

**Identity Politics, the Pursuit of Social Justice,  
and the Rise of Campus Antisemitism:  
A Case Study**

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**Introduction**

On November 6, 1968, students from the Black Student Union and the Third World Liberation Front at San Francisco State College (later San Francisco State University) initiated a five-month strike -- the longest campus strike in U.S. history -- which set in motion a chain of events that changed the face of American higher education. One of the earliest and most significant results of the strike was that acting college president S. I. Hayakawa agreed to the immediate establishment of the nation's first departments of black and ethnic studies, to be housed in a separate school of ethnic studies. These had been the key demands of the strikers themselves, who believed such programs would revolutionize the "white racist" institution and provide students of color with the necessary tools for combating oppression and pursuing social justice within their respective communities.

The student strike at San Francisco State College (SFSC) reflected the broader social upheaval that was characteristic of the 1960's, and the strikers' demands echoed the *cris de coeur* of radical social activists across the nation.<sup>1</sup> On the heels of the SFSC strike, similar battles were waged by students at the University of California Berkeley, Columbia University, Cornell University, and on many other American campuses. By 1971, students had won black studies programs in more than 500 colleges and universities and were responsible for the introduction of ethnic studies courses into the academic programming in almost 1,300 institutions of higher learning.<sup>2</sup>

The establishment of the nation's first departments of black and ethnic studies marked the first time in the history of the modern American research university that the promotion of group identity and the pursuit of social justice played significant roles in the core mission of an academic discipline. Although these goals are meritorious in many respects, their incorporation into the academic programming of institutions of higher education threatened to replace the university's traditional, universally-honored mission of pursuing truth and knowledge in an objective and dispassionate way with the more parochial goals of particularistic advocacy and activism. Among its many profound consequences, did this radical break with long-standing scholarly tradition help to pave the way for the dramatic increase in campus antisemitism that has been witnessed in recent years?<sup>3</sup> This question will be examined where the rupture first occurred: San Francisco State University (SFSU).

Founded in 1899, SFSU is one of the oldest of California's public universities. In 1961, the college was incorporated into the California state college system and quickly became known for its emphasis on educational innovation.<sup>4</sup> In 1965, for example, San Francisco State housed the nation's first student-run Experimental College, which in turn would serve as a model for the nation's first Department of Black Studies and the first and only College of Ethnic Studies.<sup>5</sup> Since the 1990's, however, SFSU has also had the dubious distinction of being known as the nation's most antisemitic campus.<sup>6</sup> This essay will explore how the origin and development of SFSU's Department of Black Studies and College of Ethnic Studies may have contributed to the dramatic rise in antisemitism on that campus decades after their establishment. It will also consider what light this might shed on the phenomenon of antisemitism in higher education today.

### **The Origin of the Department of Black Studies and the College of Ethnic Studies at SFSU**

In the mid 1960's, an ideological split arose between those members of the San Francisco State College Negro Student Association (NSA) who favored integration and those who favored separation.<sup>7</sup> The latter group of students was strongly influenced by the Black Panther Party, a black nationalist organization rooted in the principles of revolutionary socialism, which sought to liberate black people from oppression through an armed struggle against racism, capitalism, imperialism, and sexism.<sup>8</sup>

In 1966, under the leadership of Black Panther member Jimmy Garret, who acknowledged coming to SFSC solely to promote a nationalist agenda and to mobilize black students for revolutionary action, the black nationalist students broke away from the NSA and created the Black Students Union (BSU), the first in the nation. Garret and SFSC graduate student George Murray, who at the time was the Black Panther "Minister of Education," encouraged BSU members to see the college as a profoundly flawed and racist institution and to commit themselves to struggling against it.<sup>9</sup> Out of this struggle grew an awareness that offering courses in black studies could be an important way to advance their nationalist goals. These courses would not only counter the "white value and white attitudinal courses"<sup>10</sup> that were being offered at SFSC, but they would also advocate a radically new paradigm of higher education, one that made the promotion of racial identity and the struggle against racism fundamental goals of the academy.<sup>11</sup>

Capitalizing on SFSC's reputation for being open to educational innovation and affording its students a high degree of participation in college affairs, in the fall of 1967 BSU students initiated the first credit-granting black studies courses in the Experimental College, which were taught on a voluntary or part-time basis by faculty and graduate students. By the end of the 1967-68 academic year, it was taken for granted that a black studies program would be established at the college.<sup>12</sup>

Indeed, the concept of such a program had already been considered by the SFSC administration as early as 1966, and soon after black students put forward the idea of black studies in the Experimental College, administrators began meeting with them about the creation of a black studies department. Over the next two years, university administrators sought to develop a proposal and hire a staff for such a department.<sup>13</sup> In February 1968, at the urging of members of the BSU, SFSC president Robert Smith

circumvented normal academic procedure and unilaterally appointed Dr. Nathan Hare as Special Curriculum Supervisor to develop and co-ordinate a black studies curriculum. Although Hare had recently been fired from Howard University for “his militant pro-black activities,” Smith was nevertheless anxious for him to come to SFSC in order to diffuse growing racial tensions, declaring that “this college is going to explode wide open...if the blacks do not get what they want soon.”<sup>14</sup> In the spring semester of 1968 at least fourteen black studies courses were offered under the joint auspices of several departments.<sup>15</sup>

The BSU’s dispute over black studies, which motivated the five-month strike, was therefore not about the establishment of a black studies program, but rather about the delay in its establishment and its scope.<sup>16</sup> In late October 1968, when the BSU announced their intention to initiate a strike the following week, they revealed a list of “non-negotiable” demands, which included the following:<sup>17</sup>

- That there be a department of black studies which will grant a bachelor’s degree in black studies; that the black studies department chairman, faculty and staff have the sole power to hire and fire without the interference of the racist administration and the chancellor.
- That all black students who wish to, be admitted in fall 1969.
- That the California State College Trustees not be allowed to dissolve any black programs on or off the San Francisco State College campus.

As a result of a highly successful campaign undertaken by BSU members to build coalitions in support of their demands, particularly among students of color who shared their revolutionary goals, members of the Third World Liberation Front (TWLF), a broad coalition of non-black Third World student groups, joined the BSU strike action and offered their own set of complementary demands. These included the following:<sup>18</sup>

- That schools of ethnic studies for the ethnic groups involved in the Third World be set up, with students for each particular organization having the authority and the control of the hiring and retention of any faculty member, director, and administrator, as well as the curricula.
- That in the fall of 1969, all applications of nonwhite students be accepted.

On November 6, 1968 the BSU and TWLF initiated a well-organized insurgency that included massive rallies, clashes with police, and the shutting down of the SFSC campus. The BSU/TWLF strike was the first sustained assault against an institution by its students, who in this case employed violence unprecedented in the history of American higher education.<sup>19</sup> Although roundly condemned by college administrators and trustees and many local and state officials, the students’ strategy ultimately succeeded. On March 21, 1969, nearly five months after the strike had begun, Acting President Hayakawa reached a settlement with striking students, conceding to their major demands. These included the immediate establishment of a degree-granting department of black studies with jurisdiction over existing black studies courses and the right to hire and fire professors with the advice and consent of a community review board, as well as the development of a school of ethnic studies, which would house black studies and three other departments: La Raza studies, Asian American studies, and Native American studies.<sup>20</sup>

## **The Ideological Basis of Black Studies and its Influence at SFSU**

In an address to BSU students on the eve of the strike, Stokely Carmichael, “Honorary Prime Minister” of the Black Panther Party, described a vision of black studies that consisted of turning his movement’s radical philosophy into an academic discipline:

When you talk about black studies you talk about methodology and ideology, not just another subject. Not the same methodology the white man uses, but a different methodology to communicate to us. Different ideology means an ideology brooding in black nationalism. Not just adding black people to white history. That’s an insidious subterfuge.<sup>21</sup>

Dr. Nathan Hare, who had been hired by the SFSC president to develop the curriculum for a black studies program, shared Carmichael’s vision and incorporated it into “A Conceptual Proposal for a Department of Black Studies,” which he submitted in April 1968.<sup>22</sup> Hare’s proposal included a scathing critique of liberal arts education, which he claimed “grew out of the leisure class mentality, where it was prestigious to be nonproductive and to waste time and effort in useless endeavor. Hence footnoting minutiae and the like.” According to Hare, current standards of scholarship “evolved to restrict the overflow of recruits...into existing professional riches,” and resulted in racist policies, which excluded blacks from “the educational escalator.”<sup>23</sup>

To address this problem, Hare proposed a curriculum that he believed would not only instill in black students the values of black nationalism, but would also be both a means and an end to combating racism and the entire white racist system of education. Although he did not ignore the importance of strengthening the black identity of individual students, his ultimate goal was the “collective stimulation”<sup>24</sup> of an entire people. His proposal was essentially a political program for community action, aimed at providing students with an opportunity to gain expertise in the issues afflicting the black community and to develop the tools necessary for ending their oppression.

As a political program, black studies was separatist in nature and aimed exclusively at black students. White students interested in learning about the black experience were directed to courses that would ideally be offered through the “regular curriculum” in conventional departments. In this way, Hare differentiated between black education for blacks, which would be politically motivated and directed, and black education for whites, which would serve a purely academic purpose.<sup>25</sup>

A cadre of black professors who could serve as role models for students was an essential component of the curriculum. Hare warned that the participation of white professors “must be cautious and minimal,” and that any white professor who taught in the program “would have to be black in spirit in order to last.” However, white professors *were* encouraged to “increase course offerings on minority groups in the regular curriculum from which white students (and interested Negroes) might benefit.”<sup>26</sup>

Community involvement was another key component of the curriculum, both in terms of sending student activists into the black community and welcoming community activists to participate in the development of the black studies program. Although he emphasized intra-

ethnic coalitions, Hare also recognized the need for building inter-ethnic coalitions, and the importance of improving and increasing the educational participation of all ethnic groups.

The revolutionary ideology and methodology that formed the basis of the black studies proposal had a significant influence on other ethnic groups at SFSC, who were also seeking to establish academic programs with ethnically relevant courses. As Hare had done in his proposal, the coalition of groups comprising the Third World Liberation Front, in a document with their own proposal for ethnic studies programs, decried the “institutionalized condition of negligence and ignorance by the state’s educational systems,” linking these to racism and the hatred of nonwhite people.<sup>27</sup> And like the proposed program in black studies, these programs would also be rooted in a political activism that sought to confront “the racism, poverty and misrepresentation imposed on minority peoples by the formally recognized institutions and organizations operating in the State of California.”<sup>28</sup>

Echoing the separatist ideology of the black studies program, TWLF students pushed for an autonomous school of ethnic studies, which would be “developed, implemented and controlled by Third World people.”<sup>29</sup> The hope was that this would lead to a revolution in higher education, which would effect the dismantling of elitist academic standards and challenge the foundations of knowledge in the academy.<sup>30</sup>

The proposed ethnic studies programs also had a community-centered orientation, not only emphasizing a commitment to community service learning, but also encouraging community oversight and involvement.<sup>31</sup> Finally, although each of the ethnic groups represented in the school would have its own program, the school of ethnic studies was to have a multi-racial focus and promote solidarity among people of color for advancing their common goal of combating racism.

### **The Legacy of Black Studies and Ethnic Studies at SFSU**

Although it has been more than forty years since the establishment of the nation’s first department of black studies and school of ethnic studies, SFSU’s College of Ethnic Studies still houses the school’s original four departments and has remained true to the founding visions of these programs. The college’s commitment to fighting for the self-determination of communities of color and against racism and oppression, by training activist students and partnering with the community and with one another, can be seen from the college’s current statement of its mission and purpose:

The mission of the College of Ethnic Studies is to provide safe academic spaces and resources for all to learn the histories and contexts in which to practice the theories of resistance and liberation in order to eliminate racism and other forms of oppression...

The College was founded on principles of community-based research and teaching, student leadership and activism, and the self-determination of communities of color... Forty years ago the College of Ethnic Studies emerged from a collective struggle for self-determination and this quest continues to be the organizing principle of the college.

...Our commitment to self-determination is reflected in the College's founding curricular emphases on liberatory student-centered pedagogies and community participatory learning that promote creative thinking on solving social problems and disparities in communities of color and indigenous peoples.

...The primary aim of the College of Ethnic Studies is to actively implement a vision of social justice focusing on eliminating social inequalities that exist on the basis of race and ethnicity.<sup>32</sup>

In addition, each of the four departments within the College of Ethnic Studies has carried on the community-oriented, activist traditions of their predecessors: The Africana Studies curriculum is designed to serve the needs of the black community by providing students with the skills necessary “to serve as agents of awareness and change in their communities;”<sup>33</sup> Latino/Latina Studies (formerly La Raza Studies) offers a degree program “with an emphasis on equity, social justice, and community empowerment;”<sup>34</sup> The Department of American Indian Studies affirms the vision of its founders, embracing “a commitment to community participation and service -- from the community to campus and from the campus to the community -- towards the goal of facilitating American Indian self-determination through education;”<sup>35</sup> and Asian American Studies has articulated its commitment to serving the Asian American communities.<sup>36</sup>

In 2007, a new program, which focused on training a cadre of activist students to empower another “community of color,” joined these four departments: the Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas Initiative (AMED). Like the college itself, AMED proclaimed its commitment to “a justice-centered perspective...and strong collaboration between university and non-university communities,” with a goal of deepening “a sense of fairness, ethics, and solidarity among and between our communities.”<sup>37</sup>

### **The Origins of AMED**

The story of the establishment of the AMED program at SFSU in many ways echoes the story of the establishment of black and ethnic studies at the university in the late 1960's. It, too, begins with a group of politically motivated students eager to advance their group's activist goals at the university.

The General Union of Palestine Students (GUPS) is an international organization whose primary goal is organizing student activists to achieve justice and freedom for the Palestinian people.<sup>38</sup> GUPS is closely affiliated with the Palestine Liberation Organization,<sup>39</sup> whose 1968 charter calls for “armed struggle” to liberate all of Palestine, and denies the religious and historic connection of Jews to the land of Israel.<sup>40</sup> A GUPS chapter was founded at SFSU in 1973, eighteen years before the U.S. State Department removed the PLO from its list of terrorist organizations.

In May 2002, GUPS members were reprovved by university president Robert Corrigan for physically and verbally harassing Jewish students at a pro-Israel peace rally held on campus. In a letter addressed to the entire campus, Corrigan wrote that “a small but terribly destructive number of pro-Palestinian demonstrators” had engaged in

“intimidating behavior and statements too hate-filled to repeat.” Furthermore, Corrigan threatened that if, after campus police had reviewed videotapes of the event, there was evidence that students had violated university rules, these violators might be subjected to disciplinary procedures such as suspension or expulsion.<sup>41</sup>

In response to the president’s letter, GUPS members issued their own statement, charging that SFSU administrators had discriminated against them by stereotyping them “as aggressive terrorists...anti-Semites and hate mongers,” making it difficult for the group to reserve rooms, hold events, and exercise their rights of free speech. They called on fellow students to help them challenge these discriminatory policies by participating in a letter-writing campaign to promote their five demands: an apology from President Corrigan; a retraction of his letter; the dropping of all disciplinary action against GUPS; a requirement that administrators take a sensitivity training course regarding Arab-Americans; and *the establishment of an Arab and Muslim studies program* “in order to ensure Academic freedom on our campus and a fair and balanced course offering.”<sup>42</sup>

On June 21, 2002, Corrigan announced that as a result of an investigation into the behavior of GUPS students at the May 7<sup>th</sup> rally, he was putting that organization on probation and cutting off their funding for one year.<sup>43</sup> A week later, GUPS students, together with members of the SFSU Muslim Student Association (MSA) and representatives of the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC-SF), lodged a Title VI<sup>44</sup> complaint against SFSU, President Corrigan, and other top university administrators, with the U.S. Department of Education’s Office of Civil Rights (OCR). The complaint, which was filed on behalf of Arab American and Muslim American SFSU students and community members, alleged that the University had engaged in a number of discriminatory and unlawful practices that had created a hostile environment for Arab/Muslim-American students and non-students. Among the numerous examples of unlawful and discriminatory practices cited was the fact that the university had established a Jewish studies department allegedly in response to tensions on campus, but refused to establish an Arab and Islamic studies department. The plaintiffs suggested that to “alleviate the current hostile environment against Arab-Americans and Muslim Americans generated by recent University actions, the creation of an Arabic and Islamic Studies Department is imperative to educate the campus population about these cultures.”<sup>45</sup>

At about the same time, Corrigan established the President’s Task Force on Inter-Group Relations, whose initial focus was to be on the effect of Middle East issues on campus life. Its members were chosen from among the campus and local communities, and included representatives from GUPS, the MSA, and the ADC-SF, as well as several prominent members of the Arab and Muslim communities.<sup>46</sup> The final report of the President’s Task Force was issued in December 2002. Among its many recommendations was the following:<sup>47</sup>

The Task Force emphasizes its support for establishing an Arab and Islamic Studies Program to be housed in the College of Ethnic Studies and that this program signal a more global approach for the college. The Task Force also recommends that two full-time faculty members be hired to support such a program, preferably one in Arab American Studies and one in Muslim American Studies.

It is clear that the members of the Task Force were aware of the Title VI complaint filed by GUPS, MSA, and ADC-SF, as their report cites it as a source of information utilized in their deliberations. It is also fair to assume that the federal complaint, which was still being evaluated for possible investigation by the OCR and could have resulted in the loss of the university's federal funding,<sup>48</sup> had influenced the Task Force's final recommendations.

Although an initiative in Middle East and Islamic Studies had already been launched at SFSU in the Colleges of Behavioral and Social Sciences and Humanities in 2002,<sup>49</sup> university administrators chose to follow the Task Force's recommendation to establish a new program in Arab and Islamic studies in the College of Ethnic Studies, and by July 2003 the funding for such a program had been approved.<sup>50</sup> However, it was not until the spring of 2007 that the Initiative in Arab and Muslim Ethnicities and Diasporas was launched, with the intended goal of creating an AMED major and master's degree program.<sup>51</sup>

Not surprisingly, for the last several years GUPS has been closely allied with AMED and the College of Ethnic Studies. Since 2003, the group's faculty adviser has been a member of the college's faculty, and since AMED was launched in 2007, GUPS has partnered with that program in mounting events.

Thus, as the BSU and TWLF students had done almost forty years earlier, the GUPS students were able to successfully rally sympathetic students and community members to pressure the SFSU administration into creating an academic program that would advance their organization's activist goals.

### **Antisemitism<sup>52</sup> at SFSU**

Although SFSU saw a dramatic increase in anti-Jewish hostility after 2001 and was dubbed, as a result, "the nation's most antisemitic campus" by the Hillel Jewish student organization,<sup>53</sup> in the decade prior to that the university was already home to some of the worst incidents of antisemitism in its history.<sup>54</sup>

#### ***Antisemitic Activity of the Pan African Student Union***

In the 1990's, the primary source of antisemitic rhetoric and behavior at SFSU was the Pan African Student Union (PASU), an organization described by one of its members as the "ideological descendant of the original Black Student Union."<sup>55</sup> The PASU students, like members of African-American student organizations on campuses across the country, were strongly influenced by the Nation of Islam (NOI) and adopted the NOI's anti-Jewish ideology, which was expressed as a combination of classical antisemitic and anti-Zionist tropes, often "seamlessly merged" to simultaneously delegitimize Jews and the Jewish state.<sup>56</sup>

In May 1994, a ten-foot mural commissioned by the PASU and African Student Alliance to honor Malcolm X, long-time leader and spokesman of the Nation of Islam, was painted on the student union building. The mural also contained yellow Stars of David mingled with skulls and crossbones, dollar signs, and the words "African Blood." Jewish students charged that the symbols were antisemitic and requested that the

offensive parts of the mural be painted over. The artist refused, claiming that the mural wasn't intended to offend Jews but to depict Malcolm X's anti-Israel sentiments. In the following days, as the student senate debated what to do about the mural, its supporters broadcast speeches of Malcolm X in the campus plaza and chanted "Zionism is Racism." In a forceful statement condemning the mural, SFSU president Robert Corrigan wrote:

Particularly offensive is the prominent use within the mural itself of a yellow Star of David. With all its historical associations with Nazi Germany, such a symbol is shocking and utterly abhorrent. If we were to allow the mural to remain as is, we would be contributing to a hostile campus environment, one which says to students: 'We tolerate intolerance; we are silent in the face of bigotry.'<sup>57</sup>

Corrigan ordered the immediate removal of the mural and the next day it was painted over. However, after some students washed off the paint-over, Corrigan had the mural sandblasted and stationed sixty police in riot gear to defend the sandblasters from student protests.<sup>58</sup>

Six months later, PASU and the All African Peoples Revolutionary Party, a group founded by former Black Panther Party leader Stokely Carmichael, brought well-known anti-Zionist activist Ralph Schoenman to speak on campus.<sup>59</sup> Flyers promoting the lecture sported the banner "Zionism is Racism!" and described Schoenman as a Jewish scholar, writer, and human rights activist, who would be speaking about "Israeli [*sic*] brutality and Zionist imperialism throughout Africa, Latin Amer., and Palestine." In smaller letters underneath the description of the talk, the flyer read: "Come and learn why students resisted SFSU administration, CSU police, along with the Zionist powers who defaced the mural of Malcolm X at the end of last semester. Come and find out why the Zionists hide behind the term 'anti-Semitic' when they are condemned by the masses for their evil actions against helpless people."<sup>60</sup>

In May 1995, PASU leader and former student body president Troy Buckner-Nkrumah wrote an op-ed piece in the student newspaper, in which he accused "the Zionists" of controlling Congress and the media and attempting to control black leadership throughout the country "by telling black leaders what to do and who they can associate with." Further, Buckner-Nkrumah wrote the following:<sup>61</sup>

- "I do believe the only good Zionist is a dead Zionist, as I believe the only good Nazi is a dead Nazi, or the only good racist is a dead racist."
- "I support Palestinian groups like Hamas who have not sold out their land and continue to put bullets in settlers."
- "At this time in the struggle the Zionist is a prime enemy of the black struggle for liberation. They co-opt our leaders and mislead our people, degrade our people -- especially our women -- through their influence and participation in the record, television and film industries. Not to mention the destruction the Zionists have caused throughout Africa, by arming and sustaining oppressive and illegal regimes in hopes to control the gold and diamond reserves, as was done in the apartheid state of South Africa since 1948."

In February 1997, PASU members hung a banner over the same wall on which the Malcolm X mural had been painted, calling for the death of Peru's president and his "Zionist commandos." The sign also bore an Israeli flag with a swastika and an

American flag with a dollar sign. Soon after that, PASU students handed out flyers equating Zionism with racism and alleging a Zionist conspiracy at SFSU.<sup>62</sup>

A few weeks later, PASU sponsored a lecture by Khalid Muhammad, former National Assistant to Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, entitled “Who is Pimping the World?”<sup>63</sup> Although Muhammad viciously attacked whites, Catholics, and gays in his talk,<sup>64</sup> his most bigoted statements were directed at the Jews, including the following:<sup>65</sup>

- "The practice of those freakish Rabbis [circumcision] is that they place their lips on the penis of these young boys and after they have cut the foreskin back, suck the blood from the head of the penis of their own young boys."
- "The Federal Reserve is privately owned and a so-called Jew controls the Federal Reserve. . . . Talking about the National Debt, the Federal Debt, someone should ask, well who the hell do we owe. . . . And who in the world has that much money that we would get in debt with them. . . . Who are the rich power brokers behind the scenes?. . . Why is the Federal Reserve controlled by the so-called Jew?"
- "Our entertainers, our basketball players, our football players, our track stars, our baseball players, our entertainers and athletes are in the palm of the white Zionist Jew's hand."
- "The white man is not only practicing racism and Zionism, and with the prostitution ring, the so-called Jew man with the Jew woman all over the world to make a few dollars, he is also practicing sexism. He's a racist, he's a Zionist, an imperialist. He's a no-good bastard. He's not *a* devil, the white man is *the* Devil."

Gadi Meir, a representative of the San Francisco Jewish Community Relations Council who attended the lecture, reported that for each antisemitic epithet he hurled, Muhammad received thunderous applause from the hundreds of African American students who comprised most of the audience. As Muhammad’s talk turned to the perpetration of violence against whites -- "It is time for blacks to make revolutionary movies where blacks are killing white folks...Kill them so hard, slice their heads to bits right on the screen. Make it so lively that your popcorn feels it is getting soaked in blood off the screen!"-- Meir described feeling physically unsafe and wondering how Jewish students felt at SFSU on a daily basis.<sup>66</sup>

In his State of the University address delivered a few months after the Muhammad event, President Corrigan acknowledged that SFSU was considered “the most anti-Semitic campus in the nation,” and he openly wondered why faculty had not protested the talk by Muhammad the previous semester.<sup>67</sup> Corrigan seemed to be implying that the lack of such protest suggested that university faculty, particularly those closest to the PASU students, condoned their behavior.

Although the equation of Zionism with racism and the depiction of Israel as an “imperialist” nation were certainly present in at least some of these instances, they were not the most prevalent antisemitic tropes heard. Rather, Jews were portrayed with more classic antisemitic images as “rich power brokers” and “bloodsuckers” who preyed on the black community. Israel and Zionism were not the primary objects of vilification, but rather “white,” “racist” Jews, who used their money and power to exploit and oppress non-white people. In this context, the “racist,” “imperialist” nature of the Jewish state seemed to be offered only as supporting evidence of this alleged “truth” about Jews as such.

### *Antisemitic Activity of the General Union of Palestine Students*

In the next decade, as the primary source of antisemitic discourse and behavior at SFSU shifted from black students and their supporters to Palestinian students and their supporters, so, too, did the nature of the antisemitism. In large measure, this shift was driven by events outside of the university, especially the UN-sponsored World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (WCAR) held in Durban South Africa in September 2001. According to Irwin Cotler, former Minister of Justice and Attorney General of Canada, who attended the conference:

Durban was the “tipping point” for the emergence of a new wave of anti-Semitism masquerading as anti-racism...A conference dedicated to the promotion of human rights as the new secular religion of our time increasingly singled out Israel as a sort of modern-day geopolitical Anti-Christ.<sup>68</sup>

Written in highly politicized language, the WCAR NGO Durban declaration declared Israel “a racist, apartheid state,” accused Israel of “crimes against humanity, including ethnic cleansing [and] acts of genocide,” validated terrorist acts against Israel, and called for its elimination as a Jewish state. In addition, the declaration advocated “the launch of an international anti-Israel movement as implemented against South African Apartheid,” as well as “a policy of complete and total isolation of Israel as an apartheid state, which means the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions...”<sup>69</sup> Much of the anti-Israel rhetoric promulgated at the Durban conference, which met the working definition of antisemitism established by the European Monitoring Center on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC) and adopted by the U.S. State Department,<sup>70</sup> was incorporated by the GUPS students into their campus events after 2001.

In April 2002, GUPS, the MSA, and Associated Students were listed on a flyer circulated on campus advertising a pro-Palestinian event, Genocide in the 21 Century.<sup>71</sup> Invoking medieval antisemitic blood libel, the flyer featured a dead baby on a soup can label, framed by two Israeli flags and the words “Made in Israel -- Palestinian Children Meat -- Slaughtered According to Jewish Rites Under American License.” After Corrigan wrote letters to the groups describing the flyers as “a particularly repellent example of anti-Semitism...hate speech in words and image...an offense to the Jewish community ...[and] to the entire University community and all that we stand for,”<sup>72</sup> they were removed from campus. However, the pro-Palestinian event proceeded as scheduled, with a large audience in attendance.

The following day, as Jewish students were commemorating Holocaust Memorial Day in the campus plaza, a raucous rally sponsored by GUPS and MSA, which drew 500 – 800 students, was held nearby. The featured speaker of the pro-Palestinian event was Abdul Malik Ali, a black imam and former Nation of Islam member, who had been the first Muslim student body president at SFSU and had graduated from the university with a degree in communications and black studies. A familiar figure on California campuses, Malik Ali is well-known for his open support of Hamas and Hizbullah, his frequent equation of Jews and Nazis, and his claims that “the apartheid State of Israel” is carrying

out a “holocaust” and a “genocide” against the Palestinian people. In his 2002 talk at SFSU, Malik Ali praised suicide bombings against Israeli targets and said that he would be willing to martyr himself in order to kill Israelis.<sup>73</sup> He was also reported to have said that Israelis should return “to Germany, to Poland to Russia. The Germans should hook y'all up. You should go back to Germany.”<sup>74</sup>

The antisemitic harassment of Jewish students rose to unprecedented levels in May 2002, when, at the end of a pro-Israel peace rally sponsored by the SFSU Hillel, GUPS students who had been participating in a counter-demonstration surrounded the Hillel students and threatened them verbally and physically. According to Professor Laurie Zoloth, director of the Jewish studies program at SFSU and an eye-witness to the event:

As the counter-demonstrators poured into the plaza, screaming at the Jews to “Get out or we will kill you” and “Hitler did not finish the job,” I turned to the police and to every administrator I could find and asked them to remove the counter demonstrators from the plaza, to maintain the separation of 100 feet that we had been promised. The police told me that they had been told not to arrest anyone, and that if they did, “it would start a riot.” I told them that it already was a riot... The police could do nothing more than surround the Jewish students and community members who were now trapped in a corner of the plaza, grouped under the flags of Israel, while an angry, out of control mob, literally chanting for our deaths, surrounded us...There was no safe way out of the Plaza. We had to be marched back to the Hillel House under armed S.F. police guard, and we had to have a police guard remain outside Hillel.<sup>75</sup>

Not long after, a number of Jews at SFSU wrote letters and emails to university administrators complaining about the antisemitic content of GUPS’s university-hosted website. According to an article in the *Northern California Jewish Bulletin*, the GUPS website contained language referring to the “so-called holocaust” and accusing Zionists of controlling all media, as well as graphic images of Israel’s destruction. In addition, the GUPS site was linked to the “Muslim directory,” which contained articles referring to the Holocaust as “the lie of the century” and claiming “that the all stories about Holocaust created in sake of Zionist-Jews own benefit [*sic*].” The “Muslim directory” also contained bloody photos of alleged Israeli massacres, charges of Jewish ritual murder in Chicago in 1955, and a section on the Talmud claiming that “Jews believe gentiles to be non-human, on par with beasts and have free reign to rob, cheat and kill non-Jews or marry Jewish toddlers.” The “Muslim directory” was also linked to the Hamas webpage and an online copy of the fraudulent antisemitic text *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.<sup>76</sup>

The GUPS-initiated incidents that took place from April to June 2002 marked the beginning of a new era of antisemitism at SFSU. Whereas for the PASU students Jews represented one of several “white, racist” targets of their activism, Jews were in fact the primary target of GUPS student activism. Moreover, challenging the Jewish state and its supporters was understood to be the organization’s primary mission. In addition, as the agency of the antisemitic events on campus moved from African American to pro-Palestinian students, other differences became apparent: the focus of the animus shifted

from Jews in America to Jews in Israel; the antisemitic tropes employed to describe Jews escalated from terms like “blood suckers” to much more demonic images like “baby killers”; and the threats of physical violence against Jews, including Jewish students at SFSU, increased sharply.

In response to the antisemitic incidents during this two-month period, Corrigan announced that he was taking a number of steps to address the problem, including putting the GUPS students on probation for a year, shutting down their website, and establishing a campus-community task force to investigate “inter-group campus tensions” and suggest ways for improving the campus climate.<sup>77</sup> While these measures proved effective in the short-term, they failed to anticipate the ways in which the GUPS students would be able to advance their assault on the Jewish state and its supporters through other avenues, which, ironically, Corrigan himself had helped to open for them.

A week after the president’s announcement, an anonymous student posted a statement online in defense of the GUPS students, with a request for “professors, organizations, prominent community members, people from trade unions, or individuals” to sign. Although it is unclear how many signatories were ultimately garnered, the statement itself is significant in three respects, each of which can shed light on the factors that contributed to the rise in antisemitism at SFSU in the coming years, as well as the forms that such antisemitism was to take:<sup>78</sup>

First, the statement reframed the GUPS students’ antisemitic behavior and presented it as a legitimate form of protest against oppression:

All forms of protest and dissent against the policies of the United States and Israel which condemn the Palestinian people to lives of oppression and desperation should continue without reprisal from the university administration.

Second, it linked the students’ behavior to the university’s own activist traditions of challenging oppression and fighting injustice, which were begun with the establishment of the SFSU Ethnic Studies program:

This goes against the tradition of free speech, diversity, and opposition to injustice that has been part of San Francisco State University’s activist history since the achievement of the first Ethnic Studies program in the nation through a grassroots political campaign.

Finally, the statement called for the divestment of SFSU from the state of Israel. In so doing, it linked for the first time the GUPS students’ struggle against the “brutal, racist policies of the Israeli government” with an international campaign to economically harm the Jewish state, launched earlier that year.<sup>79</sup>

### ***GUPS’s Collaboration with AMED and the College of Ethnic Studies***

Under the sponsorship of a faculty member at the College of Ethnic Studies,<sup>80</sup> GUPS mounted or participated in dozens of pro-Palestinian, anti-Israel events on campus from 2003 on. A few of these are worth noting, because they highlight the collaboration of

GUPS with the College of Ethnic Studies and AMED. They also underscore the importance of these alliances for advancing GUPS's political agenda.

In July 2006, GUPS hosted and ran a student session at the Fourth International Al-Awda Convention, held at SFSU.<sup>81</sup> Al-Awda, the Palestine Right to Return Coalition, is an organization that opposes Israel's right to exist as a Jewish state, promotes resistance against it "by any means necessary,"<sup>82</sup> has been associated with groups on the U.S. State Departments' list of terrorist organizations,<sup>83</sup> and is at the forefront of the campaign calling for boycott, divestment, and sanctions against Israel (BDS).<sup>84</sup> According to organizers, one of the conference's major themes was the "political and material isolation of the Genocidal Zionist State of Israel." A substantial portion of the conference was devoted to discussing the promotion of anti-Israel boycott and divestment campaigns.

Three individuals involved with the conference had -- or would soon come to have -- special significance for the GUPS students:

- Dr. Jess Ghannam, the co-founder of Al-Awda and a member of the conference's host committee, was at that time an adjunct faculty member in the College of Ethnic Studies at SFSU, president of the San Francisco chapter of ADC-SF, and a member of the National Council of Arab Americans, an organization that would provide substantial support for the GUPS students.<sup>85</sup> Ghannam had also been on Corrigan's task force, whose recommendations led to the establishment of the AMED program. In 2009, he would co-found the U.S. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (USACBI).
- Dr. Rabab Abdulhadi, a keynote speaker at the conference, was at that time director of the Center for Arab and American Studies at the University of Michigan, Dearborn, but in a few months she would begin her new job as director and Senior Scholar of the AMED program at SFSU. Abdulhadi would also sit on the Advisory Board of USACBI.
- Michel Shehadeh, another featured speaker at the conference, had been the Western Regional Director of the Arab-American Anti-Defamation Committee (ADC) when GUPS, the MSA, and ADC-SF had filed their complaint with the OCR. At the time of the conference, Shehadeh was under investigation by the U.S. government on charges of abetting terrorist groups. It was not until 2007, after beginning work as a Research Associate in the AMED program, that he would be cleared of those charges.<sup>86</sup> Shehadeh, too, would sit on the USACBI Advisory Board.

During the same week that the Al-Awda conference was taking place, the SFSU student senate met to discuss whether to approve the design for a mural commissioned by the GUPS students, which was to honor the life of the late Columbia University professor Edward Said. The discussion focused on several symbols of political resistance and hostility toward Israel contained in the proposed design, especially the image of a cartoon-like character named Handala, a well-known symbol of Palestinian resistance to Israeli occupation, who held in his left hand a large key with the Arabic term *return*

written on it, and in his right hand a sword-like object. During the public comments portion of the meeting, a man identifying himself as a recent SFSU Jewish alumnus stated that he was offended by what he understood this image to symbolize: the Palestinian Right of Return and the eventual destruction of Israel as a Jewish state. The assistant director of the local Hillel also expressed her opinion that Handala represented the destruction of Israel, and that such a representation had no place on a public campus. She stated that she had received many emails from students who were upset by the mural and asked that the Handala image be removed. Despite these concerns, the student senate approved the mural by a vote of six to two.<sup>87</sup>

However, in October 2006, Corrigan rejected the proposed mural on the grounds that it was “conflict centered,” represented a “culture of violence,” and showed “hatred towards Jews.” He would agree to the mural only if the offending images were removed.<sup>88</sup> The GUPS students launched a petition in opposition to Corrigan’s decision, claiming that the mural “stands proudly” in the tradition of SFSU’s College of Ethnic Studies, which has “pioneered the study and representation of oppressed people around the world,” and that Corrigan’s denial of the mural was a rejection of “leaders who fought against injustice and for the rights of oppressed minorities.” Furthermore, the students claimed that it was “unjust and undemocratic” to demand that certain images be removed from the mural, which are “legitimate cultural and historical icons of the Palestinian experience.”<sup>89</sup> A GUPS student who had been involved in the mural project commented that he believed Corrigan was “afraid of the Palestinian mural...because by being Palestinian you're controversial by nature...because by simply being Palestinian we debunk the myth that there was no Palestinian people, which takes away every justification for Israel's existence.”<sup>90</sup>

Ultimately, the GUPS students agreed to remove the offending images, and in November 2007 the mural took its place next to three other murals on the student center building, including the one depicting Malcolm X, which had caused a similar controversy a dozen years before. On the day of the mural’s inauguration, GUPS hosted a number of celebratory events, which were co-sponsored by AMED and the College of Ethnic Studies, as well as several student and community-based organizations, some of them known for their virulent anti-Israel activities. Included in a special brochure<sup>91</sup> created for the inauguration was a congratulatory message from the director of the AMED program, Dr. Rabab Abdulhadi, who wrote:

It is not an accident that San Francisco State University today becomes the home of the first Palestinian cultural mural on any university campus. This is where students struck 40 years ago to demand that their teachers do not erase the legacies of their ancestors and their historical experiences; where teachers insist on the relevance of our pedagogy to our communities; and where compromises on questions of justice are not tolerated.

It is not an accident that a broadest coalition united around a deep sense of justice came together to make this mural a reality. This was a partnership par excellence between diasporic and indigenous communities and an academic institution conscious of its role and shouldering the responsibility of its mission.

Toward the end of the brochure was a full-page tribute to Naji Al-Ali, the Palestinian artist who had created Handala, with a drawing of Al-Ali's cartoon character, complete with key and sword.

In 2009, the collaboration between GUPS, AMED, and the College of Ethnic Studies rose to a new level, which was most clearly evidenced in two GUPS-organized events. In March of that year, in the wake of the war in Gaza, GUPS students mounted an all-day event, "Palestine Teach-In: Communities of Color Speak Out!", which was co-sponsored by AMED and Associated Students Performing Arts and Lectures.<sup>92</sup> As advertised, the event consisted of the screening of several films portraying Palestinian suffering and alleged Israeli brutality, followed by a lengthy panel discussion moderated by AMED director Abdulhadi. The ethnically diverse panelists were all activists representing community-based organizations that fight for social justice and have been involved in efforts to harm the Jewish state, including through advocating anti-Israel BDS campaigns.<sup>93</sup> Abdulhadi herself, in addition to having helped establish the US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel in 2009, was signatory to a statement on Gaza put out by the California Scholars for Academic Freedom. The statement decried "Israeli war crimes and violations of human rights," and its signatories committed themselves to "participate in campaigns aimed at exerting pressure on international authorities and the governments of Israel and the U.S."<sup>94</sup>

In November 2009, GUPS presented a talk and panel discussion entitled BDS: A Quest for Justice, Human Rights and Peace. According to an on-line announcement, the event was organized "in celebration of the second anniversary of the Edward Said Cultural Mural at SFSU and looking forward to our next steps of positive social change and justice."<sup>95</sup> AMED and the College of Ethnic Studies were listed as co-sponsors of the event, along with eighteen other student and community-based organizations, most of them affiliated with the BDS movement.<sup>96</sup>

The keynote speaker of the event was Omar Barghouti, co-founder of the Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel and an outspoken advocate for the elimination of the Jewish state, which he has argued will be the ultimate outcome of a successful BDS campaign.<sup>97</sup> In his talk, Barghouti compared Israel to apartheid South Africa and discussed the importance of implementing boycott and divestment campaigns against the Jewish state, saying: "our South African moment has arrived." AMED director Rabab Abdulhadi also spoke at the event, focusing her talk on creating a successful movement for a "free Palestine" and urging Palestinians who live in the United States to use their influence to change American political views on Israel.<sup>98</sup> Dr. Kenneth Monteiro, Dean of the College of Ethnic Studies, provided the welcoming address for the event.

Since 2007, the collaboration of GUPS, the College of Ethnic Studies, and AMED has had significant consequences for all three of these organizations. For the GUPS students, the support of the College of Ethnic Studies in general, and AMED in particular, has served to strongly link their own political goals with the mission of the college and its programs. In addition, the fact that academic units support and participate in these events and clearly condone their content has conferred respectability and academic legitimacy on both GUPS and the antisemitic content of its events, including the promotion of activities intended to harm Jews or the Jewish state. Conversely, the GUPS students and their struggle for "justice and freedom for the Palestinian people"

have provided the College of Ethnic Studies with the “student leadership and activism” described in the college’s mission statement, and they have served to justify the very existence of the AMED program.

### *The College of Ethnic Studies and the Assault on the Jewish State*

The extent to which the political activism of the GUPS students, including its antisemitic aspects, has been embraced by the College of Ethnic Studies and incorporated into its academic programming can be appreciated by considering a major academic conference mounted by the College in October 2009, in honor of the fortieth anniversary of its establishment. Entitled “Ethnic Studies 40 Years Later: Race, Resistance, Relevance,”<sup>99</sup> a central theme of the conference was “what became possible as a result of the strike and the creation of the College of Ethnic Studies.”<sup>100</sup> The conference consisted of dozens of symposia and talks, many focusing on the college’s role in promoting student activism and the struggle for racial and social justice in communities of color. In several panels, Israel and the Jews were topics of discussion. In all of these cases they were cast in an extremely negative, at times even antisemitic light. Four of these panels are discussed below.

In a symposium entitled “Mapping Arab Diasporas: Justice Centered Activism,”<sup>101</sup> which was chaired by AMED director Rabab Abdulhadi, each of the three panelists had been involved in efforts to undermine the Jewish state: Lila Sharif, a graduate student in Ethnic Studies at University of California San Diego, was active in Al-Awda and the Palestine Youth Network, an organization that strives to foster among Palestinian youth activism for the liberation of “historic Palestine,” an area that would include present-day Israel, and embraces BDS campaigns as a means for achieving that end.<sup>102</sup> Loubna Qutami, AMED’s first masters student and a former leader of GUPS during her undergraduate years at SFSU, was a founder of the Palestine Youth Network; and Dr. Ibrahim Aoude, chair of Ethnic Studies at the University of Hawaii, was an endorser of the U.S. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel. Among the topics discussed by the panel was the importance of developing strategies for empowering Palestinian youth to participate in the liberation of “historic Palestine.” During the talks and subsequent discussion, Israel was accused of genocide, ethnic cleansing, and theft of Palestinian land, and the “Zionist lobby media” was charged with unwarranted attacks on Palestinian political activists.

Four Jewish academics well-known for their anti-Zionist views and anti-Israel activism<sup>103</sup> participated in a symposium entitled “Jews, the Middle East Conflict, and Ethnic Studies in the Age of Obama,”<sup>104</sup> which focused on “the fraught relationship of Jews to the Middle East conflict and Ethnic Studies.”<sup>105</sup> In his introductory remarks, Dr. Hilton Obenzinger, professor of writing at Stanford University and moderator of the symposium, said that a question of fundamental concern to the panel was how scholars working in areas of Jewish concern could “free themselves from the constraints of rigid pro-Israel frameworks...and present alternatives outside of the Zionist consensus that still dominates the country and chokes Jewish studies.” Obenzinger himself used the opportunity to condemn Israel’s theft of Palestinian land, as well as its “colonial settlement”, “apartheid wall,” and “fascist” leadership. UC Berkeley Rhetoric Professor Judith Butler argued that from its inception, the Jewish state had violated the “sacred

principles of social justice” and was therefore illegitimate and should be replaced with a bi-national secular state. Alex Lubin, chair of American Studies at the University of New Mexico, concurred with Butler about the desirability of eliminating Israel as a Jewish nation-state and criticized President Obama for mimicking “the imperial practices of his predecessors” and being complicit with “the most violent policies of the Israeli state” by calling on Palestinians to recognize Israel as a Jewish state. In his talk, Joel Beinin, Stanford University professor of history and Jewish studies, launched a broadside attack on official Jewish organizations of the Bay Area, accusing them of using “McCarthyite tactics” and “slander” to try to suppress the screening of a documentary film about the death of pro-Palestinian activist Rachel Corrie. Beinin also suggested that these organizations and the American Jews who support them “have a loyalty to Israel that supersedes their commitment to freedom of speech and freedom of artistic expression.”

The panel “Hidden Jewish Narratives and Identities: Histories and Visions of Jewish Anti-Zionists”<sup>106</sup> was put together by the International Jewish anti-Zionist Network (IJAN) in order to share that organization’s “liberation politics, organizing and vision.”<sup>107</sup> According to Sara Kershner, IJAN co-founder and panel moderator, panelists hoped “to explore resistance to Zionism by people who identify as Jewish, and the relevance of that to the Palestine Solidarity Movement specifically, but to anti-colonial, anti-racist liberation struggles more broadly.” Kershner placed these goals squarely within “the tradition of the anti-racist and anti-colonial history of ethnic studies.” Comparing Zionism to white supremacy in the United States and apartheid in South Africa, Kershner described anti-Zionism as “part of a broader liberatory politic...anti-racist, anti-imperialist, in solidarity with class struggle, against the role that Israel plays in global capitalism.” She noted that Jews play a strategic role in the struggle against Zionism, “in terms of delegitimizing charges of antisemitism...delegitimizing the premise that all Jews are Zionists.” According to IJAN activist Kinneret Israel, “Zionism expresses exclusionary and inclusionary racism... in the ideals of purification that are made evident through processes of extermination and elimination...oppression and exploitation.” Israel described the work of IJAN activists “to support movements for Palestinian sovereignty and self-determination, through protest and support of BDS, to create anti-Zionist discourse, and to extricate Jewish identity from Zionism.” Mich Levy, IJAN co-founder, distinguished between “critiques of Israeli policy,” which have the aim of sustaining the Jewish state, and “critiques of Zionism,” which are aimed at a dismantling of the Jewish state. Levy asserted that IJAN’s ideology was firmly rooted in the second kind of critique.

Finally, perhaps the most egregious example of anti-Jewish animus came from a panelist in a symposium entitled “Islamophobia in Systems of Knowledge.”<sup>108</sup> It was delivered by SFSU alumnus Imam Abdul Malik Ali, who had given hundreds of fiery, antisemitic speeches around the country, including to GUPS students at SFSU. (Ironically, Malik Ali was introduced as a “well-known motivational speaker on California college campuses.”) According to Malik Ali, Islamophobia is primarily a Jewish creation:

There is an Islamic revival in the world today that the Americans and the Zionist Jews are very concerned about...What the Western powers understood – the United States and the Apartheid State of Israel – was that Islam was making a

move, and if Islam makes a move, we are in trouble, because as you may have noticed, everyone's afraid of Zionist Jews. Politicians are afraid of them, everyone's afraid of them. And every time they come up against us, they always lose. You pick up on that? Hezbollah whooped their butts! Hamas whooped their butts! We are, like, undefeated against Zionist Jews, and they know it, and they know that we're the only ones who aren't afraid of them. And so what they're trying to do is to get the people to hate us as much as possible. And so with their influence in the media, their influence in other areas, the Zionist Jew is really breaking this thing down to the point where everyone will begin to hate us.

Drawing on his experiences as an undergraduate at SFSU, Malik Ali ended his talk by offering the following advice to SFSU students in the audience:

If you are a radical or revolutionary or progressive, San Francisco State is home court. This is a Zionist-free zone! And that is why the Zionists have to hide behind the Republican party. The Zionists cannot come out on this campus and say, "We're Zionists!" They can't do it! It's *a Zionist-free campus!* ... We've had Muslim student body presidents here. I was the first one! Do you know we had [Sharia compliant] emergency loans, interest free? Interest-free emergency loans - - we took over the student government -- you have to know this history! I was the first Muslim student body president...and this troublemaker to my left [fellow panelist Hatem Bazian] was the third. And we understood: This is San Francisco State! Bring 'em out into the open, because they're like a night flower. There are certain flowers that blossom at night, but when the sun comes out they go back in -- that's the Zionist Jew. That's the Zionist Jew! At the nighttime they come out, but once the sunshine comes out, once the light is put on them, they scatter. But bring 'em out into the open! This is *a Zionist-free zone*, this is *our home court*, and we'll make sure we *keep* it our home court.

While there were no overt calls to violence against Jews or the Jewish state at the conference, as there had been at earlier GUPS events, several panelists used language that blatantly demonized and delegitimized the Jewish state and its supporters, clearly meeting the criteria for antisemitic discourse established by the EUMC's working definition of antisemitism.<sup>109</sup> Moreover, because the conference was fully organized and funded by the College of Ethnic Studies, these instances of antisemitic discourse bore the clear imprimatur of the university, thereby affording them academic legitimacy and enhancing their ability to flourish at SFSU, and, in their many permutations, on other campuses as well.

### **Understanding the Factors that Allow Antisemitism to Flourish at SFSU**

The preceding analysis suggests that while many factors have contributed to the dramatic rise in antisemitism at SFSU over the last two decades, in one way or another, these can all be traced back to a single event in March 1969: Acting President S. I. Hayakawa's decision to accede to the demands of militant students of color for the establishment of

departments of black and ethnic studies, to be housed in a separate school of ethnic studies. That decision was instrumental in creating the conditions that would allow campus antisemitism to flourish decades after it was adopted:

- Hayakawa's capitulation to the students' demands, which involved contravening the college's own policies and procedures for establishing new academic programs, demonstrated the vulnerability of the university to the kinds of pressure that the students and their supporters had applied, including physical violence and shutting down the university. More than thirty years later, the GUPS students would take a page from the BSU/TWLF students' playbook. By means of escalating threats of physical violence -- in this case against Jews -- and filing a federal complaint that could have seriously affected the university's funding and reputation, GUPS students successfully pressured administrators into creating an academic program in Arab and Muslim studies within the College of Ethnic Studies. The AMED program and the college went on to organize and sponsor events with antisemitic content.
- By allowing the establishment of departments whose missions included the promotion of racial/ethnic identity and the pursuit of social justice -- rather than the promotion of reason and the pursuit of knowledge -- Hayakawa unwittingly facilitated a radical transformation of his university and its time-honored traditions of scholarship. The eschewal of objective scholarship in favor of political advocacy and activism undoubtedly helped to create a politically charged climate at the university, at least within the College of Ethnic Studies. Moreover, the coupling of political passions with an ideology of victimhood, which was an essential component of the original conceptions of both black and ethnic studies, fomented political hatreds that targeted groups identified as "oppressors." Initially it was "whites" who were targeted by the political animus of the College's programs. In time, it would also be "the Jews."
- The academic freedom policy covering all California State University campuses affirms the 1940 Association of American University Professor's Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure, which takes as its bedrock assumption that institutions of higher education depend upon "the free search for truth and its free exposition."<sup>110</sup> Although the politically-directed missions of the proposed departments violated this crucial tenet of academic integrity and responsibility, Hayakawa's acceptance of their inclusion within the academy nevertheless ensured that these programs and their faculty would be protected by the privilege of academic freedom. This has made these programs relatively impervious to criticism from either inside or outside the university, including to complaints about antisemitism.
- The fact that all of the ethnic studies programs were housed in a separate school, as the TWLF strikers had demanded, undoubtedly served to exacerbate feelings of victimhood and hostility toward those outside of the school, as well as to promote feelings of solidarity among the ethnic groups within it. Once Palestinians were

embraced as an “oppressed people of color” within the College of Ethnic Studies, the GUPS students benefited greatly from the inter-ethnic solidarity among students and faculty at the college, gaining many staunch allies in the fight against their “oppressors.” It is not surprising that six of the seven SFSU faculty members who endorsed the U.S. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel were affiliated with the College of Ethnic Studies, and that two of the college’s faculty were on the USACBI advisory board.

- The BSU/TWLF strike revealed the extraordinary power of activist students to effect institutional change. Indeed, the school of ethnic studies and the programs it housed owed their very existence to the dedicated campaigns of the BSU/TWLF students, who were rewarded for their efforts by having their activist goals incorporated into the core missions of the programs they had demanded. Moreover, after these programs were established, the school’s faculty continued to work closely with students and student groups, who were essential for carrying out the activist mission of each program, and who could transport the political passions found at the College of Ethnic Studies to the campus square. In the same way, the GUPS students, whose efforts led to the establishment of AMED, were able to ensure that their political goals – the struggle for justice and freedom for the Palestinian people, with its concomitant targeting of the Jewish state and its supporters – were adopted by that program. With AMED and the College of Ethnic Studies promoting the same political goals as the GUPS students, they were able to be even more effective in advancing their pro-Palestinian anti-Israel agenda in the campus square.
- The students of color who initiated the strike were given material and moral support from organizations and individuals within their communities who shared their activist goals. For example, the BSU members who demanded the establishment of a department of black studies received considerable support from the Black Panther Party and individuals affiliated with other black nationalist groups. Similarly, the GUPS students received significant help from community groups such as the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee and the National Council of Arab Americans, without whose help the AMED program might not have been established. In addition, from their inception the programs within the school of ethnic studies maintained close relationships with their respective communities, not only by exporting programming and student interns into them, but by affording politically-motivated individuals and organizations from those communities unprecedented access to the university. In the 1990’s, representatives from antisemitic organizations such as the Nation of Islam and the All-African People’s Revolutionary Party were warmly welcomed by black student groups, and were implicitly condoned by faculty. Ten years later, with the approval of a faculty sponsor from the College of Ethnic Studies and the co-sponsorship of AMED and the College, the GUPS students partnered with numerous community organizations known for their antisemitic animus, such as Al-Awda and the International Solidarity Movement. Indeed, the college itself invited antisemitic speakers from several community organizations to participate

in its 2009 conference, including Al-Awda, the Palestine Youth Network, and the International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network. IJAN was even permitted to organize an entire panel at the conference.

### Conclusions

WHEREAS, the student organizers and members of the 1968 student strike and the Third World Liberation Front at SF State engaged in courageous acts which led to the founding of Ethnic Studies Departments not just in San Francisco, but across the United States and internationally as well; and...

WHEREAS, San Francisco State Students in 1968 played a vital role in the fruition of these programs that today inspire hundreds and thousands of students across the world to unite in the struggle for social justice [and] liberation...

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that I, Gavin Newsom, Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco, do hereby proclaim October 30, 2008 as...SF STATE '68 STUDENT STRIKE DAY in San Francisco!

*- Proclamation of San Francisco Mayor Gavin Newsom on the occasion of the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the BSU/TWLF student strike<sup>111</sup>*

It is widely acknowledged that the BSU/TWLF strike ushered in a new era in higher education. It was the catalyst not only for the burgeoning number of black and ethnic studies programs established nationwide in its wake, but also for the introduction and flourishing of other disciplines based largely on identity politics and the pursuit of social justice. According to one study, by the beginning of the twenty-first century more than two-thirds of a large sample of institutions of higher education had programs or departments that emphasized the politics of identity and social activism.<sup>112</sup> The glorification of the role that the strike played in fostering these programs, as evidenced by the proclamation of the mayor of San Francisco on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the strike, is a testament to how universally accepted these programs have become, and how positively they are viewed.

At the same time, however, many American college campuses have played host to the “new, virulent, globalizing anti-Jewishness”<sup>113</sup> unleashed into the world at the UN-sponsored Durban conference in 2001 and have exhibited dramatic increases in campus antisemitism, often camouflaged as anti-Israelism or anti-Zionism.<sup>114</sup> The case of SFSU raises the possibility that programs whose core mission includes the promotion of group identity and the pursuit of social justice may be linked to expressions of political animosities in general and antisemitism in particular. Although the College of Ethnic Studies is the only one of its kind in the nation, anecdotal evidence may point to a relationship between academic programs at other universities similar to the ones housed at the college, and manifestations of hostility toward Jews and the Jewish state. For example:

- In March 2008, the University of Hawaii’s departments of ethnic studies, American studies, Hawaiian studies, women’s studies, and two other departments with faculty

members affiliated with these programs, sponsored a ten-day symposium entitled “Who are the Palestinians? Remembering the Nakba.” The symposium consisted of virulently anti-Israel events, including several lectures by the founders of Al-Awda and a workshop on “Divestment and Boycott” presented by a University of Hawaii professor of ethnic studies.<sup>115</sup>

- In May 2010, several academic units at University of California San Diego -- including African American Studies, Ethnic Studies, Critical Gender Studies, and Chicano/a-Latino/a Arts and Humanities – co-sponsored the UCSD Muslim Student Association’s week-long event, “Justice in Palestine Week 2010: End the Apartheid.” The MSA event featured eight speakers, most of them well-known for their anti-Zionist and antisemitic rhetoric, such as Norman Finkelstein and Hatem Bazian. The week’s activities were also endorsed by numerous student groups, including the Black Student Union and Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlan.<sup>116</sup>
- In March 2011, the Department of Ethnic Studies at the University of California Riverside hosted a major academic conference entitled “Critical Ethnic Studies and the Future of Genocide: Settler Colonialism/Heteropatriarchy/White Supremacy.” The conference featured at least four sessions singling out the Jewish state for opprobrium, such as “Israeli Occupation as Racist Nation Building.”<sup>117</sup> Fourteen of the eighteen university faculty who spoke in these sessions had openly endorsed anti-Israel boycott and divestment campaigns.<sup>118</sup>

Looking back at this picture, one sees its many sides. Clearly, the African American experience and the experience of America’s other ethnic minorities are worthy of academic study. However, a firm distinction can be made between university programs whose core mission is the production of serious academic scholarship in these areas and those whose primary goal is political or social action for the advancement of the minorities in question. The crucial differences between these two kinds of programs can be seen in a 1999 study contrasting the African American studies departments at Temple University and Harvard University.<sup>119</sup> Similar to the black studies program at SFSU, Temple’s department of African American Studies adopted an Afrocentric approach, which eschews the scholarly methodology of traditional disciplines in favor of an approach that is “liberating,” advocates social change, and actively engages in community improvement.<sup>120</sup> Under the chairmanship of Henry Louis Gates, Harvard’s Department of African and African American Studies took a very different course from Temple’s program. Highly critical of the large number of black studies programs that foregrounded Afrocentricism, which he deemed a form of “ethnic cheerleading” and “intellectually bogus,”<sup>121</sup> Gates sought to establish at Harvard an academically rigorous program that utilized traditional methodologies in the humanities and social sciences and maintained strict boundaries between scholarship and activism.

What the case of black and ethnic studies at SFSU and the other examples cited above suggest is that academic programs that promote ethnic identity and the pursuit of social justice as a central part of their core mission may contribute to the creation of campus climates favorable to the political targeting of those who are deemed “oppressors.” In the case history presented here, Jews have been targeted time and again as “oppressors” of choice. Further research is needed to determine if they have been singled out in this negative way at other universities as well. If so, it will also be imperative to assess the extent to

which anti-Jewish sentiment on North American campuses can be traced to such programs as those studied in this paper.

The existence of a possible relationship between anti-Jewish animus and academic programs that promote the identity of supposedly oppressed groups and that pursue social justice is cause for deep concern, not only because of its implications for higher education, but also for society at large. In this regard, French philosopher Julien Benda offers a cautionary tale. In 1927, Benda published a small book, *La Trahison des Clercs (The Treason of the Intellectuals)*, in which he accused the French and German intellectuals of his day of abandoning their scholarly mission of pursuing truth and reason in order to become activists for the basest nationalist and racist ideologies. According to Benda, academic life had degenerated to “the intellectual organization of political hatreds,” chief among them antisemitism,<sup>122</sup> and he predicted that this betrayal of European intellectuals would propel humanity to “the greatest and most perfect war ever seen in the world.”<sup>123</sup> Benda would live to see how prescient he was, and, as a Jew, he would experience first-hand what the “political hatreds” of the learned would mean for his people.

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<sup>1</sup> Readers interested in the socio-historic background of the SFSC strike would benefit by consulting one or more of the following volumes about the 1960's: Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines, *“Takin’ it to the streets”: A Sixties Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Edward P. Morgan, *The 60's Experience* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991); David Burner, *Making Peace with the 60's* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> Bob Wing, “‘Educate to Liberate!’: Multiculturalism and the Struggle for Ethnic Studies,” *ColorLines News for Action* (May 15, 1999), [http://colorlines.com/archives/1999/05/educate\\_to\\_liberate\\_multiculturalism\\_and\\_the\\_struggle\\_for\\_ethnic\\_studies.html](http://colorlines.com/archives/1999/05/educate_to_liberate_multiculturalism_and_the_struggle_for_ethnic_studies.html).

<sup>3</sup> Antisemitism has been a long-standing component of university life in America. Expressed for many years in the severely restricted admission and hiring of Jews, campus antisemitism declined in the aftermath of the Holocaust but has shown a recent resurgence, with numerous campuses becoming sites of overt hostility to Jews, Judaism, and the Jewish state. For a recent review of contemporary campus antisemitism and its historical antecedents, see: Eunice G. Pollack, editor, *Antisemitism on the Campus: Past & Present* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2011).

<sup>4</sup> Fabio Rojas, *From Black Power to Black Studies* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 48.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58 – 64.

<sup>6</sup> Anthony Chu, “Jewish studies gets SF State’s first endowed chair,” *GoldenGater* (September 16, 1997). See SFSU President Corrigan’s statement: “San Francisco State is considered the most anti-Semitic campus in the nation.”

<sup>7</sup> <http://userwww.sfsu.edu/~afrs/history.html>.

<sup>8</sup> Jessica Christina Harris, “Revolutionary Black Nationalism: The Black Panther Party,” *The Journal of Negro History* 85, no. 3 (Summer, 2000), pp.163 – 64.

<sup>9</sup> Rojas, pp. 51 – 53.

<sup>10</sup> <http://userwww.sfsu.edu/~afrs/history.html>

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- <sup>11</sup> Angela Rose Ryan, "Education for the People: The Third World Student Movement at San Francisco State College and City College of New York" (Ph.D. dissertation, The Ohio State University, 2010), p. 63.
- <sup>12</sup> John H. Bunzel, "Black studies at San Francisco State," *The Public Interest*, 13 (Fall, 1968), pp. 22 - 38.
- <sup>13</sup> Rojas, p. 71.
- <sup>14</sup> Bunzel, p. 22.
- <sup>15</sup> William H. Orrick, Jr., *Shut it Down!: A College in Crisis*, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), p. 122.
- <sup>16</sup> Rojas, p. 72.
- <sup>17</sup> Orrick, p. 151.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid., pp. 1 - 2.
- <sup>20</sup> <http://userwww.sfsu.edu/~afrs/history.html>
- <sup>21</sup> Ryan, pp. 218 – 219.
- <sup>22</sup> Nathan Hare, "A Conceptual Proposal for a Department of Black Studies" (April 29, 1968), found in Orrick, pp. 159 – 167.
- <sup>23</sup> Orrick, pp. 160 – 162. Hare emphasizes his point by writing that it is ludicrous that "the black historian, in adhering to the tradition of 'footnoting,' is placed in the unenviable position of having to footnote white slavemaster historians or historians published by a slaveholding society in order to document his work on the slavery era."
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid., p. 159.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid., p. 161.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 163.
- <sup>27</sup> "Third World Liberation Front: School of Ethnic Area Studies [pg. 1]," TWLF Folder, SF State Strike Special Collections. <https://diva.sfsu.edu/bundles/187979>.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 2.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>30</sup> Ryan, p. 228.
- <sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 263.
- <sup>32</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~ethnicst/home3.html>.
- <sup>33</sup> <http://userwww.sfsu.edu/~afrs/>.
- <sup>34</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/bulletin/programs/ltns.htm>.
- <sup>35</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~ais/>.
- <sup>36</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~aas/#>.
- <sup>37</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~ethnicst/depts2.html>.
- <sup>38</sup> Raja Abdulhaq, "Rebuilding a General Union of Palestinian Students," *The Electronic Intifada* (December 1, 2008), <http://electronicintifada.net/v2/article9981.shtml>.
- <sup>39</sup> Mark A. Tessler, *A History of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), pp. 432 - 433.
- <sup>40</sup> [http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th\\_century/plocov.asp](http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/plocov.asp).
- <sup>41</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~news/response/values.htm>.
- <sup>42</sup> [http://www.iacenter.org/Palestine/palest\\_gups.htm](http://www.iacenter.org/Palestine/palest_gups.htm).
- <sup>43</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~news/response/133.htm>.

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<sup>44</sup> Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act requires that federally funded public and private universities ensure that their programs and activities are free from discrimination based on “race, color or national origin,” or risk losing their federal funding.

<sup>45</sup> “GUPS, MSA, and ADC-SF’s Complaint Regarding Discriminatory and Other Unlawful Practices at San Francisco State University Directed Against the Arab/Muslim-American Community,” submitted June 26, 2002 to the U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, San Francisco Office.

<sup>46</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~news/response/prelimreport.htm#2>.

<sup>47</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~ohr/noindex/finalreport.html>.

<sup>48</sup> It was not until January 30, 2004 that the U.S. Department of Education Office of Civil Rights notified the plaintiffs that, after a lengthy evaluation, OCR would not be investigating their complaint.

<sup>49</sup> <http://meis.sfsu.edu/page/about>.

<sup>50</sup> In a letter to Tomas Almaguer, Dean of the College of Ethnic Studies, dated July 23, 2003, John M. Gemello, SFSU Provost and Vice President for Academic Affairs, authorized a full-time tenure track position for a senior scholar in Arab and Muslim Studies: Muslim American Communities in the United States, with an appointment date of Fall 2004.

<sup>51</sup> <http://zawaya.org/site/downloads/winter2007.pdf>, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> For the purposes of this paper, *antisemitism* is defined according to the working definition of the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), which has been adopted by the U.S. Department of State. The EUMC definition includes manifestations of antisemitism that “target the state of Israel, conceived as a Jewish collectivity,” <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/102406.htm#defining>.

<sup>53</sup> Gary A. Tobin, Aryeh K. Weinberg, and Jenna Ferber, *The Uncivil University: Intolerance on College Campuses, Revised Edition* (New York: Lexington Books, 2009) p. xx.

<sup>54</sup> Lori Eppstein, “SFSU women’s confab to boost Jewish profile,” *Jewish Bulletin* (March 27, 1998), <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/7882/sfsu-women-s-confab-to-boost-jewish-profile/>.

<sup>55</sup> <http://theblacklistpub.ning.com/profiles/blogs/book-review-we-will-return-in>

<sup>56</sup> Eunice G. Pollack, “African Americans and the Legitimization of Antisemitism on the Campus,” in Pollack, *Antisemitism on the Campus*, p. 217.

<sup>57</sup> [http://www.adl.org/sih/SIH-black\\_student\\_groups.asp](http://www.adl.org/sih/SIH-black_student_groups.asp)

<sup>58</sup> “Removal of Malcolm X Mural is Ordered,” *The New York Times* (May 25, 1994), <http://www.nytimes.com/1994/05/25/us/removal-of-malcolm-x-mural-is-ordered.html>; “Art, politics unite in Malcolm X mural,” *San Francisco Chronicle* (May 17, 1996), <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/e/a/1996/05/17/NEWS6378.dtl>.

<sup>59</sup> In his book, *The Hidden History of Zionism*, Schoenman paints Israel as a monster nation and argues for its elimination. Ralph Schoenman, *The Hidden History of Zionism* (London: Pluto Press, 1989).

<sup>60</sup> <http://www.adl.org/sih/sih-print.asp>.

<sup>61</sup> Troy Buckner-Nkrumah, “Buckner-Nkrumah tells his side of the story,” *GoldenGater* (May 4, 1995).

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- <sup>62</sup> Natalie Weinstein, “Anti-Semitic banner flies briefly at S.F. State plaza,” *Jewish Bulletin* (May 2, 1997), <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/5648/anti-semitic-banner-flies-briefly-at-s-f-state-plaza/>.
- <sup>63</sup> <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/e/a/1997/05/22/NEWS16113.dtl>.
- <sup>64</sup> [http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASUS\\_12/3005\\_12.asp](http://www.adl.org/PresRele/ASUS_12/3005_12.asp).
- <sup>65</sup> <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/anti-semitism/Khalid.html>.
- <sup>66</sup> Gadi Meir, “Nation of Islam’s key official foments rancor and rage,” *Jewish Bulletin*, (May 30, 1997), <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/5842/nation-of-islam-s-key-official-foments-rancor-and-rage/>.
- <sup>67</sup> Anthony Chu, “Jewish studies gets SF State’s first endowed chair,” *GoldenGater* (September 16, 1997).
- <sup>68</sup> Irwin Cotler, “The Disgrace of Durban – five years later,” *National Post* (September 12, 2006), <http://www.canada.com/nationalpost/news/issuesideas/story.html?id=b7ca427f-6cba-437f-bc8e-aa34162ee251&k=30597&p=1>.
- <sup>69</sup> <http://academic.udayton.edu/race/06hrights/WCAR2001/NGOFORUM/Palestinans.htm>.
- <sup>70</sup> <http://www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/102406.htm#defining>.
- <sup>71</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~news/response/summary.htm>.
- <sup>72</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~news/response/nohate.htm>.
- <sup>73</sup> <http://www.investigativeproject.org/227/abdul-malik-ali-at-sf-state-part-i;>  
<http://www.investigativeproject.org/237/abdul-malik-ali-at-sf-state-part-ii>.
- <sup>74</sup> Joe Eskenazi, “Size, vitriol of anti-Zionist rally surprises SFSU Jews,” *Jewish Bulletin* (April 12, 2002), <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/17591/size-vitriol-of-anti-zionist-rally-surprises-sfsu-jews/>.
- <sup>75</sup> Dr. Laurie Zoloth, “Fear and Loathing at San Francisco State,” in Ron Rosenbaum, ed., *Those Who Forget the Past* (New York: Random House, 2004), 260.
- <sup>76</sup> Joe Eskenazi, “SFSU yanks pro-Palestinian Web site denying the Holocaust,” *Jewish Bulletin* (June 21, 2002), <http://www.jweekly.com/article/full/18015/sfsu-yanks-pro-palestinian-web-site-denying-the-holocaust/>.
- <sup>77</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~news/response/133.htm>.
- <sup>78</sup> [http://www.indybay.org/newsitems/2002/05/17/1280471.php?show\\_comments=1](http://www.indybay.org/newsitems/2002/05/17/1280471.php?show_comments=1).
- <sup>79</sup> David H. Gellis, “Faculty Urge Divestment From Israel,” *The Harvard Crimson* (May 6, 2002), <http://www.thecrimson.com/article/2002/5/6/faculty-urge-divestment-from-israel-a/>.
- <sup>80</sup> Matthew Shenoda, a lecturer in Ethnic Studies whose areas of expertise include “ethnic/Arab american community activism,” has been the GUPS faculty adviser since 2003. He has also endorsed the U.S. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel.
- <sup>81</sup> <http://www.al-awda.org/sf-conv4.html>.
- <sup>82</sup> [http://www.adl.org/israel/anti\\_israel/al\\_awda/default.asp](http://www.adl.org/israel/anti_israel/al_awda/default.asp).
- <sup>83</sup> [http://www.adl.org/israel/anti\\_israel/al\\_awda/support\\_terrorism.asp](http://www.adl.org/israel/anti_israel/al_awda/support_terrorism.asp).
- <sup>84</sup> [http://www.adl.org/israel/anti\\_israel/al\\_awda/ideology.asp](http://www.adl.org/israel/anti_israel/al_awda/ideology.asp).
- <sup>85</sup> Will Youmans, “First campus mural honoring Edward Said,” *The Arab American News* (April 15 – April 21, 2006).

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<sup>86</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~ethnicst/downloads/ETHS%20eNewsletter%20Fall%202007.pdf>, p. 2.

<sup>87</sup> Minutes of the Student Center Governing Board, July 13, 2006, [www.sfsustudentcenter.com/pdfs/scgbmin\\_2006\\_0713.pdf](http://www.sfsustudentcenter.com/pdfs/scgbmin_2006_0713.pdf).

<sup>88</sup> Will Youmans, "Palestinian mural in San Francisco at center of Battle," *The Arab American News* (February 17 – 23, 2007).

<sup>89</sup> <http://www.petitiononline.com/mural/>.

<sup>90</sup> These comments were made by one of the panelists of the symposium "Murals at SF State – Counter Hegemonic Narratives of Art, Politics and Survival," which was part of Ethnic Studies 40 Years Later: Race, Resistance, Relevance, a conference organized by the College for Ethnic Studies at SFSU, October 7 – 10, 2009, <https://diva.sfsu.edu/bundles/189536>.

<sup>91</sup> [www.oweis.com/mural-inauguration-program.pdf](http://www.oweis.com/mural-inauguration-program.pdf).

<sup>92</sup> <http://www.sfsu.edu/~amed/archives/gazateachin.pdf>.

<sup>93</sup> Fahd Ahmed, an AMED research fellow, represented DRUM – Desis Rising Up & Moving, an organization that advocates for South Asian immigrants and has supported boycotts of Israel; Noura Erekat, a Palestinian who has been a leader in USACBI, represented the National Lawyers Guild, a leading organization in the BDS campaign; Gerald Lenoir, who himself has publicly advocated boycotting Israel, represented the Black Alliance for Just Immigration, an organization that also support BDS; Nancy Hernandez, representing the June Jordan School of Equity, has given talks advocating BDS.

<sup>94</sup> [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/mark-levine/statement-on-gaza-from-ca\\_b\\_155021.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/mark-levine/statement-on-gaza-from-ca_b_155021.html).

<sup>95</sup> [http://www.us4arabs.com/component/option.com\\_jcalpro/Itemid,26/extmode,view/extid,4783/](http://www.us4arabs.com/component/option.com_jcalpro/Itemid,26/extmode,view/extid,4783/).

<sup>96</sup> The following sixteen co-sponsoring organizations have publicly supported anti-Israel BDS effort: US Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel, General Union of Palestinian Students, Al-Awda, National Council of Arab Americans, ANSWER, International Solidarity Movement, Jewish Voice for Peace, Middle East Children's Alliance, International Jewish Anti-Zionist Network, San Jose Justice for Palestinians, Arab Resource and Organizing Center, American Friends Service Committee, Bay Area Campaign to End Israeli Apartheid, Students for Justice in Palestine UCB, US Palestinian Communities Network, and Palestinian Youth Network.

<sup>97</sup> Omar Barghouti, "Self determination, Ethical De-colonization and Equality," *Z-Net*, July 29, 2009. <http://www.zcommunications.org/re-imagining-palestine-by-omar-barghouti>

<sup>98</sup> Theresa Seiger, "Palestinian mural celebrates 2<sup>nd</sup> birthday," *Golden Gate XPress* (November 11, 2009), <http://xpress.sfsu.edu/archives/life/013924.html>.

<sup>99</sup> Conference program for Ethnic Studies 40 Years Later: Race, Resistance, Relevance, [http://www.sfsu.edu/~ethnicst/downloads/SFSU\\_40th\\_Conference\\_Program\\_Ed4\\_ONLINE.pdf](http://www.sfsu.edu/~ethnicst/downloads/SFSU_40th_Conference_Program_Ed4_ONLINE.pdf).

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>101</sup> <https://diva.sfsu.edu/collections/coes/bundles/189315>.

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<sup>102</sup> See [http://www.pal-youth.org/index.php?month=1609&page\\_id=1](http://www.pal-youth.org/index.php?month=1609&page_id=1). The Palestinian Youth Network was one of several organizations that participated in the boycott of Israeli ships at the Port of Oakland in June 2010.

<sup>103</sup> The panelists included UC Berkeley Professor Judith Butler, who had signed a University of California divestment from Israel petition and endorsed USACBI; Dr. Joel Beinin, professor of history at Stanford University and former president of the Middle East Studies Association, who has been on the advisory board of the U.S. Campaign to End the Israeli Occupation, an organization that supports BDS efforts; Dr. Alex Lubin, chair of the department of American studies at the University of New Mexico, who has endorsed the USACBI; and Dr. Hilton Obenzinger, Associate Director of Writing at Stanford University, who has been active in divestment campaigns on his own campus and with the Presbyterian Church.

<sup>104</sup> <https://diva.sfsu.edu/bundles/189313>.

<sup>105</sup> Conference program, p. 20.

<sup>106</sup> <https://diva.sfsu.edu/bundles/189533>.

<sup>107</sup> Conference program, p. 24.

<sup>108</sup> <https://diva.sfsu.edu/bundles/189511>.

<sup>109</sup> These included: denying the Jewish people their right to self-determination, applying double standards of the Jewish state, and accusing Jewish Americans of dual loyalty.

<sup>110</sup> <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/1940statement.htm>.

<sup>111</sup> [http://www.sfsu.edu/~ethnicst/downloads/40th StrikeConf Final Program2.pdf](http://www.sfsu.edu/~ethnicst/downloads/40th%20StrikeConf%20Final%20Program2.pdf).

<sup>112</sup> Lori A. Turk-Bicakci, "The Development of Social Movement Programs and Departments in Higher Education: Women's and Ethnic Studies from 1975 to 2000" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Riverside, September 2007), p. 10.

<sup>113</sup> Cotler, "The Disgrace of Durban."

<sup>114</sup> U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Campus Anti-Semitism: Briefing Report* (Washington, DC., July 2006), p. 3.

<sup>115</sup> See: <http://www.endtheoccupation.org/calendar.php?id=4814>. See also: <http://hawaiiandpalestine.googlepages.com/panels>.

<sup>116</sup> See entry for 05.10.2010: <http://livetherevival.com/2010/05/01/msa-ucsd-justice-in-palestine-week-2010/>.

<sup>117</sup> See:

[https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&ved=0CEkQFjAE&url=https://criticalethnicstudies.org/sites/default/files/CES\\_Program\\_2011.pdf&ei=\\_HcWUoPTL8WziwLS1IHIAQ&usg=AFQjCNEz7T9Pc6OWWqc54Qy7En1lewQpLw&sig2=7WbxwhL-nHGFzU5hSV4qnw&bvm=bv.51156542,d.cGE](https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=5&ved=0CEkQFjAE&url=https://criticalethnicstudies.org/sites/default/files/CES_Program_2011.pdf&ei=_HcWUoPTL8WziwLS1IHIAQ&usg=AFQjCNEz7T9Pc6OWWqc54Qy7En1lewQpLw&sig2=7WbxwhL-nHGFzU5hSV4qnw&bvm=bv.51156542,d.cGE).

<sup>118</sup> Fourteen of the speakers in the anti-Israel sessions had been endorsers of either the U.S. Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (<http://usacbi.wordpress.com/endorsers/>) or the Divestment Petition of the Students Against Israeli Apartheid (<http://usacbi.wordpress.com/2011/03/15/students-against-israeli-apartheid-at-the-university-of-toronto-and-york-university-launch-campus-divestment-campaign/>).

<sup>119</sup> Mario L. Small, "Departmental Conditions and the Emergence of New Disciplines: Two Cases in the Legitimation of African-American Studies," *Theory and Society* 28, no. 5 (October 1999), pp. 659 - 707.

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., p. 664.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., p. 691.

<sup>122</sup> Julien Benda with an introduction by Roger Kimball, *The Treason of the Intellectuals* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers, 2006), p. 27.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., p. 183.