at Hillel building on Hilgard at UCLA. Swastika was keyed into car but complainant did not notice swastika until following day. Scratched into the car on left side of front hood. Nothing political or identifiably Jewish on car. When gets out of car, puts on kippah.

UC Riverside

3/02 – Hillel member and anti-Israel protesters engaged in verbal argument. Anti-Semitic language was used.

3/03 - Swastika was painted on the message board of the Hillel office.

10/03 - Anti-Semitic poster equating Israel with Nazism.

2/05 - Mock Israeli Checkpoint "skit" by Students for Justice in Palestine; cardboard guns and fake blood used according to students, they felt threatened.

1/06 - Graffiti found in bathroom on campus with swastikas, a website and a phone number to view or call for recruitment to White Aryan Resistance (W.A.R.)

1/06 - Photos of UCR student on Facebook website showed him with swastikas and Hitler paraphernalia drawn on his face.

5/06 - Riverside Hillel called to report that a student had received harassing phone calls in the early morning hours. Perpetrator called the victim a "fat Jew with frizzy hair" who slept with "matzah balls..." The victim hung up, only to have the perpetrator call back 5 minutes later to start harassing her again.

UC San Diego

3/02 - The UCSD Muslim Student Association sponsored a talk by Hatem al-Bazian, a speaker whose anti-Semitic and anti-American views were challenged by Hillel members, who placed fliers around campus that featured al-Bazian's quotes. Muslim students who witnessed what Hillel members were doing began to scream and taunt the Jewish students; one allegedly made threats of physical harm.

4/02 – (See UC Los Angeles)

4/02 – (See UC Berkeley)

5/02 - The UCSD Muslim Student Association distributed fliers on campus titled, "The Jenin Massacre." At the same time, fliers appeared on campus with an anti-Semitic diatribe written by the right-wing extremist and former Klansman David Duke.

UC Santa Barbara

4/02 - A construction site for new dormitories was defaced with anti-Israel/anti-Semitic graffiti including the phrases: "Anti Zion/Nuke Israel," "God Hates Jews," and "Burn the Torah."

11/03 - "Dreidal, dreidal" with a swastika underneath it and then "Nazi" was written on the whiteboard on the door of a Jewish student in Manzanita Village, an on-campus dorm at UCSB.

UC Santa Cruz:

12/05 – On the evening of December 3, 2005 at the University of California Santa Cruz, the posting/message boards beside the doors of three residential rooms on the same hallway in one of the residential houses were marked with the symbol for no over the Star of David.

Appendix 16

Student testimonies of hostile/intimidating environments and discrimination

UC Berkeley:

Professor Adler, faculty for Hebrew 20A, would regularly make asides about the incompetence of conservatives, and would attack Israel in every conceivable arena, right down to her "End the occupation" pin. While she claimed Israeli politics are relevant to a formal learning of the Hebrew language, and claimed she would enjoy a debate should anyone be willing to argue, she created an environment hostile to rebuttal and in general gave the impression that dissenters were putting their grades on the line by speaking out. She also made me feel uncomfortable as a reasonably observant Jew with her constant barrage on tradition and any form of Jewish orthodoxy, which stood in sharp contrast to her praise of the "Palestinian Freedom Fighters." An article given to us in Hebrew described the Israeli practice of not performing civil marriages or marrying interfaith couples in a violently negative light, which was naturally made all the more so when Prof. Adler started talking.

I have never wanted to hide my feelings or religion; however, I have on several occasions been called a kike while wearing a kippah on campus by people who turned and ran when I turned to look at them, and have been made to feel uncomfortable by the regular permission given to pro-Palestinian group(s) on campus to present viciously anti-Israeli and anti-Semitic demonstrations, which rely on noise and aggression, given the lack of facts supporting their points of view.

UC Berkeley:

While campaigning for a student government office, "People spit on me and said Zionist and kept on walking. I was spit on a couple of times. I was called a conservative Zionist bastard, a fucking Jew." (p. 109, Tobin, G.A., Weinberg, A. K., & Ferer, J. , *the Uncivil University*, 2005, S.F.: Institute for Jewish & Community Research.)

UC Davis:

My Freshman Seminar Professor in a course called American Image Around the World, 2006, was very anti-Israel and made this clear to the 20 person class. He asked us to go around the circle and say what we knew about the Middle East, and told me to go last because he knew that I had spent extensive time in Israel and that I knew a lot about the Middle East. When it was my turn, I purposely didn't say anything about Israel because he had displayed such anti-Israel sentiment. He then prompted me to discuss Israel and what happened this summer in the Lebanon war. He asked if I agreed with "Israel destroying Beirut" over kidnapped soldiers. He singled me out in front of the class and began attacking my beliefs. He said that what Israel did was not justified and equated

America aiding Israel with Iran aiding Hamas and Hezbollah. He was unfair, rude and discriminatory. Many students came up to me after class and asked if I was ok because the professor was clearly being inappropriate.

Also, in my Intro to Islam reader, in an article titled "Good Muslim, Bad Muslim" there was this sentence: "the survivors of the Holocaust in Israel are yesterday's victims turned into today's perpetrators." I was offended by this.

UC Davis:

An open letter to the faculty and administration of the UC Davis Jewish Studies Department, published in "The California Aggie", Oct. 24, 2006:

As the Jewish student community of UC Davis, we were dismayed by the implications of the recent event entitled "Cycles of Violence in the Long Hot Summer of 2006: Israel, Palestine and Lebanon," which you co-sponsored with the Department of Political Science, the Department of Middle East/South Asia Studies and the Institute for Governmental Affairs.

While this event was advertised to the campus as an academic forum, it lacked the qualities of fairness and balance, which are vital to academic integrity. The two-hour discussion was filled with anti-Israel rhetoric. We understand and fully respect the value of free speech, even if we disagree with what is being said. Nevertheless, we believe that it is the obligation of the Jewish Studies Department, and every other department on campus, to ensure an academically honest environment for students attending these events.

We recall the UC Davis Principles of Community, which "promote open expression of our diversity within the bounds of courtesy, sensitivity and respect. We recognize and cherish the richness contributed to our lives by diversity." Certainly these crucial aspects of respect, sensitivity and diversity of opinion were lacking in the aforementioned presentation.

We further recall that the events unfolding in the Middle East are infinitely nuanced. As such, it is the responsibility of the University to provide students with multiple viewpoints in order to allow them to make educated and informed decisions. When this responsibility is forgotten or ignored, students are put in a precarious position and are oftentimes left with only one side of the story. And those students who are informed are left feeling betrayed and alienated.

The state of Israel is the homeland to the Jewish people. As such, we believe that one of the roles of the Jewish Studies Department is to ensure that Israel does not go unrepresented at events such as these. We feel that in another venue, the Israeli representative Zeev Maoz's criticism of Israeli politics may have been appropriate, but when surrounded by speakers whose arguments were steeped in anti-Israel bias, the failure to fairly and holistically represent the Israeli perspective was glaringly obvious and upsetting. If the Jewish Studies Department is not going to provide a safe academic environment for UC Davis' Jewish student community, then who will?

We further note that the repercussions of this situation extend beyond the realm of Jewish Studies. Academic diversity, fairness and balance are issues of concern to the whole campus community.

As a result of recent conflicts in the Middle East, tensions have been high between supporters of Israel and Palestine. It is our deep concern that events such as "Cycles of Violence" may be the beginning of an institutionalized anti-Israel sentiment on campus, which puts all Jewish students at risk. We hope that in the future, the Jewish Studies Department will be more respectful of the diversity of opinions on Israel, more sensitive to the volatile political atmosphere on campus and more supportive of the Jewish students at UC Davis.

Signed respectfully,

Brian Levin -- president, Aggies for Israel

Daniel Friedman -- president, Jewish Student Union

Jonathan McEvoy -- president, Alpha Epsilon Pi Fraternity

Elissa Denker -- president, Sigma Alpha Epsilon Pi Sorority

Adina Farkash -- treasurer, Chai

Eddie Cohen -- president, Jewish Law Student Association

UC Irvine: "It's hard to be openly proud and celebrate my heritage. I feel uncomfortable and feel other students won't accept my Judaism to the same extent they accept other cultures and religions." (p. 105, Tobin, G.A., Weinberg, A. K., & Ferer, J. , *the Uncivil University*, 2005, S.F.: Institute for Jewish & Community Research.)

UC Los Angeles:

Upon entering the graduate history program at UCLA with a general focus on the modern Middle East, I was eager to participate in an environment of liberal intellectual inquiry and open-minded discussion of pertinent issues. I was entering the esteemed UCLA program without any pre-conceptions, expecting only to be able to work diligently and to delve into research areas under the judicious guidance of a team of expert advisors. What I soon discovered, however, was that the academic discourse at the UCLA history department was most often limited to certain scholarly viewpoints, and blatantly dismissive of, if not utterly disdainful towards counter-views. To be sure, the Middle Eastern field in academe is certainly susceptible to impassioned debate, encompassing such emotionally-laden topics as western Imperialism in the region, the on-going Arab-Israeli conflict, and the radicalization of Islam, to name but a few. What an aspiring student of the region's history would have anticipated would have been a broad-minded and thoughtful approach, rather than a narrow and tendentious one.

After successfully completing the Masters Degree and earning the praise and encouragement of my peers and professors, I set up a team of advisors who I assumed would most auspiciously direct me in preparing for my doctoral exams and contemporaneously steer me towards a viable and compelling research subject for my dissertation. I felt very fortunate, for an ambitious and talented scholar by the name of

Dr. James Gelvin had just been hired to fill a long-standing vacancy in the modern Middle East, with a focus on the Arab world. Indeed, Dr. Gelvin was a budding specialist in 20th century Syrian history, and considering that I was particularly interested in the history of early Zionist activities in the Ottoman/Mandatory Palestine, I sensed that we could forge an ideal match between student and mentor.

What I quickly came to learn in the year and a half that I worked with Dr. Gelvin was that our professional relationship was not only compromised by my ethnic identity, but by Dr. Gelvin's explicit political agenda intertwined within his scholarship goals. I was also subjected to his occasionally inappropriate remarks aimed at disparaging my nationality. So, "you were born in Zionist-occupied Palestine", "your people stole the Jaffa oranges from the indigenous inhabitants", and any mention of the word "Israel", or any reference to a national Jewish presence in the region, was always couched as an uniquely aggressive, hypocritical, and illegitimate expression by my mentor. I could tolerate the occasional verbal assaults.

What I could not stomach however, were the intellectual limits that Dr. Gelvin imposed on the research possibilities and scholarly paradigms. For both our directed study course and a larger graduate course on the modern Middle East, Dr. Gelvin assigned a compulsory reading list that almost exclusively focused on the arcane works of anti-western scholars. The lists were extensive, encompassing the scholarship of Zachary Lockman, Joel Beinin, and Timothy Mitchell, amongst many other neo-Saidian scholars in the field. Their scholarly conclusions were indeed provocative and instructive, but tellingly Dr. Gelvin neglected to include scholarship that proposed a balanced counter-view. Where were the works of established Middle Eastern specialists, such as H.A.R. Gibb, Bernard Lewis, Eli Kadourie, Fouad Ajami, or the new generation of scholars such as Mark Tessler, Barry Rubin, and Martin Kramer to name but a few. Not only did Gelvin revile or totally ignore highly respected and long-time Israeli scholars such as Yehoshua Porath, Shtai Teveth, or Moshe Maoz, but he also completely discounted the works of the New Israeli historians, works that have been appropriated by numerous historians both Inside the Israeli academy and Internationally as a means of deconstructing conventional historical wisdom of the old Zionist school.

I became decidedly exasperated in my repeated efforts to find a credible and original subject for my dissertation, under the auspices of Dr. Gelvin's mentorship. I proposed a number of possible research options: Arab-Zionist cooperative schemes between 1908-1918, an analysis of the dynamics of the 20th century, an interpretation of motives, obstacles, and effects of so-called Palestinian collaborators during the 1930's and 1940's, the radicalization of Palestinian Islamism as a nationalist expression, etc.-- but to no avail. Judging by my mostly futile conversations with Dr. Gelvin, it became apparent to me that my mentor would only consider presiding over the subject of Jewish nationalism in Palestine if it solely exhibited the reprehensibility of the Zionist project, in all its multifarious forms. A critical and systematic probing of the strengths and weaknesses of anything involving the term Zionism was simply out of the question.

To my dismay, most, if not all of the other Middle Eastern studies professors besides Dr.

Gelvin---Dr. Peterburg, Dr. Marsot, Dr. Keddie, Dr. Morony---also seemed to harbor ideological sentiments inimical to the study of Israel/Zionism within the context of the region at large. My impressions were shaped by my exposure to these professors' graduate study courses as well as their undergraduate courses.

Addendum: The verbal assaults hurled at me by Dr. Gelvin were not done in front of an organized large class, but rather in front of a few of my graduate student colleagues at the time. On one occasion his assault took place during a one-on-one meeting at his office. I simply saw no future in such an intellectually stifling environment. The fact of the matter is that my utter disappointment with the program was not limited to my unproductive encounters with Dr. Gelvin. Middle Eastern Studies In America (MESA) is the umbrella organization of the academic field and the prevailing and dogmatic "group think" of this organization I quickly came to learn, would not allow me to effectively exercise my independent intellect, let alone allow me to cultivate a career niche in academia.

UC Santa Barbara:

A letter to Professor McGinnis from a UCSB student:

I'm an undergraduate here at UCSB, and a former student of yours. I'm writing because I was at the David Landau lecture yesterday and heard your comment about the legitimacy of comparisons between Nazi behavior and U.S. or Israeli behavior. I affirm that you are entitled to your opinion, and I believe that you are not an anti-Semite. What I feel compared to do is offer a different perspective.

In your comparison, you fail to make the distinction between a complex political conflict and the essential evil of Nazism. As a basic principle, if the terms "fascism" and "Nazi" are to retain their meaning, we cannot apply them to any or all behavior we find aggressive or disagreeable.

The Nazis as you know are responsible for some of the most harrowing crimes in human history. Their evil exists in a class by itself. I speak not just of harrowing persecution and mass-murder, but a brand of messianic aggression that launched the most cataclysmic period of suffering known to humanity that led to the deaths of forty million.

As far as you spoke last night, the analogy rests not only on aggressiveness, but on statements mentioning the "will" and "new world order." While Hitler and Bush may have each spoke these words, the comparison is flimsy indeed.

The idea of "will" was central to Hitlerian thought in that he believed a regimented state to which all were loyal could most effectively channel a nation's collective spirit. You would be hard-pressed to show that Bush likewise attempts to demand such an expression of American will or order of American society, and certainly not in the form of any Hitler-like ambition of imperialist territorial aggrandizement and racist subordination.

Today, French leaders speak of a "new world order" with a unified Europe as a world power to counter that of the U.S. Osama bin Laden issues communiqués that call for new orders based on Islamic virtue. A vision of how the world ought to operate is not a sin in and of itself, nor is it unique to the Nazis.

Israel's actions may seem inappropriate or even evil to you, but Nazi-like behavior has no place in describing it. If the Israelis did take a cue from the Nazis (which they're more than technically capable of), there wouldn't be any Palestinians left to defend.

I submit that your comment is part of a larger trend, whereby those who disprove of Israeli actions in their struggle to vent the depths of their wrath, invoke the greatest evils of the 19th and 20th centuries. Thus, we witness endless labeling of Israel as racist, colonialist, imperialist and apartheid-like. But nothing, nothing could be so effective as to label Israel behavior as akin to that of the Nazi, is it?

To label a country where most Holocaust survivors live, and whose children make up its army, is dreadful. Invoking the crimes of the Nazis is wrong because there in fact exists no comparison to their cosmic evil. Nothing even begins to approach what happened there.

I humbly ask that you take pause and weigh carefully that charge which you level, and the gravity of the comparison you make. Even as we face the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, tragic and persistent though it may be, we must maintain limits and we must respect the sanctity of events past.

UC Santa Barbara:

A letter to the staff and management of the UCSB Women's Center from a UCSB undergraduate:

I was greatly disappointed to hear of your event – “Black Laundry” – on Tuesday, January 20th. However, I am less than surprised, for this is but an addition to your clear record of anti-Israel bias. As you know, you also hosted on October 23rd 2003 as part of your Faculty Lecture Series a pro-Palestinian advocacy lecture by Lisa Hajjar. Her speech, I hasten to add, remains entirely unrelated to women's issues.

One must ask what the intent of illustrating the plight of Israeli homosexuals is to students in Santa Barbara. Has there been particular concern on the part of the Santa Barbara homosexual community about purported Israeli intolerance? Why Israel, after all? Surely there are similar documentaries available from other countries?

To claim Israel merits especial concern about its treatment of its gay and lesbian minority is absurd. Israel offers its homosexual community more rights than any other nation in existence save a handful rich European democracies. The very concept of decent treatment of gays and lesbians is an offense to the non-Israeli cultures of the region. It is an irony of the vilest sort to draw attention to alleged Israeli alleged intolerance towards homosexuals when its neighbors treat their gays identically to the way their ancestors did in 12th century: with exclusion, shame, beatings, torture and execution.

If you to travel in any direction within a six-hundred mile radius of Israel, Dalit Baum's activism would at once place her health and safety at mortal risk. The gay parade in Tel Aviv is one of the world's largest, outshining even that of Rio de Janeiro and rivaling San Francisco's. To this I can attest because I have attended all three. When our own

Professor Aaron Belkin tries to advance the cause of gay integration into the U.S. military, to whose example does he point but Israel's, perhaps history's most homosexual-friendly army? Again, the reality of the situation is that there exist no more than a handful of countries on earth more tolerant of homosexuals than the State of Israel.

Like many others, I am at a loss to explain why you felt it necessary to host yet another event that evinces clear hostility to Israel. By sponsoring pro-Palestinian advocacy from Lisa Hajjar, you had already done enough to contribute to the already fashionable atmosphere of hostility towards the small terrorized nation. Note that currently on your web site's event listing, Israel is the only nation mentioned by name, let alone the only one to have its own special event to criticize it. Perhaps this would be a good time for the staff of the Women's Center to reflect on the following questions: why it is that you keep returning to the anti-Israel theme?

UC Santa Cruz:

I write this letter in an attempt to help you understand the grave reality that exists on our campuses today. This reality, which I began to experience when I entered UC Santa Cruz as a freshman, only a few days after the 11th of September 2001, was something as unexpected to me as the events of that fateful day. As a Jew who grew up in the United States of America, I felt that I would never have to endure what my Eastern European grandparents did. I had high hopes as I entered college, and I was eager to study, be educated and prosper. Little did I realize that my university experience would be tainted by the great discomfort I felt as a Jew on a campus with a clear anti-Israel and anti-Zionist bias.

To start off, I must state that I believe in freedom of speech; it is man's greatest gift and most valuable human right; it must be protected and cherished. However, I believe that a university must protect its students from the misuse and manipulation of that right by professors and guest speakers alike. It is in this regard that UCSC has failed in its obligation to its Jewish students in general, and to me in particular. Let me share with you some of my experiences at the university.

In the Spring quarter of my freshman year, I attended a "Free-Palestine" event featuring a talk by Malik Ali. Ali arrived with two huge bodyguards, who each stood in front of one of the two doors -- blocking the exits. Wearing the Star of David on my neck, I suddenly felt uncomfortable and seriously contemplated taking it off for that evening only, though in the end I did not. The speech itself was beyond what words can describe. Not once mentioning the Palestinians at any point, other than to refer to Palestinian suicide bombers as holy martyrs, Ali's sole focus was on demonizing the evil Jews, namely, the Zionists. I sat there for two hours as he made claims such as "The Jews should go back to where they came from- Germany", all the while pointing at an invisible enemy in the distance. I thought I was in a horror movie. *This can't be happening at my university*, I thought to myself. Some of my fellow Jewish friends, especially one girl in particular, a very sweet girl, burst into tears at one point and had to leave the room. His words were so harsh, so hateful. I think it wasn't even his words which broke my heart as much as the cheers he received from the audience, which was mainly comprised of my fellow students,

colloquies and professors. I collected all my strength during the Q&A session that followed, trying with all my might not to burst into tears myself or even worse, burst in anger. I asked him a question- I do not even remember what it was- I only remember him laughing at it and of course, not answering it at all. The fact that I was Israeli born suddenly came up, and I remember the feeling of 200 sets of eyes piercing at my back and Ali asking me while pointing a finger directly at me, "Are you PROUD of being an Israeli?". I answered a simple "Yes". He then laughed and asked, "And do you want to die for your country?" I answered, "No sir, I'd rather not die, I'd much rather live". He laughed even more and with a raised tone he proclaimed, "You see, THAT is the difference between you people and us- that we value DEATH more than LIFE". People then cheered him on again as I stood there, frozen in place, unable to process what he had just proudly announced. I was scared. The tension in the room was so thick you could cut it with a knife and I, for the first time ever, realized that my college campus was no longer a safe environment for me any more.

This sense of personal discomfort continued until the day I graduated, and not only because of speakers like Ali and events like "Palestine Week", of which there were many. Even in my classes I felt discriminated against because of my Jewishness.

In my senior seminar course, which I took for my politics major. The course explored the history of religion, the causes of the Holocaust, and if and how the world has changed since. The students were asked to give an in-class presentation about their individually picked final paper topics. My final topic and presentation involved a discussion of Zionism, and was followed by a question and answer session. This session didn't actually involve any questions, but was rather a blunt attack on me by my fellow students. Several students kept asking hurtful and very personal questions, while the professor sat quietly in his seat. I felt as if I was under attack and in fact, I really was. I responded to as many comments as I could without showing my true emotions. Then, after I did a quick description of Zionism- the belief that Jews deserve a state of their own- one student contemptuously responded that Zionism was Nazism and that I as a Zionist am nothing less than a Nazi. I was numb. It was silent in the class; the professor said nothing. Can you even begin to imagine how painful it is to hear such a thing? I, as the granddaughter of holocaust survivors, am now being called the name of the very same people responsible for the murder of my granduncles and aunts. I still cannot believe the events of that day. I can not believe I was called a Nazi. And above all, I can not believe my professor didn't even react. I must admit that I spent the ten minute break in the bathroom stall crying my eyes out. I was heart-broken.

Is this the type of environment American colleges aspire to provide for their students? Am I supposed to feel personally attacked in my classrooms both by my fellow students and by my professors for thinking that Israel has the right to exist? Or is it for the fact that I am Jewish? Why do I get singled out everywhere I go on campus? I do not provoke people. I would never walk around with a sign calling for the destruction of the Palestinian people nor would I ever think that, and yet my colleagues do march proudly on campus, wearing T-Shirts or holding signs calling for the destruction of the State of Israel and the obliteration of the evil Zionist people.

What do you think I feel like on such a campus? Why can't my fellow students have the chance to think for themselves? Why are they fed with lies and hate? What values is my generation

being raised upon? These questions haunt me day and night. I fear for the future. I fear for my naïve and innocent little brother who just started his freshman year in college. When will people realize that free-speech should not include the incitement of hate towards one people? The situation on college campuses is growing out of hand. Students feel unsafe in their classrooms, in their dorm rooms and on their way to class. When will we learn that words lead to action?

I can never forget the dozens of times that I would walk to class and see drawings of Swastikas on flyers for Jewish holidays; Swastikas on the Israeli flags and blood drawn on Israeli leaders. The writing IS on the wall, and it is about time someone stands up and says- "not on my campus! - Not to my students!"

UC Santa Cruz:

I am a freshman and I live on campus. One afternoon early in the semester I was walking by a campus dining hall. I was wearing a Jewish star necklace. There was an elderly couple passing out literature. I was simply walking by. The couple, I assume, saw my star and started yelling, "You are the reason Palestinian babies are dying." I had in no way provoked them. I did not respond because they were making a scene and there were lots of people around. As I continued to walk away they called me "cowardly" and said that it just proves that they are right.

UC Santa Cruz:

The Committee for Justice in Palestine brought a speaker to my campus during the spring of 2006. His name was Abdul Malik. From what I understand, he is an imam in Oakland and travels to many local universities and colleges to speak about Israel. The event was held in the Bookstore Plaza, the closest thing that UCSC has to a center of campus. The speech was amplified; he spoke on a raised platform; behind him were a number of bodyguards dressed in black. His speech was frighteningly antisemitic. I was astonished to be hearing it at my university campus. It was the sort of thing I would expect from a neo-Nazi or other extreme right-wing group. He said that Jews own Hollywood, the banks, the media. He said that Israel is an apartheid state. He insinuated that Jews control the world economy and are putting college students in debt. He also insinuated that capitalism and consumerism are Jewish creations. He speech was videotaped, so it is possible to identify his exact words. In sum, it was a rude awakening to the reality of being Jewish at UCSC. Thankfully, we have a small but dedicated group of Jewish students and faculty, who were able to hold a silent gathering to protest the imam's speech. I understand and appreciate our first amendment rights, but I also know that if the KKK were to have spoken at the Bookstore Plaza, the outcome would have been different. This is evidence, I think, that antisemitism is an accepted form of bigotry at UCSC, and at any other university where Abdul Malik speaks.

Appendix 1

Excerpts from the complaint against UC Irvine for discrimination against Jewish students in Violation of Title VI, U.S. 1964 Civil Rights Act

The Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education, is investigating a complaint filed 10/11/2004, by Zionist Organization of America's Center for Law and Justice, that charges that a pattern of discrimination against Jewish Students, begun in 2001, exists at UCI in Violation of Title VI, Civil Rights Act of 1964. The complaint indicts the university administration for accepting and remaining silent, and at times, being complicit in a campus environment in which Jewish students have been subjected to longstanding and pervasive hostility and intimidation that have interfered with their ability to participate in or benefit from UCI's programs. Title VI requires UCI to protect Jewish students from harassment, intimidation and discrimination. The complaint states that the administration could and should have done so by publicly and unequivocally rejecting and condemning anti-Semitic views and conduct, by refusing to furnish financial, material or any other support for anti-Semitic behavior, and by refusing to provide a forum for hate and lies on campus. However, by remaining silent, and at times participating, the administration is accused of giving legitimacy to anti-Semitic conduct on campus.

The documentary evidence is as follows:

- **2/2001:** The Muslim Student Union, whose stated purpose as a registered UCI student organization is to promote Islamic culture, invited Imam Muhammad al-Asi as a guest speaker. In his talk, he told the student audience: "We have a psychosis in the Jewish community that is unable to co-exist equally and brotherly with other human beings." The UCI administration never condemned or countered this clear anti-Semitic statement intended to incite hatred of Jews.
- **2/2002:** A Muslim student newspaper, "Alkalima", praised Hamas and Hizbollah as "resistance movements against Zionist aggression", although those organizations have been designated by the U.S. government as foreign terrorist organizations. The authors justified their report by an anti-Semitic statement that "Zionist-controlled world media has been purposefully distorting and misconstruing world events too long." The UCI administration was silent.
- **7/2002:** The Muslim student newspaper, "Alkalima", featured a cover portrait that morphed together the faces of Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon and Adolph Hitler, with the caption "History Repeats Itself". The comparison was factually and historically wrong and morally reprehensible, but the UCI administration said and did absolutely nothing. The UCI administration has continued to permit the use of the university's newsstands on campus to make the newspaper available to the entire campus community.

- **3/2002:** The Muslim Student Union posted a sign on Ring Road that read, “Israelis Love to Kill Innocent Children”. After Jewish students objected to the sign, the Dean of Students met with the president of the Muslim Student Union and the sign was relocated to another part of the campus in defiance of the request of the Dean of Students to remove the sign. A Jewish student was distraught and traumatized by the sign, was unable to return to campus for a week, and reported the incident to the Dean of Students, but the administration did nothing. Other UCI students reported also being intimidated by the sign and altering their behavior by taking other routes to their classes or by stopping wearing jewelry and clothing that identified them as Jews.
- **5/2002:** “Zionist Awareness Week” is an annual event sponsored by the Muslim Student Union that presents speakers and programs that spread lies about Jews, Israel and Zionism and even condone terrorism. In **5/2002**, Muslim student groups carried signs on campus with slogans like “Zionism is Nazism” and “Why Do Israelis Love to Kill Innocent Children?”, and posters equating Prime Minister Sharon with Adolph Hitler. The UCI administration uttered not one word.
- **2/2004:** The Muslim Student Union again invited Amir Abdel Malik Ali to speak at a seminar entitled “America Under Siege: The Hidden Agenda of Zionism”. Ali told his student audience that Zionists have “Congress, the media and the FBI in their back pocket.” Ali delivered his speech from a lectern emblazoned with the UCI emblem, thereby giving the speech the imprimatur of the university. The UCI administration did nothing and said nothing.
- **5/2004:** The Muslim Student Union held its fourth annual Zionist Awareness Week, during which they displayed posters equating the Star of David with the swastika. The Society of Arab Students, whose stated purpose as a recognized student group is “uniting Arab and non-Arab students at UCI...to offer students the opportunity to experience and celebrate Arab heritage through exciting and educational and social events”, constructed a wall intended to represent the Israel security fence, and created a mock checkpoint at which a Muslim Student Union member dressed as an Israeli soldier and “beat” another member dressed as a pregnant Palestinian Arab woman. These actions caused many Jewish students to feel hated, and some became afraid for their own physical safety. The UCI administration remained silent, and did nothing to reassure Jewish students, or to address their concerns in any way. Despite the violation of stated purposes by both the Muslim Student Union and the Society of Arab Students, UCI allows their programs to run, provides them with facilities and other support, and makes university funds available to them.
- **1/2004:** A stone was thrown at a Jewish student, who was wearing a tee shirt that read “Everybody loves a Jewish boy”. The student became afraid of wearing a “Jewish” or pro-Israel tee shirt ever again on campus. He also notified the administration about the incident. The administration turned a blind eye.

- **2/2004:** A Jewish student, wearing a pin with an imprint of the American and Israeli flags that said “United We Stand” was harassed by an Arab student who said “Slaughter the Jews” in Arabic. Another Arab student shouted at him, “Palestine for life, you Israeli bitch.” The Jewish student responded that there is no country called “Palestine”. But the Arab students followed him into the Dean of Students office, circling him and yelling, “What did you say, you little racist bitch?” In Arabic he then said, “I am Arab, I am Egyptian.” One of the Arab students then said, “I am going to kill you, you fucking Jewish bitch, unless you apologize. You are a traitor to all Egyptians.” The Jewish student was very frightened, but said, “I am not going to apologize.” The Jewish student filed a police report and also reported the incident to the administration. The administration did absolutely nothing.
- **3/2004:** The same Jewish student, wearing a yarmulke and carrying a prayer book, walked by an Arab student, who made an obscene gesture toward the Jewish student. The Jewish student became angry and asked why the gesture had been made, to which the Arab student replied, “Because you are a dirty Israeli.” An argument ensued, during which the Arab student yelled racial slurs such as “dirty Jew”. As the two were separated by the Jewish students, friends, the Arab student yelled, “Fuck you, my cousin is in Hamas. He killed enough of you pigs.” A UCI dean told the Jewish student that the Arab student had been given a “warning”, but there was no other repercussions for the Arab student. The Jewish student no longer feels safe on the UCI campus and is spending the semester elsewhere, hoping to transfer to another university.
- The Dean of Students allows members of the Muslim Student Union to congregate in his office and pray right outside, and to hold many of its meetings in the Dean’s office, without reserving the space in accordance with university rules. Both Jewish and non-Jewish students feel threatened and intimidated walking through the throng in order to enter the Dean of Students’ office. The UCI administration is aware of the students’ feelings, but have stated that there is nothing that can be done about it---although there are many other places that this group can regularly congregate on campus, and other more appropriate locations to hold their prayer sessions.
- Half-hearted efforts made by the UCI administration were never implemented to correct the problem. For example, in **9/2002**, the administration set up “rules of dialogue” for student groups, including rules that posters would not equate Zionism with Nazism, or equate the Star of David with the swastika. However, the rules were clearly violated by the Muslim student groups in **5/2004** during “Zionist Awareness Week”. The UCI administration took no action to enforce its own rules.
- In the spring of **2003**, a student-built Holocaust memorial was destroyed. The administration did not complete an investigation of the incident, did not classify it as a hate crime, and did not condemn the vandalism. At the same time, when a

candlelight vigil was held to commemorate the Holocaust, a university table was defaced by a swastika. That hate incident was reported to the police, but nothing was done about it.

- In contrast, when a wall, intended to represent the Israeli security fence, built by the Society of Arab Students in **5/2004**, was burnt to the ground, the UCI administration reacted in a clear and unambiguous way, classifying it as a hate crime, with the Chancellor emailing a message to the entire university community, condemning the incident and emphasizing “in no uncertain terms that there will be consequences for anyone who initiates such activities on this campus.”
- After the destruction of the wall, the Society of Arab Students organized a university-wide anti-hate rally, inviting all student organizations to attend, but expressly prohibiting Jewish student groups from participating. The UCI administration not only remained silent, but became complicit in anti-Jewish discrimination when the Vice Chancellor spoke at the rally. The administration thus expressly endorsed and approved the rally in a so-called campus-wide event that deliberately excluded Jews.
- **5/2004:** Graduating Muslim students encouraged other graduates to wear sashes displaying the “Shahada”, at the university’s commencement ceremony. “Shahada” is a declaration of one’s faith in Allah, but it also means “martyrdom” and is a concept used to glorify terrorism and suicide bombings. During the ensuing controversy, in which Jewish students expressed the hostility and intimidation they felt by the Shahada sashes, the UCI administration exacerbated the problem. Rather than addressing the concerns that the Jewish students raised, the Associate Dean of Students pressured Jewish student group leaders to publicly issue a statement accepting the sashes. When the Jewish student leaders declined to issue such a statement, the administrator said that he was deeply disappointed in the Jewish students, and that their refusal to issue a statement supporting the sashes spoke to the character of their organizations. He then cut short his meeting with the Jewish students to be interviewed on a local radio show about the sash controversy. On the air, he deliberately misrepresented the sentiments of the Jewish students, stating that they were not upset.