

Congressional Testimony

Fueling Chaos: Tracing the Flow of Tax-Exempt Dollars to Antisemitism

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The Anti-Defamation League

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

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

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

Understanding Antisemitism in the United States

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

While there is no exhaustive definition of antisemitism, ADL embraces the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance ([IHRA Working Definition](#)) as the preeminent definitional and learning tool in understanding how antisemitism manifests today, and it includes useful examples of

discriminatory anti-Israel acts that cross the line into antisemitism. The IHRA definition is considered by the U.S. Department of Education when investigating Title VI complaints, and it is also used by over 1,100 other governments, universities, NGOs, and other key institutions, demonstrating a substantial and clear worldwide consensus.

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

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

Antisemitism By the Numbers

We have seen time and time again how tensions in the Middle East can lead to an increase in antisemitic incidents here in the United States. As ADL documented in our [2023 Audit of Antisemitic Incidents](#), the current war between Israel and Hamas has been no exception.

The dramatic increase in incidents took place primarily in the period following the [October 7 terrorist attacks in Israel](#). Between October 7 and the end of 2023, ADL tabulated 5,204 incidents – more than the incident total for the whole of 2022. Fifty-two percent of the incidents after October 7 (2,718) included references to Israel, Zionism or Palestine.

ADL Audit of Antisemitic Incidents

Since 1979, ADL has been compiling an annual [Audit of Antisemitic Incidents](#) (“the Audit”) that includes both criminal and non-criminal acts of harassment and intimidation, including distribution of hate propaganda, threats, and slurs, as well as acts of vandalism and assault.

In 2023, ADL tabulated 8,873 antisemitic incidents across the United States. This represents a 140% increase from the 3,698 incidents recorded in 2022 and is the highest number on record since ADL began tracking antisemitic incidents in 1979. In fact, ADL tracked more incidents in 2023 than in the previous three years combined. Incidents increased in all major Audit categories. Assault incidents increased by 45% to 161 incidents, vandalism increased 69% to 2,177 incidents and harassment increased 184% to 6,535 incidents.

While the October 7 terror attacks were a major factor in the unprecedented levels of antisemitism recorded in 2023 even prior to October 7, there were monthly increases throughout the year: February (402), March (471), April (432), May (437) and September (513). Each of these months broke the prior record for most incidents recorded in a single month, set in November 2022 (394).

After October 7, ADL observed explicitly antisemitic and anti-Zionist rhetoric at 1,352 anti-Israel rallies across the United States. Leaving out all Israel-related incidents, antisemitic incidents still rose by 65% to 5,711 over the 3,457 non-Israel-related incidents recorded in 2022.

Antisemitism on College Campuses

Antisemitism has been a problem on college and university campuses for decades, and we are now seeing an alarming new uptick in the number of reported antisemitic incidents. According to ADL's [2023 Audit](#), ADL documented a total of 922 antisemitic incidents (or 10% of all 2023 incidents) on college and university campuses, a 321% increase over the 219 incidents recorded in 2022. Of these 922 incidents, 732 occurred between October 7 and the end of 2023 alone. This was a staggering 1,062% higher than the same two-month period in 2022, when ADL recorded only 63 incidents.

Eighty-four percent of campus incidents after October 7 involved mentions of Israel, Zionism or Palestine. Of the post-October 7 campus incidents, 319 took place at anti-Israel rallies, and another 293 incidents were other Israel-related incidents of harassment, vandalism or assault.

ADL recorded antisemitic incidents at over 300 universities across 43 states and the District of Columbia. The campuses with the most incidents in 2023 were Columbia University (17), The University of Michigan (15), Stanford University (14), Rutgers University (14) and the University of Washington (12).

Anti-Zionism

For decades, a vocal segment of U.S. student groups and faculty have espoused anti-Israel and anti-Zionist views and engaged in related activism on campus. ADL has been tracking this effort closely, as well as the targeting of Jewish students and faculty who publicly express support for Israel's existence as a Jewish state. In the wake of the October 7, 2023, attacks on Israel and the resulting Israel-Hamas war, campus anti-Israel and anti-Zionist rhetoric took on an increasingly violent edge and tenor.

Only days after the October 7 attacks, anti-Israel groups – many active on college campuses nationwide – began issuing “toolkits” calling on schools to “dismantle Zionism on campus,” and advocated for “anti-normalization” – complete rejection of any cooperation or association with individuals or organizations who accept or support Israel's existence. These efforts had the impact of isolating and intimidating Jewish students. Many of the toolkits included outright support for terrorism, such as lauding the October 7 terror attack. For example, in a statement published shortly after October 7, [National Students for Justice in Palestine](#) described Hamas' massacre of Israelis as “a historic win for Palestinian resistance,” and called for “Not just slogans and rallies, but armed confrontation with the oppressors.”

Students for Justice in Palestine

[Students for Justice in Palestine](#) (SJP) is the most prominent and active anti-Israel and anti-Zionist student group on campus, consisting of some 275 chapters across the country, mostly concentrated in the Northeast, Midwest, and California (some chapters are based in Canada). SJP organizers frequently disseminate anti-Israel propaganda that is often laced with inflammatory rhetoric, including the use of derisive language like “Zionist entity” rather than referring directly to Israel.

Both National SJP (NSJP) and individual SJP chapters have hailed and defended the October 7 attack. Since then, many SJP chapters have shared explicit pro-Hamas or other FTO rhetoric on social media, including through the promotion of FTO statements and images featuring members of FTOs, at times with weapons.

SJP has been a central organizing node for the [student encampments](#) and anti-Israel rallies that proliferated across American universities and colleges in the spring and summer of 2024, amid a surge in antisemitic activity and sentiment on US college campuses. SJP chapters have also been proponents of “escalation” [tactics](#) like occupying buildings, engaging in vandalism, disrupting operations, blocking access to public spaces, among other such actions.

For years, SJP has also been a leading campus organizer of [Boycott, Divestment, and Sanctions](#) (BDS) campaigns against Israel and specialize in using confrontational tactics such as disrupting student-run pro-Israel events, constructing mock “apartheid walls” and distributing fake “eviction notices” to dramatize what they consider Israeli abuses of Palestinians.

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

SJP chapters on campus across the country that are affiliated with National Students for Justice in Palestine generally take their cues from the national organization. They also often promote and cross-post the same messaging and “calls to action” on social media and at protests.

That said, individual SJP chapters generally operate as autonomous entities and, in some cases, have adopted more radical principles, including calling for the dissolution of the state of Israel, countenancing potentially violent “resistance” to Israel, and calling for “anti-normalization” – an insistence that no dialogue can be held with individuals or groups who/which identify with Zionism. Some SJP chapters have also repeatedly expressed explicit support for U.S.-designated terrorist organizations such as Hamas and PFLP.

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

In addition to participating in the “Day of Resistance,” numerous SJP chapters released inflammatory statements in support of Palestinians seizing control of Israeli territory, including some which explicitly endorse violence and attacks on civilians. “We reject the distinction between ‘civilian’ and ‘militant.’ We reject the distinction between ‘settler’ and ‘soldier,’” [The George Washington University SJP](#) wrote. “A settler is an aggressor, a soldier, and an occupier even if they are lounging on our occupied beaches.” The [SJP chapter at Tufts University](#) said the attack made by “liberation fighters” exhibited “creativity.” Some SJP chapters went further.

Multiple SJP chapters have shared content from and referred readers to [Resistance News Network \(RNN\)](#) – part of an encrypted messaging application that shares violent content of attacks on Israelis and provides English translations of communiqués and propaganda from groups such as Hamas and its Al Qassam Brigades, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), Ansar Allah (the Houthis), Palestine Islamic Jihad (PIJ), Al-Aqsa Martyrs’ Brigades and Hezbollah.

In April 2024, National SJP tweeted “Thank you, Yemen,” amid attacks on Israel by the Yemen-based Houthis (a U.S.-designated terror group) alongside a photo of a rally in the Gulf country featuring a sign with the Arabic slogan of the Houthis: “Death to America, death to Israel, a curse upon the Jews.”

Other Active Anti-Israel Campus Groups

In addition to SJP, numerous other campus and community anti-Zionist groups — many of which have played [key roles in organizing anti-Israel protests since October 7](#) — have supported calls for college encampments. These groups include the national bodies and/or local chapters of [American Muslims for Palestine \(AMP\)](#), Dissenters, [Jewish Voice for Peace \(JVP\)](#), Palestine Action, Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM), Party for Socialism and Liberation (PSL), Samidoun, Students for Democratic Society (SDS), Young Democratic Socialists of America (YDSA) and others.

Anti-Israel Encampments and Demonstrations

Since [Hamas’s October 7, 2023 terrorist attack against Israel](#), college campuses have been [frequent sites for anti-Israel demonstrations](#) as student protesters seek to pressure university administrations into enacting specific demands. Since mid-April 2024 specifically, students across the United States have launched encampments, sit-ins and other forms of protest in connection with the [Students for Justice in Palestine \(SJP\)](#)-led “Popular University for Gaza” movement.

The ADL COE analyzed statements published by the organizers of more than 130 university encampments nationwide between mid-April and early May 2024 and determined that, at more than two thirds of these encampments, the protesters’ demands included calls for universities to enact policies that would directly disrupt the lives and studies of Jewish students and faculty and, in some cases, even exclude them from campus life.

If acted upon, these wide-ranging and often extreme demands would fundamentally alter Jewish life on college campuses by dismantling or severely limiting essential Jewish communal and academic infrastructure and restricting who can freely exist in these spaces.

[Students for Justice in Palestine \(SJP\)](#) chapters have played a key role in organizing many of these

encampments. National SJP, the umbrella organization of these local chapters, put out a call to action on April 20, 2024, urging college students, staff and faculty to “join the Popular University” and “take back our institutions,” adding “we will seize our universities and force the administration to divest.” On April 22, National SJP released the “mission statement” of these “Popular University for Gaza” protests, writing: “...We as students will reclaim our power on campus—there will be no classes or compliance with our institutions so long as their shameless profiteering off of our genocide persists. Through the student movement for a popular university, we will transform our mass mobilization into sustained, tangible power...We will seize control of our institutions, campus by campus, until Palestine is free.”

Escalation in Tactics of Intimidation

Many anti-Israel activists have recently engaged in strategic “escalation” to further their cause. These actions have included increasingly aggressive and targeted protests, property destruction and defacement, physical takeovers of institutions deemed to be “complicit” in alleged Israeli military actions, and even multiple cases of ideologically motivated arson attacks.

For the most part, the tactics themselves — such as vandalism or protests at individuals’ homes — are not new. However, the scope and scale of these tactics have shifted and expanded in recent months. Particularly notable has been the trend on college campuses, where some anti-Israel student activists escalated from tent [encampments](#) on lawns and other spaces to violently seizing and blockading buildings.

One action that gained widespread attention and sparked similar escalations at other schools was the takeover of a building at California State Polytechnic University, Humboldt from April 22–30, 2024. The student protesters [barricaded themselves inside](#) Siemens Hall and caused significant damage, including breaking into the university president’s office and spray-painting messages on the walls.

In another high-profile incident, on April 30, protesters at Columbia University in New York escalated their weeks-long encampment by [breaking into the university’s Hamilton Hall](#). They broke windows and barricaded themselves inside using zip-ties and furniture, causing significant [property damage](#) and [locking a facilities worker inside](#) during the takeover.

At the University of California, Berkeley, students [occupied](#) Anna Head Alumnae Hall from May 15–16, using “sticks, pry bars and bolt cutters” and breaking windows to enter the condemned property. They also [spray painted](#) antisemitic and violent messages on the walls, including [equating a Star of David with a swastika](#) alongside phrases like “ZIONISM = NAZISM,” “MARTYRS NEVER DIE,” “A GOOD SOLDIER IS A DEAD ONE,” “KILL COPS” and “ESCALATE IN THIS BITCH.” 12 protesters were [arrested](#) after police cleared the building.

Anti-Israel protesters have also regularly targeted the homes of high-profile individuals like governors and U.S. representatives, university presidents, and others since October 7. For example, University of Michigan regent Jordan Acker, who is Jewish, has been targeted on multiple occasions. On May 15, around 4:40 AM, an individual covering their face with a keffiyeh walked up to Acker’s house while his family was asleep inside and [attached a list of demands](#) on the front door attributed to the “UMich Gaza Solidarity Encampment.” On June 3, multiple masked individuals [vandalized](#) Acker’s law offices by splashing red paint on the front of the building and spray-painting anti-Israel slogans around the property.

White Supremacy

Over the past few years, ADL has also been keeping a close eye on white supremacist groups who actively distribute their bigoted propaganda on college and university campuses. Organized efforts by white supremacists to share antisemitic propaganda, mostly through distributing fliers with antisemitic messages, accounted for 1,160 antisemitic incidents in 2023, up from 852 in 2022.

2023's notable rise in antisemitic propaganda was largely due to [Patriot Front](#)'s return to the use of antisemitic messaging in its propaganda after a four-year hiatus. Patriot Front, a white supremacist group, was responsible for 427 antisemitic propaganda incidents, or 37% of the year's total incidents. Explicitly antisemitic Patriot Front propaganda often included the phrase, "No Zionists in government, we serve one Nation." Given the group's neo-Nazi roots, there is little question that when Patriot Front mentions "Zionists" in their propaganda, they mean Jews. On several occasions, the group also displayed banners with the antisemitic phrase, "Merchants have no nation," meaning "Jews have no nation."

The October 7 Hamas attack on Israel was also featured in the white supremacist propaganda. As white supremacist leaders applauded Hamas and violence against Israelis online, ADL recorded an uptick in antisemitic anti-Israel and anti-Zionist white supremacist propaganda on the ground. "No more wars for Israel," the common theme in many post-October 7 incidents, is a longstanding antisemitic slogan embraced and used primarily by antisemites on the far right (such as white supremacists). The slogan falsely implies that Jews/Israel effectively control U.S. foreign policy, and that U.S. military involvement in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere has been solely or primarily for the benefit of Israel. This feeds into the age-old antisemitic trope that Jews have excessive [power](#), and relies on historical claims of Jews controlling global affairs.

In other instances, the propaganda was more explicit and included the phrases, "Our tax \$ fund Israeli blood lust," "Zionism = Terrorism," "Death to Israel," "Jews aren't worth dying for" and "End Jewish Terror."

For the second straight year, [Goyim Defense League \(GDL\)](#), an antisemitic network that has significant crossover with other white supremacist groups and movements, distributed more antisemitic propaganda than any other group or network. Our data shows the GDL was responsible for 529 incidents, representing 46 percent of the year's total.

Anti-Zionist Activism Off Campus

Within Our Lifetime (WOL)

Within Our Lifetime-United for Palestine (WOL) is a New York-based, radically anti-Israel organization founded in 2015 that routinely expresses support for violence against Israel and calls for the abolition of Zionism. Since Hamas' brutal terror massacre on October 7, 2023, WOL and its co-founder and leader Nerdeen Kiswani have continued to share extreme anti-Zionist and antisemitic positions on social media and at anti-Israel protests as well as in webinars and reports. Some of the most heinous antisemitic rhetoric and incidents seen in New York City since October 7 have been perpetrated by WOL supporters and members, including vociferously demanding the expulsion of Zionists from New York society.

Since October 7, WOL has hosted or co-sponsored some 100 anti-Israel rallies many of which included [explicit support](#) for violence against Israeli civilians by U.S. designated Foreign Terrorist Organizations [Hamas](#), [The Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine \(PFLP\)](#), [Hezbollah](#), [the Houthis](#) and affiliated individuals such as [Leila Khaled](#) and Hamas' military wing spokesperson Abu Obaida. WOL also expressed [enthusiastic support](#) for Iran's unprecedented April 13 drone-and-missile attack on Israel. WOL often uses language such "Flood Manhattan for Gaza" when promoting their rallies, an egregious reference to how Hamas refers to the atrocities of October 7 as the "Al Aqsa Flood."

On June 10, 2024, WOL co-organized a protest outside the New York City venue hosting the Nova Exhibit – which commemorates the lives of the 364 people massacred at the Nova music festival by Hamas-led terrorists during the October 7 attack. Their protest featured antisemitic and dehumanizing messaging, glorification of the Oct. 7 assault, and explicit support for terror organizations. For example, outside the demonstration, a protestor prominently [waved](#) large flags of US-designated terror organizations Hamas and Hezbollah. A sign reading "Zionists are not Jews & not humans" was also spotted at the protest.

WOL has also encouraged the encampments that spread across US university campuses in the spring and summer of 2024, urging more "direct actions" and "escalation" such as takeovers of buildings and spaces and direct confrontation with law enforcement.

In a document that circulated in late April 2024, WOL wrote that "the universities are ours for the taking" and laid out a vision for sustained encampment actions including plans for escalation. "If we force open the gates of the university, share our struggles, understand we have a common enemy and build our respective capacities to fight them on and off the campus — the universities are ours for the taking," the document reads.

Since October 7, WOL founder and leader Nerdeen Kiswani has been [arrested](#) on [numerous occasions](#) for various offenses during protests, in addition to being designated a Persona Non Grata on all property owned by Columbia University. Additionally, as of February 2024, WOL and Kiswani are no longer active on Instagram due to violating Meta's community guidelines, [according to a Meta spokesperson](#). WOL is now primarily active on Telegram and X (formerly Twitter).

Samidoun

Anti-Zionist activist group [Samidoun](#) (derived from the Arabic word for "steadfast") is a self-described solidarity network for Palestinian inmates in Israeli prisons. The group emerged in 2011 following a coordinated hunger strike by Palestinian prisoners led by [The Popular Front for The Liberation of Palestine \(PFLP\)](#), a designated terror group in the U.S., Israel, Canada, the U.K. and the European Union.

Samidoun chapters in the U.S., Canada and other Western countries campaign on behalf of Palestinians imprisoned in those nations, including those arrested or convicted for alleged involvement in terror activity or "direct actions" for Palestinians.

Samidoun's explicit support for those convicted or accused of terrorism and acts related to terrorism, like PFLP's Walid Daqqa and [Rasmea Odeh](#), have made it one of the more extreme groups within the Palestinian solidarity activist movement. In 2021, Israel designated Samidoun a terror organization

and an arm of the PFLP. Germany banned Samidoun's operations in October 2023, following the October 7 Hamas-led attack on southern Israel.

Samidoun encourages engagement with the Telegram channel Resistance News Network, which features pro-Hamas propaganda and violent anti-Israel imagery. The group sponsored a 2024 webinar with Husam Badran, a Hamas spokesperson, and another 2024 webinar featuring Ghazi Hamad, a senior member of Hamas's leadership.

Samidoun has also supported the activities of organizations like the Houthis, a US-designated Yemen-based terror group also known as "Ansar Allah", or "supporters of God," and backed by the Iranian regime. After the [death](#) of Iranian president Ebrahim Raisi and, foreign minister Hossein Amir-Abdollahian, the organization released a statement "[expressing condolences for and solidarity with the Iranian people and nation.](#)"

When the news broke of Hamas's terror attack on October 7, Samidoun released an [effusive statement](#) in support of armed "Palestinian resistance," including explicitly praising Hamas' invasion of Israeli towns and the abduction of civilians to use as hostages. Alongside the statement, Samidoun posted an image of individuals carrying weapons and added, in part: "The resistance is rising throughout occupied Palestine, smashing the siege on Gaza...as Palestinian resistance forces fight to advance return and the liberation of Palestine."

American Muslims for Palestine

[American Muslims for Palestine \(AMP\)](#) is a Chicago-based anti-Israel and anti-Zionist activist organization whose leaders have promoted violence against Israel, the denigration of Zionism and Zionists, and at times, classic antisemitic tropes. In December of 2023, at a protest in front of the D.C. Israeli Embassy, AMP Executive Director Osama Abuirshaid belittled the atrocities of October 7, claiming "what they alleged that happened on October 7th turned out to be a lie" and "there were no rapes." In a September 2021 interview with Jordan's Yarmouk TV, Abuirshaid said, "Israel today is a case of a parasite living off the American body." In February 2018, he embraced the [antisemitic Khazar theory](#), saying, "The Jewish people today are not the descendants – the overwhelming majority – are not of the descendants of the ancient Israelites. They're not. They're from the Jews of Khazaria, south of Russia."

Established in 2005 by University of California, Berkeley lecturer (and current AMP National Chairman) Hatem Bazian, AMP has seven chapters across the country. With regard to campus involvement, AMP has a "Campus Activism Track" for their annual Palestine Convention. AMP also shares a key figurehead with SJP in Hatem Bazian, who helped establish the first SJP chapter in Berkeley. Since October 7, Bazian has appeared at multiple encampments on college campuses in the U.S. and abroad, offering words of encouragement to student activists' disruptive tactics. Bazian has also appeared on an Iranian-sponsored Press TV segment, Palestine Declassified, featuring antisemitic conspiracy theorist David Miller.

Other AMP staff members have also engaged in antisemitic and anti-Zionist rhetoric. Taher Herzallah, a former anti-Israel student activist who is now Associate Director of Outreach & Community Organizing for AMP, stated in a speech at the 2024 People's Conference for Palestine that "The long tentacles of Zionism have always reached deep into the American heartland...Zionism has penetrated the depths of American society, economics, and politics for decades." Neveen Ayeshe, Government Relations Coordinator of AMP's Missouri chapter, has shared multiple Hamas propaganda videos on her X (formerly known as Twitter) account.

Bazian and other AMP leaders are also linked to the now-defunct Islamic Association for Palestine (IAP), a radical anti-Israel organization that was tied to the [2008 Holy Land Foundation case](#) and was once described by the U.S. government as part of the “propaganda apparatus” of Hamas.

AMP’s organizational roots lie in the now-defunct Islamic Association of Palestine (IAP), which was once described by the U.S. government as functioning to “disseminate[d] information/propaganda” for Hamas. Though IAP officially dissolved in 2004, many of its leaders continued their activism with AMP, including Rafeeq Jaber, Abdelbaset Hamayel, Kifah Mustapha, Osama Abuirshaid (current AMP Executive Director) and Raed Tayeh. Bazian, AMP’s current board chair, helped establish the widely known campus-based anti-Israel group Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP) in 2001.

AMP has co-sponsored numerous anti-Israel protests since October 7 that have been characterized by explicit antisemitism and support for terror. For example, AMP sponsored a “National March for Gaza” in Washington, DC on October 21, 2023. At the protest, speakers’ comments included praising US-designated terror group Hezbollah, denouncing normalization, and calling on people to “confront Zionism wherever it exists.” On January 13, 2024, AMP led a coalition of extreme anti-Zionist organizations in another “March on Washington for Gaza” that drew thousands of attendees. Protesters displayed swastika imagery and glorified terror groups like Ansar Allah (the Houthis) and Izz ad-Din al-Qassam Brigades, the military wing of Hamas.

On April 1, 2024, AMP’s New Jersey chapter co-sponsored a protest with Within Our Lifetime (WOL) outside of a synagogue in Teaneck, NJ that was honoring ZAKA, an Israeli organization of volunteer emergency rescue workers who were involved in recovering, cleaning and identifying the bodies of those killed in the October 7 Hamas terrorist attack. Protesters shared antisemitic and extreme anti-Zionist rhetoric, including chanting, “Go back to Europe!” at Jewish individuals and holding signs with messages saying that Zionists “should be destroy [sic].” Protesters also displayed the logos of US-designated terror groups and images of terror group leaders.

Funding of Antisemitic Activity on Campus and Off

Funding of Campus Antisemitism

[Students for Justice in Palestine \(SJP\)](#) has been a central organizer (but not necessarily a funder) of the recent encampments and protests across the U.S., as have groups such as the Palestinian Youth Movement (PYM), and [Jewish Voice for Peace \(JVP\)](#). Where these groups are official student clubs or groups on campus, they receive much of their funding from student government resources. AMP, as a 501(c)(3) organization, also reportedly continues to support SJP through training and advocacy, and through small financial contributions. In a statement to the Daily Mail in April 2024, American Muslims for Palestine lawyer Christina Jump confirmed that the organization does give money to organizations such as SJP and JVP, between \$500 and \$2,000 for “tangible expenses for specified events, such as food or copying costs for specifically identified gatherings.”¹

The Role of Fiscal Sponsors

ADL has been deeply concerned about the role that 501(c)(3) organizations are playing as fiscal

¹ In [October 2023](#), the Virginia Office of the Attorney General issued a Civil Investigative Demand to AMP seeking information regarding its compliance with Virginia’s charitable registration and solicitation laws. A court recently ordered the non-profit to produce records in response to that request.

sponsors of some of the most concerning anti-Zionist groups fueling antisemitism after October 7. To comply with IRS guidance, fiscal sponsors must retain “control and discretion over use of the funds for section 501(c)(3) purposes” and ensure that the funds are used by their fiscally sponsored projects “in furtherance of [the sponsor’s] own exempt purposes.” A fiscal sponsor cannot just serve as a pass-through to distribute funding on behalf of its fiscally sponsored projects, but instead must exercise oversight and control over the projects. ADL is aware of at least two 501(c)(3) organizations sponsoring projects that have openly glorified and/or endorsed terrorism and violence in the wake of October 7 – calling into question whether the fiscal sponsor itself is operating in furtherance of charitable purposes.

Alliance for Global Justice (Samidoun)

Alliance for Global Justice (AFGJ) is an Arizona-based non-profit that acts primarily as a fiscal sponsor, with over 130 projects that it “[oversees](#),” including [Samidoun](#), which, as referenced above, has been designated as a terrorist organization by Israel. As a fiscal sponsor, AFGJ cannot just serve as a pass-through to distribute funding on behalf of its fiscally sponsored projects, but instead must exercise oversight and control over the projects. This means that AFGJ is directly responsible for the activities conducted by its projects, including Samidoun, as well as the use of funds raised on behalf of Samidoun. To the extent that Samidoun uses funds for prohibited activities, AFGJ should be held responsible.

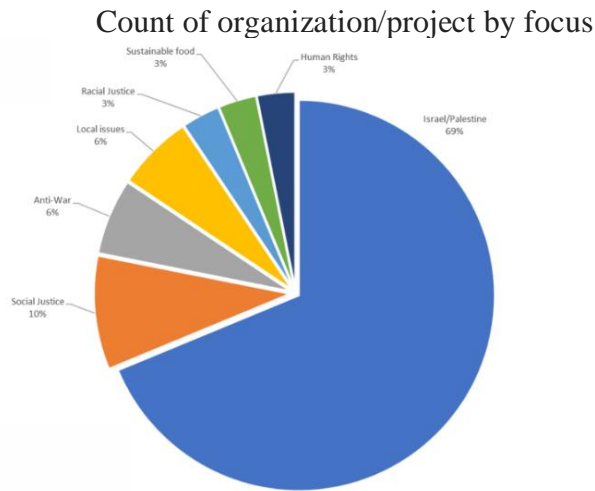
Despite describing itself as a solidarity network for Palestinian prisoners in Israeli prisons, Samidoun [glorifies Hamas terrorism](#) and [violence](#) and promotes Hamas propaganda. Samidoun has been [designated a terrorist organization](#) by Israel based on the [group’s alleged activities on behalf of the Palestinian Front for the Liberation of Palestine \(PFLP\)](#), a U.S. designated foreign terrorist organization, and [Germany recently banned the activity of Samidoun](#) (alongside Hamas), in part for its endorsement of violence to achieve its political objectives. Similar requests to designate Samidoun as a terrorist organization have been made in the United States, [Canada](#) and the [European Union](#). In light of these concerns regarding connections to terrorism activities, AFGJ and Samidoun are reportedly [unable to raise funds electronically](#) as several financial institutions and platforms have banned AFGJ from using their services. In addition, a few weeks ago, [Samidoun announced](#) that its YouTube channel (with years of content promoting terrorist groups like PLFP and Hamas) was recently deleted by the platform. [Meta has since taken action](#) to remove Samidoun accounts across its various platforms.

WESPAC (SJP and WOL)

[WESPAC](#) (Westchester Peace Action Committee) Foundation is a New York-based nonprofit organization that describes its organizational mission as “current affairs education” and its program services as “human rights and current affairs education and information provided to many hundreds of people through public meeting events, conferences and newsletters.” In reality, WESPAC currently serves as a fiscal sponsor, using its tax-exempt status as an NGO to provide financial support to groups and initiatives that actively denigrate, disparage and attempt to ostracize pro-Israel and Jewish communities, at times using blatantly antisemitic language. These projects include [Within Our Lifetime](#) and [Students for Justice in Palestine](#) – both of which openly praised the October 7 Hamas-led attack on Israel. WESPAC does not and is not required to make public the details of its fiscal sponsorships, though it appears, based on publicly available information since 2000, that most of

WESPAC’s current or former fiscal sponsorships are of anti-Israel projects and groups.

WESPAC Fiscal Sponsorships: 2000-Present



WESPAC receives grants and has facilitated the reception of funds for its fiscally sponsored projects from foundations and trusts such as the Sparkplug Foundation, the Elias Foundation, Cultures of Resistance, Bafrayung Fund, Tides Center and the Violet Jabara Charitable Trust, all of which have funded in the past or continue to fund other anti-Israel organizations.

In the fiscal year ending in December 2022, WESPAC received over \$140,000 in contributions from several of these organizations, some of which were specifically earmarked for National Students for Justice in Palestine and the Palestinian Youth Movement. Additionally, during this fiscal year, the organization received an unrestricted \$550,000 grant from the Eutopia Foundation, an organization that prioritizes “climate organizations, social change collectives, and democracy advocates”. It also received grants in 2022 from the Elias Foundation (\$60,000) and Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (\$90,000).

In the fiscal year ending in August 2023, WESPAC reported net assets of \$1.6 million and a revenue of over \$2.3 million, \$1.9 million of which was from financial contributions to the organization. This was a substantial increase compared to its total revenue in fiscal year ending in August 2022 (\$1.07 million), and its total revenue in fiscal year ending in August 2021 (\$636,000).

International Funding Sources

Last week, U.S. Director of National Intelligence Avril Haines [released a statement](#) warning U.S. college students that Iran may be attempting to covertly stoke protests in the United States related to the Israel-Hamas War. “Americans who are being targeted by this Iranian campaign may not be aware that they are interacting with or receiving support from a foreign government,” she said. “We urge all Americans to remain vigilant as they engage online with accounts and actors they do not personally know.” While ADL is not aware of any direct evidence suggesting that Iran may be funding campus groups directly, we remain deeply concerned about the possibility of Iranian influence. Further investigation is needed.

Concerns have also been raised that Qatar may be supporting anti-Israel groups on campus, including

National Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP). While one report found a correlation between antisemitism and the presence of undisclosed foreign funding sources, it did not find any funding connections between Qatar and SJP. Additional investigation is warranted here as well.

Funding of Extremism Across the Political Spectrum

Support for extremism by nonprofit organizations benefiting from tax exempt status permeates both sides of the political spectrum. In 2021, ADL released an [extensive report](#) describing how some groups trafficking in white supremacist or anti-government hate – including the Oath Keepers Educational Foundation, American Phoenix Project, American Patriot Vanguard III MC, and Sovereign American Project Inc. – may be misrepresenting themselves and the nature of what they do in their tax filings. ADL’s report also raised concerns about potential self-dealing, the improper enrichment of leaders and family members, and possible misreporting by a number of other groups.

There are many reasons extremist groups may seek 501(c)(3) or (c)(4) tax-exempt status with the IRS. This status allows groups to raise money or financing while avoiding state and federal income and unemployment taxes. In some cases, 501(c)(3) or (c)(4) organizations can sidestep property taxes, state income taxes, sales taxes, and employment taxes as well. Perhaps most importantly, contributions to 501(c)(3) organizations are always tax-deductible. Some donors may also view tax-exempt status as government endorsement, leading to increased credibility of 501(c)(3)’s more broadly – even those that operate for the sole purpose of spreading white supremacist or anti-government hate. We continue to call for a thorough review of the tax-exempt status of the organizations cited in our report.

Policy Recommendations

ADL is urging Congress to take the following critical steps, consistent with [ADL’s COMBAT Plan](#) – a comprehensive framework for elected officials and policymakers to take meaningful action to fight antisemitism.

1. Speak out against antisemitism on campuses across the country. Jewish and pro-Israel students have been intimidated, targeted, and even assaulted at their schools. They need to know they are supported by leaders at the highest levels of government.
2. Support implementation of the U.S. National Strategy to Counter Antisemitism by passing the Countering Antisemitism Act (CAA), the most comprehensive antisemitism initiative to be introduced in history, which will implement key parts of the strategy and ensure its policies and infrastructure are made permanent. It would strengthen federal efforts to counter antisemitism, including in higher education. We must hold the White House accountable to its commitments and ensure that the fight against antisemitism lasts beyond any one administration.
3. Utilize the IHRA definition of antisemitism by a) passing the Antisemitism Awareness Act which reinforces the use of IHRA in addressing campus harassment and b) urging the Department of Education to issue regulations pursuant to Executive Order 13899 on Combating Anti-Semitism.
4. Fund the Nonprofit Security Grant Program (NSGP) in the annual appropriations package. The demand for grants continues to exceed the resources provided. Nonprofits and Jewish

organizations must have access to these resources to protect themselves from the rising threats.

5. Ensure the enforcement of Title VI by the U.S. Department of Education by sufficiently funding the Office for Civil Rights (OCR), so that it has full capacity to investigate complaints alleging antisemitic harassment and discrimination.
6. Pass the Protecting Students on Campus Act, which protects students from discrimination by ensuring that colleges and universities do more to combat antisemitism and hate. It empowers students to file reports of antisemitic violence and harassment to the Department of Education and requires universities to be transparent about how they are handling complaints.
7. Urge the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) to conduct a thorough review of the tax-exempt status of charitable organizations operating as fiscal sponsors who may be in violation of the rules applicable to section 501(c)(3) organizations. This review should include WESPAC Foundation, Inc. (“WESPAC”) and Alliance for Global Justice (“AFGJ”).
 - As fiscal sponsors, these organizations lend their tax-exempt status as 501(c)(3) public charities to various projects—thus treating these projects as their own activities and reporting those activities on their Form 990 returns. However, some of the projects appear to engage in activities that fall well outside the scope of these entities’ charitable purposes.
 - For example, WESPAC serves as the fiscal sponsor for Students for Justice in Palestine (SJP), a network of pro-Palestinian student groups across the U.S. that explicitly endorsed the October 7th terrorist attacks by Hamas against Israeli civilians and has voiced an increasingly radical call for confronting and “dismantling” Zionism on U.S. college campuses.
 - Similarly, AFGJ is the fiscal sponsor of a project called the Samidoun Palestinian Prisoner Solidarity Network (“Samidoun”), which has been designated as a terrorist organization by Israel, and whose activities are banned in Germany.
8. Urge state Attorneys General to ensure that non-profits in their in their states, including those that are serving as fiscal sponsors, are in compliance with state laws governing charitable organizations. These requirements overlap in some areas with the federal tax rules, but can contain their own restrictions such as prohibiting loans between charitable organizations and their directors and officers.
9. Strengthen the tax law requirements applicable to section 501(c) organizations that serve as fiscal sponsors. Fiscal sponsors provide projects the benefit of the sponsor’s section 501(c) status and in return should supervise and control the activities of the projects to ensure that they are furthering appropriate purposes. However, fiscal sponsors are not required to provide detailed information on the projects they are sponsoring, the activities of each project, the funding directed to each project, and the sources of contributions for each project.
10. Clarify the scope of the public policy doctrine making clear that engaging in antisemitic discrimination precludes recognition of tax-exempt status under section 501(c)(3) of the

Internal Revenue Code. The current case law recognizes that engaging in racial discrimination is contrary to public policy and this doctrine should be expanded to include antisemitic discrimination as well.

The spiraling antisemitism on college and university campuses has escalated into conduct that is harassing, intimidating, and interfering with the operation of universities, depriving students of their education. Students are afraid and didn't feel comfortable being visibly Jewish on campus. Parents are questioning whether it's safe for their kids to return to certain schools in the fall. Now, these same tactics are being used to wreak havoc in our communities – at memorials for October 7 victims, on the subway, and outside the homes of Jewish leaders.

None of this is normal, and none of it is acceptable. This moment calls for direct action by elected officials to not only send an unequivocal message that antisemitism and hate in all forms will be rejected – but to take steps to ensure nonprofits are not taking advantage of their tax-exempt status to prop up those who are fanning the flames of hate.